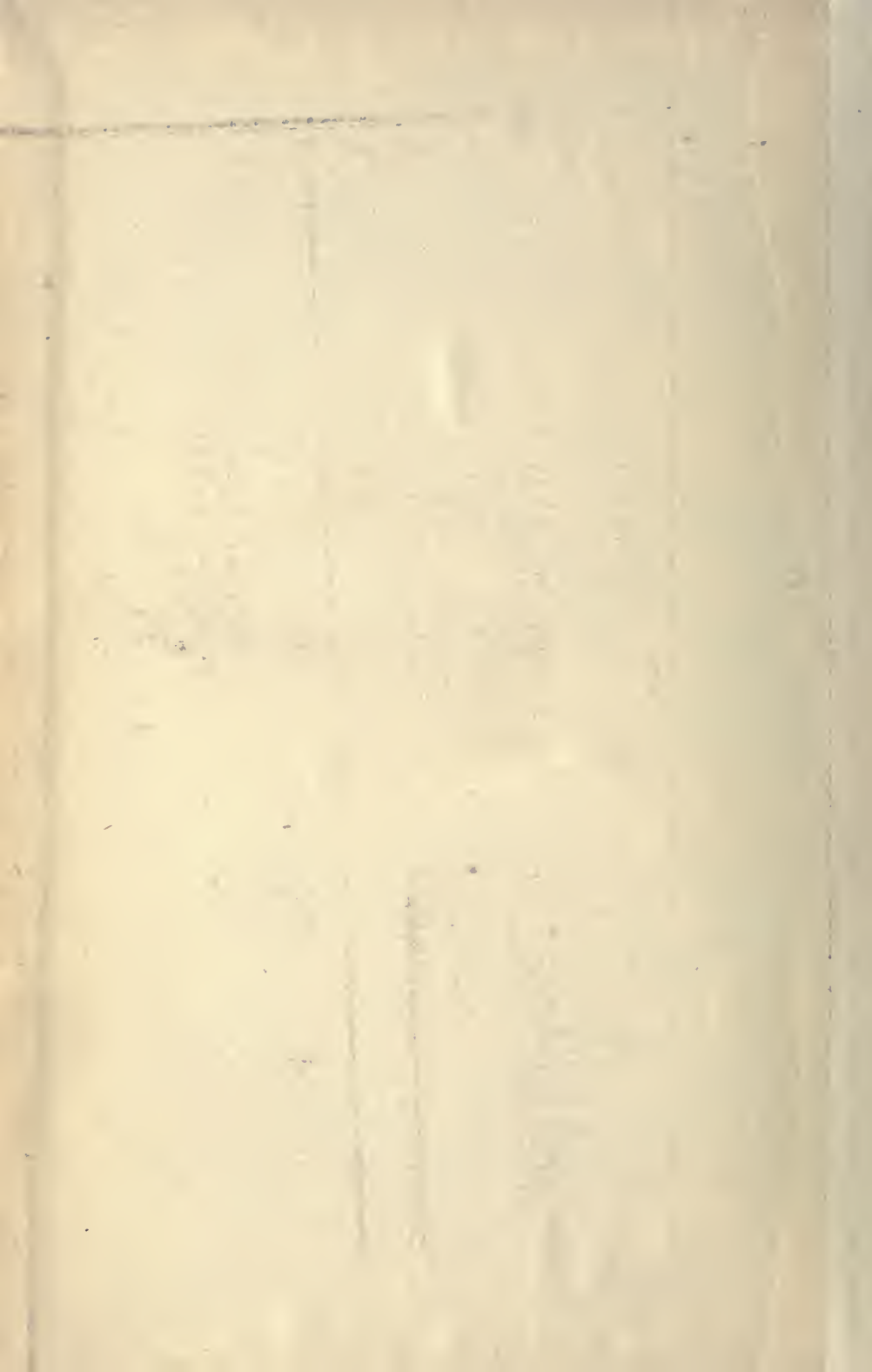


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## BEST GERMAN PRONUNCIATION.

The following view of the best German pronunciation rests upon materials gathered in the German speaking countries of Europe during the year of 1890 and the summer of 1909. As a period of nineteen years intervenes between these two visits of observation it has been possible in several cases to discover a marked trend of development. In the North the spirant *g*'s (*j* and *g*) are still the prevailing sounds in the medial position between vowels, but there is today a marked tendency to speak the voiced stop *g* (as in English) here. To the writer the most interesting feature of his second visit was the evident tendency in choice language to avoid marked local peculiarities of any kind. It is often quite difficult for an Austrian to distinguish between *p* and *b* and between *t* and *d*. In choice language there is today a marked tendency to do this by giving more force to the *p* and *t*. Thus, although *b* and *d* remain voiceless in accordance with general usage in the South, they can easily be distinguished from *p* and *t* by a weaker pronunciation. In the north *b* and *d* are voiced, while *p* and *t* are voiceless. While there is thus a difference here between the North and the South both sections are trying to keep the sounds distinct. They use different means to attain to this end, but the important fact remains that they are working to the same end. This one tendency is a fit illustration of a general tendency towards a uniformity of pronunciation. In the prominent pleasure resorts of Switzerland where Germans from all parts of the German speaking territory of Europe meet daily, the writer has often been impressed with the striking similarity in the pronunciation of cultured people from geographical extremes. Culture is a great leveler. In spite, however, of this great similarity the least careful investigation will reveal great differences. After following any speaker for a few moments it is easy to determine his home. In all works on pronunciation it is too com-



mon to emphasize these differences. It often obscures the real situation. These differences are present even in the choicest pronunciation, but they are not felt as disagreeable and by most people are not noticed at all. They need not be feared as a menace to the integrity of the language as long as they are accompanied by the evident signs of tendencies to uniformity. They are only the natural differentiations of life. There will never be a time when they will entirely disappear.

The writer's second visit to Europe was occasioned by the unusual activity of recent writers on the subject of German pronunciation. It seemed imperative to get some information at first hand. It has become too common in recent phonetic literature to shape facts to fit some preconceived theory. Science is being replaced by dogma. The scholar is giving away to the pedagogue. Some of these books are prompted by very good intentions, such as Vietor's "Die Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen" (7 te Auflage) and "Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch", Siebs' "Deutsche Bühnenaussprache" (9 te Auflage), Erbe's "Leichtfassliche Regeln für die Aussprache des Deutschen", Luick's "Deutsche Lautlehre". They are all intended to strengthen the present tendencies toward uniformity, but they proceed in such different ways that they contribute rather to the existing confusion. The first two writers take the stage pronunciation as a basis, the last two start from their own South German speech. Professor Vietor's "Die Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen" and "Kleine Phonetik" (6 te Auflage) have been very helpful to American students of German, especially the early editions as they were based upon good North German pronunciation. In the last editions Professor Vietor has conformed his books quite closely to the stage pronunciation. The earlier editions represented in a certain degree the facts of good usage, the latest editions have substituted an artificial pronunciation for a reality. Thus these books have become doubtful guides and we can no longer recommend them without reserve. In the hands of inexperienced students they may do much harm. The writer regrets this development of tendency with Professor Vietor,

for he once believed he was called to do an important work in the movement towards uniformity. People of culture must in general abominate artificiality in speech. Hence we teachers of German should not drill into our unwary pupils an artificial pronunciation. Teachers of German have a grave responsibility in choosing a pronunciation from among the many good ones now in use in Germany. It is one of the objects of this article to offer some suggestions on this subject.

It is quite common in America to recommend North German pronunciation. It seems to many the most representative. Many, however, think differently and go to the South to learn their German. Some are beginning to advise the use of the stage pronunciation. The German stage has established rules for pronunciation which some scholars and enthusiasts regard as a standard that may some day be generally recognized as the ideal and thus become to the spoken language what the literary language is to colloquial speech. Professors Vietor and Siebs are pushing the cause of the stage pronunciation with such enthusiasm that it seemed to the writer from this side of the ocean that it must be sweeping all others aside. The nine editions of Professor Siebs' book also seemed to confirm this impression. It was with great eagerness that the writer landed on German soil to follow up the traces of this wonderful book. He found, however, few traces anywhere. He attended conventions, church services, theaters, public addresses, political meetings, talked with people in hotels, cars, bathing resorts, visited teachers, professors, talked with workingmen, and tried in every way to ascertain how German is spoken. The plain fact is there is a good deal of variety in pronunciation and yet there is everywhere one common speech easily understood by all. The closest approach to the stage model was found in the language of school teachers in little North German villages and towns. For days the writer walked through these little communities and talked with these school teachers. He found much the same pronunciation, but he did not in a single case discover that any of these men had

ever read Professor Siebs' book. He was also surprised to find this same pronunciation in the language of a number of traveling men, business men without a higher education but with considerable culture gathered from travel and wide reading. Not one of these traveling men had ever seen or heard of Professor Siebs' treatise on the stage pronunciation. It seemed strange to the writer that a simple business man or a teacher of German in a little town should speak better German than a distinguished philologist who was much better acquainted with the history and development of the language. The question was worthy of careful investigation.

The pronunciation of *g* in the language of these careful speakers threw light upon the whole question. The business men pronounced *Tag* as *tāk* or *tāk*. Their reason for the pronunciation of *g* as a stop was that *g* should not be pronounced as *ch*. That seemed perfectly self-evident to them. The school-teachers were a little better prepared to explain the voiceless *k* instead of a voiced *g*. They pronounced voiced *g* initially and medially as in "gut" *gūt*, "Tage" *tāgə* and hence after the analogy of *b* and *d* which become *p* and *t* in the final position they pronounced *g* as *k* in the final position. The greatest variation in their pronunciation was in the final position. A number said that they knew they ought to say *tāk*, but that it was more natural to say *tāx* or *tāx* (guttural *ch*). A number spoke *likt* ("liegt"), but *tāx*. All were conscious that *g* ought to be kept perfectly distinct from *ch* (*ç* or *x*) or *j*: *vēgə*, not *vējə*; *vēk*, not *vēc*. The guttural voiced spirant *g* as in *tāgə* was heard in the pronunciation of some of these speakers as they were not so skilled in distinguishing a *g* from a *g* as in distinguishing a *g* from a *j* or a *ç* or *x*. One thing seemed clear to them all that *g* ought to be pronounced as a voiced stop *g* as in Latin and other languages, that this seemed to be the correct pronunciation and any other sound was dialectic and incorrect. They knew little about the history of the sound and little suspected that the spirant sound was a little earlier in the period quite general in the North. They were all conforming their

pronunciation to the printed letters as they understood them. This fully explains the comparative great uniformity of speech in the North. People there abandon in a greater or less degree their native sounds as dialectic and are following the printed page as a higher and more perfect form. Everywhere the older historic sounds survive in certain positions of a word or in certain localities, but there is a general tendency to follow the printed word. These people are not following Professor Siebs' book, but the pronunciation of the stage itself rests upon this North German speech which in large measure itself rests upon the printed language. Of course North Germans have rescued a good deal of their own native speech by giving the written symbols in many cases the values of their own North German sounds, but in other cases where their own speech widely diverges from the printed form they have followed the written word. Professor Braune has called attention to this close relation of North German pronunciation to the literary orthography in a pamphlet entitled "Über die Einigung der deutschen Aussprache". Professor Siebs replies to these utterances on pp. 10-13 of his "Deutsche Bühnenaussprache" where he calls attention to the glaring deficiencies of German spelling and urges actors to beware of the orthography as a hindrance to a good pronunciation. The writer as an American cannot agree with him in belittling German orthography. We wish we had one so good. The writer also believes in the historic mission of the German orthography as a unifier. As this orthography, however, has its deficiencies it has failed to be a guide in a number of cases as will be discussed later.

The writer has stated above that he found the closest approach to the stage pronunciation in the language of North German school-teachers and business men. This does not mean that these men follow the stage closely. While they in certain respects are tending in the same direction in other respects they deviate markedly. For instance, the stage prescribes the use of nasal vowels in words from the French such as "Bassin" *basɛ̃*', "Ballon" *balɔ̃*, etc., while these school-men pronounce



quite generally *baseh*, *baish*, etc. Upon a close comparison it became at once evident that they differ in many respects from the standard of the stage. In the strict sense the writer found few traces of the stage pronunciation. Even upon the stage itself this standard is not followed closely. This fact was observed in every part of the German speaking territory, even in the largest and finest theaters. Professor Siebs himself on page 40 of his "Deutsche Bühnenaussprache" admits in his discussion of the pronunciation of long *ē* and *ā* that in the presentation of classical plays 27 percent of these sounds are pronounced contrary to the usual rule and that in comedy the percentage is as high as 39. The percentage of variation is, of course, greater in comedy as there is an evident desire here to conform the pronunciation to that found in ordinary life. Among educated people the writer has found the greatest variation from the stage rules among learned linguists. They know the history of these sounds and they regard their natural pronunciation as better than one that merely conforms to written letters. A large number of teachers of German in higher schools in different North German cities informed the writer that they recommended "bodenständige Laute" and often sharply criticized their pupils for using the newer sounds that were coming in as a fashion. To the writer it was not only interesting that the teachers criticized these sounds, but also that these new sounds were coming in. The writer believes these sounds will continue to come in, for the tendencies to uniformity are closely connected with the strong throb of national life that characterizes Germany of today. A Mecklenburg teacher one day lamented to the writer that Prussian *ʃ* (*schp*), *t* (*scht*), and *ʀ* (uvular *r*) were gradually supplanting native *sp*, *st*, and *r* (tongue *r*). Similarly in every part of the German speaking territory small and weak sections are coming under the influence of stronger neighbors. These stronger sections can be grouped together so as to form a still larger unit. In the last and final grouping there stand out clearly and distinctly two pronunciations, that of the North and that of the South. Although there is consid-

erable difference in different parts of each one of these two groups there is after all a certain uniformity within each group. Can these two groups ever be brought into a higher unity, the final form of the language? Is the stage pronunciation, at present a mere artificial creation, ever destined to become this final form?

The stage pronunciation is the only standard that has a following of any kind in every part of the German speaking territory. The pronunciation of the North cannot hope to find recognition in the South and there is still less hope of the North recognizing the South. In spite of these natural difficulties and natural prejudices the standard of the stage which is essentially North German is recognized in a limited way throughout the entire territory. This pronunciation might possibly become the basis upon which a common pronunciation could be gradually constructed if its promoters knew how to reckon with facts. It seems to the writer that Professor Siebs, who is pushing the cause of the stage pronunciation with great vigor, is working directly against the facts. On page 60 of his "*Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*" he advocates with considerable ardor the use of tongue *r*. He points out the dangers in the use of uvular *R*. He shows how one using uvular *R* is prone to say *{taəbən}* (starben) instead of *{tarben}*, *mʊta* (Mutter) instead of *mʊtər*, etc. In spite of his warm defense of tongue *r* we are not convinced and we even lose our confidence in such a blind leader who cannot see plain facts. This question is settled, for uvular *R* has already gained the ascendancy. The cities and centers of culture in every part of the territory use uvular *R*. Tongue *r* is largely confined to the country and is gradually yielding to uvular *R*. Professor Trautmann on pages 97-100 of his interesting book "*Kleine Lautlehre*" also warmly defends tongue *r*, but admits that the complete victory of uvular *R* is inevitable. A standard pronunciation must recognize the prevailing pronunciation of cultured people. Here, however, the standard of the stage condemns severely the pronunciation of the cultured classes and places itself upon the side of

the rural districts in the out-of-the-way sections of the territory. It is probable, however, that the stage clings to tongue *r*, not from any love of the rural districts but because it has been influenced by its traditions. The tongue *r* became established upon the stage under Italian influence. Promoters of tongue *r*, however, defend it upon the basis of the acoustic properties of the sound. They say that it is self-evident that it will carry further. The writer has never noticed that actors who use uvular *ŕ* had the least difficulty in being understood, but granting that tongue *r* is in every way a better sound for actors and people generally the question arises: how will the mass of cultured people who now employ uvular *ŕ* acquire tongue *r*? The writer remembers vividly comical scenes from his university days at Berlin in which tongue *r* played quite a sorry role. German friends interested in English tried to acquire tongue *r*. There were many gay experiments but there was little success to be recorded. In fact it is very difficult for one who uses uvular *ŕ* to acquire tongue *r*. Few ever get it, and yet Professor Siebs recommends tongue *r*. If the promoters of the stage pronunciation begin by demanding impossible things they will not advance very rapidly. If they are really interested in this movement they might easily sacrifice one of the traditions of the stage for the sake of a larger cause. In doing so they would themselves in fact lose little or nothing, for uvular *ŕ* has acquitted itself quite well upon the stage. Indeed, it might turn out for them as it did for Saul who went out to hunt for his father's asses and found a kingdom. Professor Sütterlin has called attention to this possible gain in an interesting little book entitled "Lautbildung", page 179. There is in German a great abundance of consonants and sometimes a scarcity of sonorous elements. If uvular *ŕ* should in some positions as in the final place go over into the vowel *ä* as mentioned by Professor Siebs and pointed out above Professor Sütterlin sees in this a change for the better: "*Vatä, Rednä* klingt für jeden, der an diese Fragen ohne Voreingenommenheit herantritt, doch schöner als *Vatr* (zumal mit stimmlosem *r*), *Rednr*". If, however, the



stage continues to cling to tongue *r* it will result in giving to the stage pronunciation the impression of artificiality which will mark it as the pronunciation not of ordinary life but of declamation, theatrical display. For American teachers of German who have adopted this standard this use of tongue *r* is very convenient, but it seems to the writer that teachers ought to tell their pupils that this *r* although very convenient for Americans is not used by Germans themselves. The writer himself uses uvular *r* and some of his pupils acquire it.

It was pointed out in the preceding paragraph that a standard pronunciation should only adopt sounds that are in accordance with the natural development of the language. This is, however, in a number of cases not possible. In case of *g* for instance it is not yet possible to prescribe a definite pronunciation. The sound is in process of development and has not yet assumed the final form. In different parts of the North there are three principal forms with other minor deviations. Earlier in the period it was a spirant and this older form still survives in the medial and final positions as in *liegen* *lijən*, *liegt* *liçt*, *lag* *lāx*. In the same section the voiced or voiceless stop is also heard instead of the spirant: *ligən*, *likt*, *lāk*. In the South the voiceless stop has gained a complete victory in all the positions of a word. The situation is very intricate here and it is impossible to select a sound to which all the sections could adjust themselves. It is not possible that North Germans could acquire voiceless *g* and it is just as difficult for the South Germans to learn voiced *g*. It once seemed possible that spirant *g* (*ç*, *j*, *g*, *x*) might spread and it has made considerable gains toward the South, but at present all the signs point to the victory of the stop—but in a double form voiced in the North and voiceless in the South. The stage has here decided for the North and prescribes voiced *g* initially and medially and voiceless *k* at the end or before consonants: *gūt*, *tāgə*, *tāk*, *likt*. The voiceless sound at the end or before a consonant seems a perfectly natural development and is supported by the analogy of other German sounds, but the main difficulty is it doesn't ac-

cord with the facts of usage. In studying this sound the writer has visited all sections of the North and has talked with people in all the walks of life, but he can find this usage only in incipient stages. The actual usage is *gūt*, *tāgə*, *tāx* or *tāx*, *līgt*. This is at present the best usage of the North. It is the usage the writer employs and recommends to his classes. A few enthusiasts use *k* in the final position and before consonants, and this pronunciation may some day spread, for it is quite natural and a consistent development. We have, however, absolutely no guaranty that it will spread, for we have plenty of cases where development is irregular and inconsistent. Thus for instance Germanic *t* as in "ten" has initially developed into *z* i. e. *ts* in High German as in *zehn tsēn*, but medially the development has continued and the result is *ss* as in *essen* as the *s* has assimilated to itself the *t*. Thus we find in High German corresponding to Germanic *t* two different forms *ts* and *s*. The writer in choosing *gūt*, *tāgə*, *tāx* or *tāx*, *līgt* does not mean to imply that the spirant in the medial position, as in *lijən*, *tāgə*, is incorrect. It is in fact still more common than *g*, but the movement here toward *g* has set in so strong that it seems to the writer we have a clear guaranty that this sound in this position will prevail. The writer in deciding for the voiced stop initially and medially rather than for the voiceless stop of the South follows the fairly natural impulse of most English speaking teachers of German. North German sounds in general lie nearer our own than those of the South. This consideration would not in any way influence a South German. There is absolutely no reason whatever here why a South German should follow the North and it is not probable that the voiced *g* will ever make any gains in the South. It will be a long while before there is here a uniformity of usage in Germany.

The case of *b* and *d* is quite similar to that of *g*. The North pronounces here voiced *b* and *d* initially and medially, but voiceless *p* and *t* in the final position. The South on the other hand pronounces voiceless *b* and *d* in all positions. The stage has here decided for the North. It is necessary for the

stage to have some standard and it is doubtless wise that it has decided for voiced *b, d, g*, but throughout the entire southern part of the territory these sounds will continue to be pronounced voiceless by the sanction of millions of intelligent and cultured people. After traveling for a month in South Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, one learns at least that the pronunciation of mighty peoples with a great past and a great future is not manufactured by a little committee of orthoepists and theatrical officials. None knew this fact better than several of the distinguished scholars that were associated with this committee. One of the most refreshing works on orthoepy known to the writer was written by one of these men, Professor Karl Luick, of Vienna. This book was mentioned above. Professor Luick gives himself up to no illusions. He recognizes the need of some standard but does not close his eyes to facts. He shows clearly how the South cannot closely follow the standard of the stage, but how it is willing to lay aside marked provincialisms and move forward toward an ideal standard as far as possible within the limitations of their own speech laws. Differing from some blind enthusiasts who have espoused the cause of the stage pronunciation Professor Luick sees clearly the natural limitations imposed by local circumstances. Julius Leumann has written an interesting book entitled "Die Aussprache des Deutschen" in which he has stated the limitations of Switzerland.

In case of short and long *e* and *ä* the stage has also decided for the North. Short *e* and *ä* have the same sound, namely open *e* as *e* in English *met*. It is indicated by the symbol  $\epsilon$ . Long *e* and *ä* differ. The former is long and closed as *a* in English *late*. It is indicated by the symbol  $\bar{\epsilon}$ . Long *ä* is long and open. It is usually described as a long  $\epsilon$  (symbol  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ). In the South these letters usually have other values. The  $\bar{\epsilon}$  or *ä* that is an umlaut of *a* is pronounced  $\bar{\epsilon}$ , but the old original *e* when long is pronounced  $\epsilon$ : *legen* (Gothic *lagjan*) *lēgan*, *nähren* *nēran*; but *geben* *gēban*, *lesen* *lēsan*. It can be seen at a glance that the pronunciation cannot be gleaned from the orthography but

alone from the history of the word. Those sounds have been passed down from one generation to another. As the orthography gives no clue to the pronunciation the sounds have not in any way been held intact by the written or printed form and so have continued to develop and change. The sections of the South often differ in the pronunciation of the same words or of vowels of the same origin. In traveling in the South the writer has often found sounds different from those given by the well-known grammarians. Some orthoepists favor recommending the South German pronunciation of these vowels as they represent the true historical development, while the North German pronunciation rests upon the false impressions caused by the orthography. On account of the great variation in the South itself it would be difficult to find any standard pronunciation of these sounds. South Germans cannot be expected to give up their established historical sounds and North Germans will not give up their simple system for the difficult system of the South. Thus natural difficulties again separate Germany into two sections.

Of the sounds treated in the preceding paragraph one needs more careful treatment, namely, long *ä*. The pronunciation *ɛ* seems to be of North German origin as it rests entirely upon the printed letter. In South German *ä* would sometimes be *ē* and sometimes *ɛ*. The pronunciation *ɛ* which is prescribed by the stage and is spoken by many people does not seem to the writer so common in the North as *ē*. In large sections of the North the writer did not hear *ɛ* at all, in other sections he heard it only rarely. Some spoke it in certain words to distinguish them from other similar words. Thus when asked to distinguish between *Ähre* and *Ehre* some promptly pronounced them *ɛRə* and *ēRə*, but later in the conversation made no difference whatever between the two sounds pronouncing both *ē* and *ä* as *ē*. The writer has found a number of *ɛ*'s varying in degrees of openness. Some *ɛ*'s are in fact only a little opener form of closed *ē*. The *ɛ* is sometimes extremely open, but this *ɛ* is the rarest of them all. The writer believes that the usual state-



ment that long *ä* is only a long *ē* is in most cases not true. It is more closed than *ē*. Thus there is in the North a general tendency to make little or even no difference between long *e* and *ä*. This is in strong contrast to the North German tendency to give each written character a different sound. Perhaps the reason of this exceptional treatment of long *e* and *ä* is that the pronunciation of long *ä* as open runs counter to the general North German rule that long vowels are closed. Open long *ä* is the only exception. The pronunciation of long *ä* as closed may also be made easy by the fact that there is usually absolutely no difference between short *e* and *ä*. Thus the character *ä* may be felt as having the same value as the character *e*. Thus as long *e* is always closed, long *ä* is also pronounced closed. Also elsewhere two different characters are felt as having the same value: *eu*=*äu*; *ie*=*ih*; *y*=*ü*, etc. The confounding of *e* and *ä* is, however, not so complete as in case of these combinations. The writer has often heard people distinguish even between short *e* and *ä* by making the *ä* more open and sometimes by a greatly exaggerated open sound so that the difference might become apparent. In Berlin the closed pronunciation of long *ä* is perhaps general, but the writer has often in response to questions received the answer that *ē* is better than *ē̄* although a little unnatural. There seems to be a widespread feeling that *ē* is better than *ē̄*, but at the same time there is a natural hesitancy to use it and the result is a much less open sound which is close to *ē̄* but a little more open. The stage has decided here for *ē* and perhaps the decision is a wise one, but such decisions ought not necessarily to be final. If it becomes evident that there is a strong general tendency toward *ē̄* the stage ought to adopt it. No stage committee can dictate the pronunciation of a nation, but it can render valuable services by studying speech laws and publishing its observations with recommendations. Its natural function would be not to throw its influence against natural laws but to help such developments. In the present case if the committee should finally decide for *ē̄*

it would simply mean that it recognizes the general law that long sounds are always closed.

In the preceding paragraphs a number of cases have been mentioned where the stage has decided for the North. In the following paragraphs special cases are treated in which the stage has decided for the South.

In large sections of the North final *ng* is pronounced *ŋk* as in *ging gŋk*. The South pronounces *ŋ* (as *ng* in *singer*) here which the stage has also adopted. The writer has the impression that *ŋ* is steadily gaining in the North, but it must not be inferred that *ŋk* is at present the pronunciation of the uneducated or is in any way considered inferior. The writer found *ŋk* widespread among people of culture. The pronunciation *ŋk* in the final position presupposes *ŋg* medially, and in fact this older pronunciation is still often heard even among educated people. Medial *ŋg* is much less common than final *ŋk*, and both are probably losing ground and will eventually yield to *ŋ*.

In accordance with South German usage the stage has decided for *ʃr* and *ʃt* initially instead of *sr* and *st*, and this is evidently a wise decision, for it is also widely used in the North and will eventually become universal. The older *sp* and *st* must, however, not be regarded as vulgar or in any way as inferior, for it is still widely used in a number of large North German cities in mighty centers of trade and culture. Even the best people here hold tenaciously to their *sp* and *st* and to them *ʃr* and *ʃt* are affected.

In the South *pf* is generally preserved and this pronunciation is adopted by the stage. In the North the *p* is entirely suppressed initially and after *m*. This *f* instead of *pf* is not confined to the uneducated, but seems to the writer general. It is also found in a large part of Middle Germany. It seems wise that the stage still holds to *pf*. It may, however, some day become necessary to acknowledge the fact of the disappearance of *p*. The writer does what he has seen many North German teachers do, he teaches *pf* as the theoretically correct form, but

he himself uses in private conversation *f*, for he has a deep-seated aversion to affectation or artificiality of any kind.

In accordance with the usage of the South the stage has decided that a vowel should be long before one consonant if in the course of the inflection the syllable becomes open. Thus the vowel in *Tag*, *Lob*, etc., should be long as the vowel is always long when a vowel follows as in *Tā-ge*, *Lō-be*. In *Tā-ge*, *Lō-be* the vowels are long in accordance with the general rule that vowels are long in open syllables. The length of vowel found in the genitive has in the South spread by force of analogy to the nominative so that the word may have the same quantity of the vowel throughout the inflectional system, but in the North the older short vowel still survives, now, however, only before *b*, *d*, *g*, *s* as the difference of pronunciation in these consonants in the final position in the nominative and in the medial position in the genitive has prevented the spreading of the long vowel of the genitive to the nominative. The vowel is short in North German in the nominative of these nouns in accordance with the general rule that a vowel is short in closed syllables. In the South analogy often destroys the force of this rule, but the rule is still in force in *flügs* (adverb), the prepositions *in*, *an*, *von*, etc., as in all these cases the words are uninflected and their short vowels are not influenced by a long vowel somewhere else in the same inflectional system. In the North the writer found older usage still quite general in certain words as *Bād*, *Glās*, *Grāb*, *Grās*, *grōb*, *Rād*, *Tāg*, *Trāb*, while in other words especially *Wēg* (but adverb *wēg*) South German usage prevails. It seems quite clear that the practise of the South here will eventually become general also in the North and should be recommended for general use.

In accordance with South German usage the stage recommends the pronunciation of unaccented *i* before a vowel as a short *closed* vowel in words taken from other languages, while in North German it is pronounced as the consonant *j*: *a-dī-tsi-ōn'*, *bīl-i-ōn'*, but in North German *a-dīts-jōn'*, *bīl-jōn'*. The stage pronunciation makes an additional syllable and brings about a



different manner of separating the consonants in the syllabic division. The usage of the stage represents here the older pronunciation which is thus preserved in careful language, but is disregarded in the North in common practise. This older pronunciation prevails also in the North in combinations difficult to unite with *j*, namely a stop (*p, t, k, b, d, g*)+*r* or *l*: *Allotria, Kabriolett, Kambrien, Anglia*, etc. The vowel sound is also not infrequently preserved after a long accented vowel, especially in a careful pronunciation, developing however, into *j* in the rapid speech of familiar conversation: *Akâzie* (*a-kā=tsi=ə* or in common speech *a-kāts-jə*), but *Million* (usually *mīl-jōn'*). The writer has found the use of *j* in most cases so general and well established that he uses it himself and recommends it to his pupils. The use of the vowel *i* here seems to him quite artificial in colloquial speech.

In accordance with South German usage the stage recommends the use of the French nasal vowels in words taken from the French, as in *Bassin basē'*, *Ballon balō'*, etc. North Germans substitute German sounds here: *basēŋ balōŋ*, etc. Some orthoepists have spoken so contemptuously of the North German practise here that the writer has taken especial pains during this last summer while in North Germany to ascertain whether there is in the North itself any odium attached to this pronunciation. People of culture informed him quite generally that the French nasal vowels seemed affected to them. The North German practise seems to the writer more sensible. It is a wrong principle in any language to torture one's self to reproduce exactly, a difficult foreign sound. The substitution of a convenient native sound is perfectly natural. The writer follows North German usage here and recommends it to his pupils as he sees no signs that South German is in any way influencing the North at this point.

The stage recommends the pronunciation of *y* as *ü* in words from the Greek: *Asyl azül'*, *Mystik müs'tik*, etc. The writer finds this rule based upon general usage throughout the German speaking territory. He was surprised to find the practise

so general as he noted in his former visit considerable carelessness at this point.

Professor Siebs in his "Deutsche Bühnenaussprache," pages 80 and 90, says of final *b* and *d* that when they stand after a long vowel or after a short vowel + *r*, *l* the pronunciation is that of a *p* and *t* which are at first enunciated weakly and then strongly, as in *Gräb*, *Dieb*, *hērb*, *hālb*, *Rād*, *schied*, *bāld*, *wārd*. He says that this is attained by pronouncing the preceding vowel or *l* and *r* decrescendo. The writer has found this usage nowhere in the German speaking territory. Professor Vietor in his "Deutsches Lesebuch in Lautschrift" I. Teil, p. 146, says that he was informed by Professor Sievers that this pronunciation is a rule of the stage. The writer finds in North German practise no difference here between *b* and *p* and between *d* and *t*. Also Professor Vietor regards this as North German usage. It seems a pity that the stage should insist here upon an usage that has very little foundation in actual practise outside of the theater.

Professor Vietor in his various books regards the normal values of the diphthongs *au*, *äu* (or *eu*), *ai* in choice language as *au*, *ɪ* (open *o* + closed *i*) or *ɔy* (open *o* + closed *ü*), *ai* (*a* + closed *i*), while Professor Siebs indicates their normal values as *ao* (*a* + very short closed *o*), *ɔø* (very open *o* + very short closed *ö*), *ae* (*a* + very short closed *e*). There is a tendency to vary the second element in each diphthong under the different circumstances of quiet speech and lively emotion. The writer believes that the recommendations of the stage here as given by Professor Siebs represent the ordinary pronunciation better than the sounds recommended by Professor Vietor. The differences, however, are very slight and are in reality much less than they seem from the differences in the printed symbols, but the writer regards them as important and worthy of attention. It will be noticed that in the values given by Professor Vietor the second element of each diphthong is a higher sound. Professor Siebs thinks that these higher sounds are not the normal ones but the more unusual ones employed when the speaker or

singer raises the sounds under the influence of poetical feeling or on the other hand when he simply follows the written letters.

In conclusion the writer would say that at present there is in Germany no standard pronunciation that has a wide following in every part of the country. The pronunciation of the stage is the nearest approach to such a standard. Its choice of sounds is undoubtedly a very good one with regard to acoustic effect and the purposes of declamation and the stage in general. The committee in formulating its rules of pronunciation have, however, made some serious mistakes in not taking the needs of the larger public into consideration. As some of the members of the committee are much interested in making their standard widely useful some of these mistakes may be corrected. Even in its present form this standard will perform excellent service. It has called attention to some of the best things in German pronunciation and in these things it will be followed. To the writer the best pronunciation for use in conversation and the school-room is not the stage standard but the best German of the North. Different individuals would formulate this usage differently, but the differences would not be great. Dr. Ernst A. Meyer has in an interesting little book entitled "Deutsche Gespräche mit phonetischer Einleitung und Umschrift" given us his formulation. The writer would differ in a few points. Dr. Meyer has incorporated to too great an extent the careless forms of colloquial speech as *mitbriŋŋ* instead of *mitbriŋən*, etc. Such abbreviations and assimilations are common, but they look a little ugly in print and for use in the school-room. It would be wiser to choose a little better German. For the same reason the writer would prefer in *Tage* the stop (*tāgə*) to Dr. Meyer's choice of the spirant (*tāgə*). In general, however, Dr. Meyer's North German is good and is worthy of being taught in our schools. In choosing such North German the writer does not mean to imply that South German ought not be taught. The writer is a little prejudiced in favor of the North. Its vigor of growth and its great future has left its impression upon him, but from pleasant sojourns in the South

he has learned that South Germans can also speak German very beautifully. The writer loves all that is natural and beautiful. When he was a little boy in a little western town he was taught to speak the broad sounds of New England, but since he has reached years of maturity he has returned to his plain western English. These western sounds have for him a great advantage over those of New England, they are his own. He is now a teacher of large classes and has in these classes pupils from the South. He loves to hear them recite. This southern American-English possesses a great charm, but the writer would not himself ever dream of adopting it for his own use, nor would he recommend Northwestern English to these Southerners. There is a great beauty in all this diversity. The writer has a large rose bed containing over one hundred types of roses of all colors and shapes gathered from all parts of the world. In summer he loves to walk up and down and observe their beautiful forms and colors. What a stupidity it would be to try to eliminate all the shapes and colors but one and to train them all up to one type! After a good look at his roses the writer loves to go to his classes and hear his pupils recite, but there is one thing that he hates and he is trying to eradicate it from his pupils and that is affected speech. When the time comes in the course of the instruction to talk German then the writer tries to talk good plain North German and he regards it as much better than the standard of the stage. He has nothing against South German. It is certainly just as good. The question arises whether there ought not to be a uniformity of practise throughout the country in order to save the pupil from confusion, but that is a large question. If that cannot be settled the pupil can learn from his varied experiences with different teachers what he has to learn elsewhere in the midst of complications—to get his bearings and to find his way slowly forward. It is often fine for a lad to come in contact with men of different ideas and of different ways of expressing themselves.

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## THE RELATION OF SCHILLER TO POST-KANTIAN IDEALISM.

The relation of Schiller's reflective thought, as it is revealed in his philosophical essays and the epistolary literature, to German idealism is, in its broad features, not especially difficult to define, although, as will be shown, Hegel himself misapprehended this relation in one of its most fundamental aspects. The high opinion which Schiller entertained of Fichte as "the greatest speculative genius of the present century, after Kant,"<sup>1</sup> and the great expectations aroused in him by Fichte's *Ueber den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre* and the *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre* with which Schiller became acquainted immediately after their publication, do not appear to have been justified, in Schiller's mind, by the subsequent development of his philosophical thought. The secret of Schiller's difficulty is clearly indicated by Fichte himself in a letter to Humboldt in which he expresses his great confidence in Schiller's philosophical future, but suggests a fundamental defect in Schiller's system: its lack of unity, a unity which could, of course, according to Fichte's view, only be attained by the abandonment of the Kantian dualism to which Schiller had unequivocally committed himself. To this dualism, however, Schiller continued to adhere, and this separated Schiller once and for all from the great movement of philosophical criticism and construction known as post-Kantian Idealism. If Fichte's testimony as to Schiller's philosophical position were not decisive, Schiller's own utterance on the matter in a well known letter to Goethe, written after the publication of the first series of the *Aesthetic Letters* should establish his attitude beyond question. After referring to the Kantian spirit pervading the Letters, he expresses his conviction that the fundamental principles of the Kantian philosophy, tacitly recognized since the very beginning of human thought,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Hoven, Nov. 1794.

must ever remain unassailable, which is more, he adds, than can be said of the Fichtean system, according to which the Ego is creative, and includes all reality within itself. The motive of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* from its first inception was the refutation of "dogmatism," but Schiller, both in his earlier philosophical period, and at the height of his speculative activity, never abandoned the presupposition of an extra-mental object, the material of sense experience, and the condition of thought and will.

As the special æsthetic theories of Fichte and Schiller are intimately bound up with their metaphysical views, we are from the first prepared for a certain amount of divergence in their æsthetic opinions. A point of fundamental difference arises in connection with the analysis of human nature with a view to assigning the place of the æsthetic impulse among the various powers of the soul, an analysis which yields, in Fichte, a primary impulse of self-activity (*Grundtrieb der Selbstthätigkeit*) of which the three impulses, the noetic, which seeks to discover the truth of presentations, the practical, which seeks to realize presentations, and the æsthetic, which finds an interest in presentations for their own sake, are only special and concrete manifestations.<sup>2</sup> Now the material for this general impulse of self-activity, Fichte contends, is not a given, extra-mental object, the condition of presentations, as some philosophers erroneously maintain, but is immanent in the impulse itself. It is, in fact, determined by nothing except itself. Schiller's psychological analysis yields, as is well known, two irreducible impulses, the material and the formal, both, however, implying the existence of an extra-mental object which acts as the condition for their activity. To the material impulse, Schiller complains particularly, Fichte accords no recognition. The fundamental disagreement between the two men noticed above presents itself here in another connection. Fichte conceives of matter as self-limitation, a limitation immanent in the impulse of self-activity itself; Schiller, in thoroughly Kantian style, conceives

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, VIII, 278.

it as an external limit in relation to which alone the self can find the condition for its activity.

Fichte's discussion of the third of his special impulses, the aesthetic, its independence of noetic and practical interests and motives, and its freedom from desire, presents a striking resemblance to the conception of Kant and Schiller, as does also the doctrine developed in Fichte's *Sittenlehre* concerning aesthetic education, according to which art does not appeal to the understanding merely, nor to the heart, but to the entire man. These special aesthetic doctrines, interesting as they are, do not, however, here concern us further, since they do not throw much additional light on the metaphysical relations of Schiller to post-Kantianism which we are here seeking to determine.

The view of the philosophical relations of Schiller to Post-Kantianism developed here, is apparently contradicted by a remarkable passage in Hegel, to which Mr. Bosanquet has called particular attention in his *History of Aesthetics*. "It is Schiller then," says Hegel, "to whom we must give credit for the great service of having broken through the Kantian subjectivity and abstraction of thought, and of having ventured to go quite beyond it, by intellectually apprehending the unity and reconciliation as the truth, and by making them real through the power of art. Now this unity of the universal and particular, of freedom and necessity, of the spiritual and the natural, which Schiller scientifically conceived as the principle and essence of art, and unweariedly strove to call to life by art and aesthetic culture, was afterwards, under the name of the 'Idea,' made the principle of knowledge and existence, and pronounced the sole truth and reality. It was by this conception that science attained in Schelling its absolute standpoint." Credit is due to Tomaschek,<sup>2</sup> however, for having shown that Hegel's interpretation of certain passages in Schiller was based upon an imperfect acquaintance with Schiller's thought, an interpretation based upon a superficial reading of the *Aesthetic Letters*, mainly the fourth. Tomaschek further showed that Hegel claimed Schiller as a representa-

<sup>2</sup> *Schiller in seinem Verhaeltnisse zur Wissenschaft*, p. 438.



tive of the philosophy of identity, because he was biased in favor of this system of philosophy.

It is presumably unnecessary to treat exhaustively what was probably a mere misconception on Hegel's part, and it will perhaps suffice to state that Hegel's error consists in interpreting as a metaphysical theory of reality Schiller's notion of the unity of the spiritual and the natural, the universal and particular, which was intended by Schiller to be merely an ethical precept or ideal. The organization in man of the rational and the sensuous, which forms such a striking part of Schiller's ethical thought is falsely taken by Hegel to be the identity of the ideal and the real. These two elements, however, are held in strict separation by Schiller, and Hegel's criticism of Kant, that the latter had not transcended the opposition of subjective thought and objective reality, applies to Schiller as fully as it does to Kant. That the notion of unity and reconciliation was to Schiller merely one of psychological significance, that it was merely an *Idee der Menschheit*, is further shown by the fact that it is conceived by Schiller not as an actual condition, but rather as an ideal to be striven for, an ideal which art might be instrumental in aiding to realize more and more completely. The ideal of a completed humanity is, indeed, forever beyond the reach of human fulfillment. "It is indeed demanded of man," he says at the beginning of the second part of *Anmut und Wuerde*, "to bring about a complete union of his two natures, and to form a harmonious whole, so as to act with his entire humanity. But this beauty of character, the last fruit of his humanity, is but an idea, for the realization of which he may strive with constant vigilance, but which with all his efforts he can never completely attain." And again, in the *Aesthetic Letters*: "This reciprocal relation between the two impulses (the material and the formal) is indeed only a task of reason which man is able to accomplish only in the perfection of his being. It is in the strictest signification of the term *the idea of his humanity*, an infinite goal to which he may approach nearer and nearer in the progress of time, but without ever reaching it." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Werke*, Vol. 10, 320. Cf. also pp. 328-9 and 413.

It is worthy of notice, too, that Hegel's view of art as "the absolute in sensuous existence" or "in limited manifestation," and as merely preparatory, therefore, to philosophy, does not find its counterpart in Schiller, who elevated art to an independent position. The point of radical divergence between Hegel and Schiller is clearly indicated by Vischer,<sup>5</sup> according to whom Schiller, dominated, as he was, by the presuppositions of Kantian dualism, failed to arrive at a truly objective determination of the beautiful, because he failed to recognize the identity of concept and reality, of thought and being.

That the above is probably the correct view of the real relation of Schiller to post-Kantian idealism may be seen from the following passage of one of his letters to Humboldt, written in 1805, in which he expresses his fidelity to the Kantian philosophy and his lack of sympathy with its subsequent developments. "Speculative philosophy," he says, "if it ever attracted me, has disgusted me with its empty forms; I found no living springs and nothing to nourish me on its barren plain; but the deep fundamental ideas of the idealistic philosophy are an abiding treasure, and, if only on their account, we must count ourselves happy to have lived in this age."

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<sup>5</sup> *Aesthetik*, Vol. 1, p. 129; cf. Tomaschek, op. cit., 443.

## TWO SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

I. Old Norse *beðenn*. (Cf. vol. VI, p. 279, note.)

When discussing the irregular *e* of the Old Norse participle *beðenn* (occurring alongside of the present *bīða*, to wait = Goth. *beidan*), I might have referred to Axel Kock's article 'Der A- Umlaut in den nordischen Sprachen,' P. B. *Beiträge* 23 (1898,) p. 484 seq., where (p. 498) the correct explanation of the *e* (viz., as due to the influence of the past participle of *bidja*, to request = Goth. *bidjan*) has been given.

A similar confusion of various ablaut-series in verbs resembling each other in sound is by no means infrequent, although as a rule the literary language succeeds better than the popular dialects in avoiding disturbances of this kind. The participle *beðenn* itself has a close analogon in the German *ver-bat*, found occasionally instead of *ver-bot*, as a preterit of *ver-bieten*, e. g.

'gab ein Gesetz worinnen er verbat  
dass niemand sich vermählen sollte.'

Burmans *Fabeln und Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1173) p. 58.<sup>1</sup>

While in the latter case it may be maintained that the exchange rests on the similarity in meaning between '*sich etwas verbitten*' and '*etwas verbieten*', there are other instances in which hardly any other explanation seems to be possible but the one from a mere similarity in sound. As an instance of that kind I would consider the form *genossen*, occurring in certain dialects as participle from *niesen*, 'to sneeze,' due to the confusion of *niesen* with (*ge-*) *niesen*, 'to partake of, to enjoy,' etc.<sup>2</sup>

II. 'Gemination in Anglo-Saxon. (Cf. vol. VIII, p. 112 seq.)

<sup>1</sup>See Sanders *Wörterbuch der Dt. Sprache* I, p. 131 s. v. (*ver-*) *bieten*, where the form is correctly explained as due to the confounding of *verbieten* with *verbitten*. An earlier example, viz. *verbitten lassen* in the meaning of *verbieten* (i. e. 'vorfordern, citieren') *lassen*, is quoted from Reuter von Speier's *Kriegsordnung* (Köln, 1509) in Grimm's *Wörterbuch* XII, 129 s.v. *verbitten* 4).

<sup>2</sup>See *Lexen* in Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, Vol. VII s.v. *niesen*. The dialects concerned belong to the Bavarian and Alemanian group, in which the two verbs *niesen* and *niesen* are pronounced alike in the infinitive and the present.

In an article entitled 'Simplification of Gemination in the Old English weak verb, class I,' Mr. James F. Royster takes exception to the application of the term 'simplification of gemination' to cases like *fylde* (pret. of *fyllan* 'fill'), *cende* (pret. of *cennan* 'beget') or *fremest*, *fremeþ* (2. and 3. pers. sg. of *fremman* 'to frame, to make'). As regards forms like *fremest*, *fremeþ*, Mr. Royster's point is well taken. His discussion of forms like *fylde*, *cende*, however, seems to indicate that he has overlooked the well known distinction within the first weak class between verbs with originally *long* stem syllable and verbs with originally *short* stem syllable, or at least he apparently is not aware of the different character of the gemination in these two divisions. If he had taken into account the corresponding Gothic forms, he would have recognized that in Ags. *fyllan* (=Goth. *fulljan*, derived from the adj. *full-s*) the gemination is organic, and hence as applied to the Ags. pret. *fylde* (=Gothic *ga-fullida*) the term 'simplification of gemination' is unobjectionable. He might have further remembered that the adjective Goth. *full-s* = Ags. *full* is identical with Skr. *pūrṇa-s*, Lith. *pilna-s*, etc., and therefore contains an early Germanic *-ll-*, originating from pre-Germanic *-ln-*. It is indeed of fundamental importance to distinguish in Anglo-Saxon—as in the Westgermanic languages in general—between the general Germanic gemination (e. g. *fyllan*, *cennan*) and the more recent Westgermanic gemination (e. g. *fremman*). Mr. Royster, however, is not the only scholar guilty of overlooking that distinction when treating of Anglo-Saxon weak verbs of class I. In Bosworth-Toller's Ags. Dictionary, e. g., the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of *fellan* 'to fell' are given as *ðū felest* (or *felst*) and he *feleþ* (or *felþ*). No examples are quoted for the alleged *felest* and *feleþ*, and no examples probably can be quoted. If the 2. and 3. pers. sing. existed with *-e-* in the ending, the proper forms would be *fellest* and *felleþ*, as *fellan* is the causative of *feallan*, and *feallan* has organic (i. e. early Germanic) *ll*.

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THE NOUN STEMS IN THE *ÞIÐREKSSAGA*, MB<sup>2</sup>,  
HAND II.

All that I propose to do in the following pages is to outline briefly the inflexional conditions of the noun stems in the second hand of the *Þiðrekssaga* and to note any points of divergence from general Old Norse conditions. The latter are very clearly outlined in the third (1903) edition of Noreen's *altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* §§ 346-412. For the language of the scalds specifically we have the detailed investigation of Professor Finnur Jónsson: *Det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog, omtrent 800-1300*, Copenhagen, 1901, pp. 7-68. There is, of course, a considerable body of additional material bearing upon Old Icelandic, see Noreen § 16; upon Old Norwegian there is, however, very little that deals particularly with the inflexions. The works listed by Noreen, p. 22, deal almost exclusively with the phonology and this is the case also with the grammatical material contained in text editions. The literature of the late Old Norwegian period is, indeed, limited but I believe detailed investigations upon the side of the inflexions would throw light on many of those changes which we find to be so considerably advanced at the close of the fourteenth century.

The parchment codex No. 4, folio, of the *Þiðrekssaga*, preserved in the Norwegian-Icelandic collection of the Royal Library at Stockholm, is written in five different hands. These are fully discussed and their peculiarities indicated by C. R. Unger on pages xiii-xviii of his edition of the saga published at Christiania in 1853 (*Saga Þiðreks Konungs af Bern*). The work of the second hand, which, as regards orthography and forms in general, Unger found to be much superior to the rest, extends, according to Unger's edition, from the words *þionasto Nu mæla þeir* in Chapter 189 continuously to Chapter 151, reappears in chapters 170 and 171, begins again with the words *Nu mælti Þiðrikr* in Chapter 189 and stops with the words *Nu tekr hann* in chapter 196. The titles of chapters, the



text of which is by the first or the second hand are written by the second hand. The titles of chapters in the rest of the saga are by the third hand, barring the long caption over chapter 342, which is in the handwriting of the fourth scribe. The work, then, naturally falls into two parts called *Mb<sup>a</sup>* and *Mb<sup>b</sup>*, of the former of which the second writer is editor; of the latter the third writer is the editor, besides having himself written chapters 152-169, 172-188, 196 (part) to 292 and a few chapters at the end, finally chapters 21 to 56 of the text proper and 170 and 171 of the smaller type below the text (See Unger xvi).

It was Unger's view that the first three writers were Norwegians, the first betraying East Norwegian origin by the presence of a considerable number of specifically East Norwegian forms, as e. g.: *þæt*, *þær*, *þaðan*, *þænn* for *þat*, *þar*, *þaðan* and *þann*, *giællda* for *gjalda*, *gærna* for *giarna*, etc. The other two scribes Unger seems to have held to be from Western Norway. The fourth and fifth scribes employ frequent forms that were no longer in existence in Norway but still regular in Iceland and were therefore by Unger held to be Icelanders (p. xvii), though there are significant differences in the orthography of the two. However, about the only thing that seems certain to-day is that the first hand is East Norwegian and the fourth Icelandic. According to Wadstein Hand III, also, is Icelandic, while Hægstad who lists the text of Hand I among East Norwegian Mss, is not certain whether Hand II ought not also to be listed as such. Only a thorough examination of the language of the first three hands can give the key to the solution of these questions and it would perhaps be well, furthermore, to have a similar investigation into the texts written by the fourth and fifth scribes. Such a detailed investigation into the language and the style of the various parts of the *Ðiðrekssaga* would undoubtedly also lead to results of no little significance for the study of its original form and the history of its composition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The most important recent contribution to the study of the origin of the saga is Bertelsen's *Om Dikrik af Berns Sagas Oprindelige Skikkelse, Omarbeidelse og Håndskrifter*. Copenhagen, 1902.

THE A-DECLENSION, NOM-ACC., PLUR., -ar, -a.<sup>1</sup>

## MASCULINES:

The genitive ending is originally and normally -s, the dative -i; the type therefore is as follows: sing, nom. *dómr*, gen. *dóms*, dat. *dómi*, acc. *dóm*; pl., *dómar-dóma-dómum-dóma*.

A departure from the normal declension occurs in some loan-words and in proper names in that the nom. sg. may be lacking, e. g. *biskop*, *Nikolas*, etc. Noreen 348, note 1.

This is primarily the declension of monosyllabic masculines with a long radical syllable. *Dagr*, 'day,' *refr*, 'fox,' and *huerr*, 'kettle,' with short radical syllable also belong here, while *dalr*, 'valley,' varies between *a*- and *i*- stem forms, but may have been an *a*- stem originally (as Finnur Jónsson, *Skjaldesprog*, p. 10-11). For other fluctuating stems see Noreen 349, 2, 3, 4.

In many words the gen. sg. is regularly -ar, in others it varies between -s and -ar, most such words belonging originally in other declensions. Noreen also notes the not infrequent absence of the dative singular ending -i. In the language of the scalds and later Old Icelandic in general a certain tendency away from the old conditions is noticeable. This exhibits itself, f. ex. in the increasing frequency with which *i*- stems take the nom. pl. -ar, and in the considerable number of cases of absence of the dative ending, especially in words in -leic, but also in other stems (see *Skjaldesprog*, 8-10). Certain *a*- stems also gradually show more and more often the plural ending -ir, as *dalr*, *hualr* and *vegr*.

In general we recognize in these things the vitality of the *a*- declension, with its -ar, -a plural, as a masculine category; its subsequent rapid growth as a masculine paradigm was of course powerfully aided by the previous transference of the plural -ar to weak masculines. Briefly the conditions may be specifically stated as follows: 1), there is considerable fluctuation among the masculines, generally however in favor of the

<sup>1</sup>In the following I have retained the orthography of the text where I quote therefrom, except that where *v* appears for *u* I have written *u*.

*a-* declension; 2), the dative *-i* is absent with increasing frequency; 3), however, the gen. sg. *-ar* maintains itself against its rival *-s* in the fluctuating stems. In Icelandic *-ar* seems to be establishing itself in some cases of original *-a* stems, eg, in *skógr*, 'woods'; *hlátr*, laughter; *garðr*, 'yard, homestead'; *meiðr*, 'tree, beam'; *vegr*, 'way', etc.

In our text, which represents Old Norwegian (and as I believe West Norwegian) of the end of the thirteenth century, the condition is not greatly different but there are some variations—the tendency is not quite identical. In some points the changes are more extensive, in others a conservative attitude is to be observed. The facts may be briefly stated as follows:

Nominative singular. Absence of the ending in proper names, especially those that are foreign in form, is especially common, e. g.<sup>1</sup>: *er Væringiar kallar Volond*, 69, *ec heiti Boltram*, 83; *annarr heitir Sistram*, 83; *einn þeirra heitir Gramaleif*, 84; *Nu mælti Gramaleif*, 85; *þa mæli Sigstaf*, 85, 87; *þa svarði Stufus*, 85; *þa ser hann hvar Sigstaf oc þeir fim felaga standa*, 89; etc. As regular nominatives appear: *Amilias*, *Aventroð*, *Alfrigg*, *Fasold*, *Gramaleif*, *Nordian*, *Ingram*, *Sistram*, *Osangtrix*, *Rozeleif*, *Hertnið*, *Sigstaf*, *Stufus*, *Velent*, *Vilcinus*. Foreign words do not take the nom. sg. ending, e. g., (*skiold-*)-*er a var markaðr leon af gulli*, 91; *þar kom moti þeim dyr eitt er heitir elevans*, 104, and *af þeim fugl er struz heitir*, 77. For absence of ending in gen. see below.

Genitive singular. The ending *-s* in almost universal; *skógr* appears with gen. sg. in *-ar* in the compound *skógarbiorn*, otherwise regularly in *-s*; *vegr*, which also in other cases has mixed *a-* and *u-* stem forms has *-ar* in gen. sg., in: *spyr aðr vandlega vegarens i Trent*, 122, but otherwise *-s* as: *til hins hægra vegs*, 95; *aðruvegs*, 193. The gen. ending is lacking frequently in foreign names; the instances are: *þa mælti hann til Velent*, 59; *þa leit konongr til Velent*, 64; *Amilias mælti til Velent*, 64; *nu kæmr konongr til Velent*, 67<sup>2</sup>; *oc hjo til Stufus*, 86; *til Osang-*

<sup>2</sup>But *nu kæmr konongr til Velentz*, also in 67.

<sup>1</sup>References are to chapter.

*trix konongs*, 141; *þa mælir sa maðr—til Fasold*, 105; *nu lykr, sva lifdagom Amilias*, 68; *þeir er vissi hagleik Amilias*, 64; *nu hoeggr Vidga til Gramaleif*, 86. The genitive appears where the relation is that of possession, e. g.: *broðir Velentz*, 75; *sun Velentz*, 80; *ef Reginn hafi tekit tol oc fe Velentz*, 66; *nu gengr mærin til smiðio Velentz*, 74. *Til* is regularly otherwise followed by the genitive case. Three of the above names already end in the sound *s* (*Studfus*, *Amilias*, *Osangtrix*); their apparently genitive form has therefore led to the omission of the genitive symbol<sup>2</sup>.

In three of the other cases the verb used is *mæla*, a fact which may aid in accounting for the absence of the ending. *Mæla* also takes *við* which is then followed by the accusative, as: *sa hinn sami maðr mælir við Fasold*, 106; *mælir nu Biturulfr við Þettleiv*, 115. *Mæla við*+accusative is undoubtedly one influence that has produced *mæla til*+accusative. Finally *leit til* may have been influenced by *leit við* which would take the dative. In the other three cases *til* is preceded by a verb of motion, actually so in *nu kæmr konongr til Velent* and *nu hægggr Vidga til Gramaleif*, semi-physically so in the sense of 'looked toward' in *þa leit konongr til Velent*. However as we should in such cases, as well as in other cases of the use of *til*, expect the genitive we are forced to regard the three uninflected names as influenced by the tendency to employ certain names without endings. *Velent* appears always, *Gramaleif* usually, without the ending *-r* in the nom. sg.

The following *a-* stems, it may be noted, always have gen. sg. *-s*, never *-ar*; *dagr*, *garðr*, *hestr*, *hjalmr*, *iarl*, *liðr*, *konongr*, *míðingr*, *steinn*, *sveinn*, *þræll*, *gaman*, *hagleicr*, *hein*, *kamarr*, *guð(r)*.

The *wa-* stem *sior* has the genitive *siovar* in: *scamt til siovar*, 61; *gengr til siovar*, 63; but *sioarens* in 122.

Dative singular. The dative ending *-i* is practically universal, examples: *lætr reka fyrir straumi*; *i konongs garði*; *i mot*

<sup>2</sup>The influence of ending leads to the false use of the gen. in *fra Osangtrix konongs*, 145.



*vindi; liggr a diskí; at morni; at lita yðrom domi; af þeima sigri; a þeim skogi; or eldi; af fegyrðli minom; með Níðungi konongi; etc.* Dative of *dagr* is *degi* (*nu verðr hann sva feginn sem fugl degi*, 94). The ending is similarly regular in proper names, e. g.: *a sinom goða hesti Skemmingi*, 70; *þa þykkir Ðetleivi vera at mikil skom*, 119; *nu gengr Sigurðr oc segr Ðetleivi*, 121; *oc Aki með þeim Amlungatræusti*, 124; *brigðr sverðr sino Mimungi*, 70; *launaði Isungi*, 125; *gengr hann at Vidolve*, 144; *Valtari af Vaskansteini; drac af oc feck síðan Hildibrandi*, 91; *hía sinom feðr Ðetmari*, 108; *at þu gevir Ððríki grið*, 95; *Gunnari, Guttormi*, 170, etc.

The dative *-i* is lacking in the following cases: regularly in the word *leic* and compounds, e. g.: *oc veldr þvi dramþ oc ofmetnaðr með grimleic*, 94; *Biturulfr hæggdr af miclom raustleic*, 116; *eptir þinom gervileic*, 83; *hatta—þessum leic*, 118; *fatt kann ec gera í hagleic*, 64; *af miclom raustleic*, 116; in the words, *gambr* and *fugl* in; *en þa er gorr var, þa er þvilikazt sem fíaðrhamr veri fleginn af grip eða, af gambr eða af þeim fugl er struz heitir*, 77; in *veg* in: *með miclom veg*, 'with great honor', in the word *ringr* in the compound *Naglríngdr*, e. g.: *hann brigði sino Naglríngdr*, 99; *nu brigðr Heimir sverði sino Naglríngdr*, 108; *síðan gyrðir hann sec með sino sverði Naglríngdr*, 91. The names *Velent*, *Aventroð* and *Osangtríx* do not occur with dative *-i*, e. g.: *nu þykkir Velent allilla latit gullet oc tol sín oc fengit reiði konongs*, 65; *en Vildiver leypr síðan at Aventroð rísa*, 144; *hann vill nu heria Vílcialand a hendr Osangtríx Kononge*, 135.

The ending is lacking also with other names, e. g.: *Vidga bra hino sverði Mimung*, 86; *nu fara þeir apter oc segia Gramaleif sva buit*, 86; *oc stal hann þvi fra feðr sinom oc gaf hann síðan kononge Rozeleif*, 98; *þat er ekki mitt rað at þu farir eptir þeim sama Ððríc*, 80; *Vidga mælr at hann scal færa Ððríc oc bið hann fyrri drecka til mín*, 91; *Hildibrandr færir Ððríc scalena*, 91; *feck einn kappu af Ððríc af Bern*, 141; *nu brigðr Fasold sino sverði oc ríðr at Ððríc*, 103. These names, and others, elsewhere regularly have the inflected dative in *-i*.



The names that appear are: *Niðungr*, *Mimungr*, *Skemmingr*, *Þiðricr*, *Hildibrandr*, *Þetmarr*, *Biturulfr*, *Isungr*; examples may be found in 63, 68, 70 (twice), 83, 91 (twice), 95, 108, 111, 125 and 144.

Nominative and Accusative Plural. The following words occur regularly with the plural endings, *-ar*, *-a*; *a-* *wa-* and *ja-* stems are not distinguished here: *daga*, 70, *böa*, 135, *Trentudala*, 122, *dalana*, 123, *dvergar*, 59, *elda*, 113, *fetlar*, *feðgar*, 80, 81, 116, *fugla*, 73, *alifugla*, 67, *gluggana*, 61, *hauca*, 139, *hunda*, 139, *hausa*, 73, 78, *hialma*, 83, *hestarnir*, 92, *hesta*, 103, 199, *kjefta*, 106, 105, *knifa*, 63, *karlar*, *konongar*, 70, 171, *lycla*, 73, *morna*, 96, *steinar*, 81, *sveinar*, 63, *leica*, 128, *taumana*, 104, *vikingar*, 71, *scoga*, 82, 192, *hofðingia*, 82, 91, *iamningar*, 108. The word *veg*, in the meaning 'manner,' appears as an *a-* stem plural in: *en sa hestr var sva skiotr sem fugl flugandi oc alla vega mikell oc friðr*, 70; and *friðr var hon asionum a alla vega*, 119; but has plural *-ir* elsewhere, e. g.: *no riða þeir siðan leið sina þar til er vegirnir skilið*, 84; *þessir baðir vegir liggja til Bernar*, 84. This plural establishes itself and becomes the regular plural in Iceland and predominates also in Norway. *Dalr* has the plural *-ar*, *-a*, regularly (see above), this being also the case in all older texts, see *Skjaldesprog*, 10-11, *Fritzner*, 235. The plural *-ir* appears, however, early as *Ydalir* in *Grimnismal*, but is to be regarded as specifically Icelandic, though occurring as the name of a valley district (*Gudbrandsdalir*) in Norway. Dative plural of *bu* is *buum*, 78, (*at buum sinom*).  
NEUTERS:

The declension of *-a* stem neuters shows few variations in Old Norse. Genitive singular neuter of *góþr*, 'property', *goz* which becomes the regular nom. sg. usually lacks the dative *-i*, which otherwise is always present. Noreen, § 351, note 2. In names of places such words as *berg*, *trin*, *þorp*, *hus*, *land*, have *-ar* or *-ir* in the plural. Rygh, *Norske Gaardsnavne*.

The possible change here is the loss of dat. *-i*, of which however there are no examples in our text. The following words occur in the dat. sg. with the ending: *bið*, *boð*, *borð*, *bloð*, *bein*,

*berg, dyr, har, hofuð (hofði), gull, hogg (hoggvi), land, iarn, dramb, lof, lif, hus, mal, namn, scot, scrúð, skegg, scout spjot, sverð, tun, stal, kveld, herað, silfr, sund, skap, mat, sinn, vatn, scin, skapt, riskiarr, rossastoð, þing, and vit.*

Names of places and countries also regularly have the inflected form, as: *Girklandi, Jutland, Hunalandi, Niflungalandi, Saxlandi, Siolandi, Amlungalandi, Vilcinalandi, Vinlandi, Tummaporpi*. Only apparent is the absence of the ending in the following cases: *þa sendir hann bref sin oc innsigli til Ðiðrics konongs i Bern, at hann scal koma til hans i Hunaland, ef hann vil hanom lið veita með alla sina hina beztu drengi firir því at hann vill nu heria i Vilcinaland a hendr Osangtrix kononge. Heria i Vilcinaland* is not purely locative (not 'harry in Vilcinaland') for the army has to be transported from another country, Hunaland, into Vilcinaland; hence *i Vilcinaland* is accusative and the idea is that he intends now 'to go on a hurrying expedition into Vilcinaland.' Compare also: *fa vil ec mer lata goð clæði oc tigurlegan bunað oc vil ec riða til iarlsens moðorfaðor mins i Saxland oc fara oc sia siðu annarra manna*. The verbal idea of motion is referred not only to the object of the journey (*til iarlsens*) but also to the locality (into Saxland). As soon as the verbal idea is a purely local one the dative form appears, e. g., a little later in 117: *en ec ræð þer at þu farir eigi lengra en til iarlsins moðorfaðor þins oc ver með hanom þa rið i Saxlandi er þer syniz*.

The following *ia-* stems occur: *riki, merki, alvapni, ivirlæti, frelsi, reiði, laguneyti, vapnascipti, minni, atgorvi, samneyti*, and the one *wa-* stem; *hogg (dat. hoggvi, hogvi)*.

*Hundrap* is like in sing. and plural: *Ærminricr konongr er firir með lx hundrað manna*. Neut. plur. *hoens*, 'chickens' occurs in 113. Gen. sg. *til huss*, 72.

#### Ö-STEMS.

This is predominantly the declension of feminines with a short radical syllable, includes however also a number of feminines with long syllable. The changes evidenced are that many

nouns are in the process of passing over to the *i*- declension, as: *dorg*, 'a fishing table', *gorn*, 'entrail', *kvern*, 'mill', *kvist*, 'twig', *dvol*, 'delay', *grof*, 'grave', *nos*, 'nose', *sok*, 'case, cause'. On the other hand the *ō*-declension does not gain by the acquisition of stems from other declensions. Especially to be observed is the later passing over into the *i*- declension of such words as *for* 'journey', *hlit* 'a sufficiency', *leiþ* 'a journey, way', *reiþ*, 'a riding', and *vok*, 'hole in the ice', which at an earlier time take *-o* in the dative singular (as *kerling*); see Noreen § 366.

Only a few feminines that regularly inflect as *ō*- stems appear in the oblique cases in our text; the list is as follows: *a*, *drottning*, *elding*, *fylking*, *lend*, *herþ*, *launung*, *ferð*, *fioðr*, *sending*, *oln*, *svivirðing*, *leifð*. To these are to be added the following *jō*- stems: *egg* (*eggjar*), *mær* (*meyjar*), *nauðsyn* (*nauðsynjar*), *ar*, *hel* (dat. *helju*), *osyn* (dat. *osyniu*).

The possible changes here are the disappearance of the dat. *o*- in nouns of the type *drottning-drottningar--drottningo--drottning* and the appearance of *-ir* plurals. In both respects our text exhibits a very conservative condition. Of the above nouns the following show the second type in the dative, *ar*, 'arrow', *oc einni aro skildi hann skiota en eigi fleirom*, 75; *a launungo*, 'in secret': *drottning: sialfr konongrenn a við drottningo iiii sunu*, 170, or *nema*, *þau tvau hava þessari oro allri sett sin a milli*, 120. *Sok* varies as in O.N. in general, between the *-ar* and *-ir* plural, but is more often regular; the plural *sakar* occurs sixteen times, *sakir* eleven. The occurrences of pl. *sakar* are in: 61, 65, 66, 80, 95 (twice), 96, 99, 99, 99, 104, 107, 140, 150, 171, 194, and 195; *Sakir* (*Saker*) appears in 99, 71 (twice), 74, 80, 72, 95, 103, 104, 150, and 195.

#### I- STEMS.

The most striking tendency in the *i*- stems in O.N. is the extent to which they have yielded to other declensions in certain parts of the paradigm. The masculines exhibit a growing tendency toward *a*- stem plurals (see Noreen's examples, § 377, 2) and the feminines have given up, barring rare survivals, their orig-

inal singular forms and taken over those of the *ō*- stems. Further, the masculines of the type of *staðr-staðar-stað-stað*, frequently employ the *-s* ending in the gen. sg., and in some instances have the dative ending *-i*, (see Noreen, § 378). Especially do we find the latter features exemplified in the language of the scalds, as e. g.: in the following cases: *marr-mars-mar-mar*; *skriðr-skriðs-skrið*-; *sal-salar, sals-sal*; *burr-burar, burs-bur*; *bolr-bols*; *valr-vals-val*; *þrekr-þreks*; *hals-hals*; *frið-friði*; *munr-munar-mun, muni*; *staðr-staðar-staði* (as place name); *-danr-danar, dans-dani*<sup>1</sup>; *glaðr-glaðs-glað*; *gram-gram, grami*. Words with long radical syllable ordinarily have *-i* in dat. sg.; see *Skjaldesprog*, 47-48.

Further evidence of the disappearance of the fem. sg. paradigm appears in the fact that nouns of the type *røst* may all go like the monosyllabic consonantal stem *røng*. The weakness of the *i*- stems sg. as a feminine category, due to the disappearance by analogy of the characteristic *i*-umlaut, tended more and more to its total disappearance, while in East Scandinavian analogy did not operate to the same extent. The *-i* stem plurals, however, gain gradually as a feminine declension, partly under the influence of unconscious differentiation in the plural between masculines and feminines. In this struggle the *-ar* plural as a masculine category easily gains ascendancy, because of the preponderance of masculines with this plural ending.

#### MASCULINES:

The following masculine nouns belonging here appear in our text with *-ir, -i* plurals, the forms appearing are here given: *brestitr*, 100, *gripi*, 65, *ovini*, 67, *vinir*, 79, 95, *virctavini*, 70, *luti*, 70, 76, *lutir*, 70, *vegir*, 84, *veginir*, 84, 123, *leggir*, 195, *armleggi*, 100, *smiðbelgi*, 68, *drengir*, 105, 106, 113, 132; in all sixteen occurrences.

Dative singular. Only *fundr* and *kostr* have the ending *-i*: *i ocrom fyndi hefi ec*, etc., 76; *i varom fyndi*, etc., 86; *oc engom kosti vil ec lata þat*, 85; but these are both original *u*- stems.

<sup>1</sup>Suffix in names, as *Halfdan*.



Endingless datives occur with *lut*, 69, 72, *dreng*, 82, *-scap*, 83, 122 and elsewhere, 97, *stað*, 96, 107, *kaupstað*, 141, etc. *Staðr* occurs once with dative *i*: *ef sva er sem þu segir fra þessom hinom fræcna konongi oc hans sunum oc þeim rausta merkis-menner þu lovaðir sva mioc þa scaltu nu i staði fara ut af þesso borði oc vapna þec*, etc., 191.

*Veg*, an original *a*- stem, exhibits only endingless datives, as: *oc fær Niðongr konongr sigr oc reinsar landit oc friðar oc ferr heim med miclom veg*, 71. *Nu er hann com suðr i Saxland þa mætir hann manni a veg sinum*, 122. In *af þeim vegenum*, 122, we would seem to have the dat. *vegi*.

Genitive singular. The ending is regularly *-ar*; the following occur: *eins staðar*, 60; *til beltistaðar*, 68; *sva at i belti nam staðar*, 86; *til sins lutar*, 86; *til Bernar*, 122. *Drengr* has gen sg. *drengs* in 98: *en þat er drengs verc*. On gen. sg. *vega-rens*, see above. *Vinr* occurs ordinarily without *r* in the nom sg., e. g.: *nu spyrr, Vidga at Isungr vin hans var cominn*, 144, *oc spyrr hvar er hans hinn goði vin*.

#### FEMININES:

The following *i*- stem nom, acc. plurals occur: *bygðir*, *obyðir*, 96, 122, 192, *sakargiptir*, 113, *iðrottir*, 111, *borgir*, 135, *eignir*, *herbuðir*, 148, *hollir*, *sættir leiðir*, 122, *ríðir*, 75, *ferðir*, 136, *crasir*, 125, *brautir*, 109, *lifðir*, 100, *stundir*, *vistir*. These always have *i*- stem plurals.

The possible irregularities here are the absence of dat. *-o* in stems of the type of *røst*, as in *með sinni jarnstong*, 136. The ending appears in stems of this class as follows: *með vatni oc viði, grioti oc moldo oc mikilli iorðo*, 60; *Nv tecr Velent tol sin oc fe oc hirdir leyniliga i iarðo niþri alt saman*, 62; *oc nocorri stundo siðar*, 66; *a sva scamri stundo*, 70, (twice); *konongr af Svipíodo*, 80; *firir langri stundo*, 97; *hann gerði þat neðarla i iorþo*, 98; *með iarðo sialfri*, 105; *Maðr einn heitir Biturulfr i Danmarku a Scane*, 111; *faðir min heitir Soti af vetlannz heraði i Danmarku*, 124; *ríðu nv i konongs garð miðian oc mælti hari raddu; ef ec scal*, etc., 192; *hann er nu allra manna fragaztr i veraldo*, 83. Other *i*- stem feminines



that occur are: *ætt*, *lund*, *ferð*, *tong*, *mork*, *sion*, *sol*, *von*, *þioð*, *þokk*, *tíþ*, *sott*.

Of possible doublets with and without umlaut, the following are the forms of our text: *dun* (not *dynn*), *bæn* (not *bon*), *fundr* (not *fyndr*), *burþr* (not *byrðr*), *gluggr* (not *glyggr*), *lutr* (not *lytr*), *ætt* (not *øtt*), *sætt* (not *søtt*), *lund*, (not *lynd*), *iprottir* (not *ipröttir*), *niosn* (not *nysn*), *þurft* (not *þyrft*). *Sion* and *syn*, however, both occur, e. g.: *at sion oc at sogn*, 137; *asionum*, 119; *augsion*, 108; but *augsyn*, 71, *nauðsyn*, 98, 117, and 135.

#### U- STEMS.

There is in O.N. a slight tendency evidenced in the *u*- stem masculines to take the plural *-ar*, *-a* (see Noreen who cites: *bolkr*, *limr*, *reitr*, *vattr*, *ørr*), as also the gen. sg. *-s*; somewhat more frequent is the endingless dative; also in the accus. pl. there is an occasional occurrence of the ending *i-* for *-o*. Our text is again conservative, thus the dat. sg. in the following words regularly has the ending: *bjorn* (*birni*), *fríðr*, *voðtr* (*vexti*), *vollr* (*velli*), *skioldr* (*scildi*), *fundr* (*fyndi*), *viðr* (*viði*), *kostr*, *sunr* (*syni*); *limr* and *litr* regularly have the flexionless dative. The occurrences here are: *hann smíðar...gersimar...af hveriom lut er smíða ma*, 69, also 72; *Víðga hevir merki rautt oc merct a hamar oc tong með hvítom lit*, 92. Nouns of the type *fagnoðr* always have the gen. sg. ending *-ar*, and dat. *-i*; the words occurring are: *bunaðr*, *costnaðr*, *hernaðr*, *fagnaðr*, *klaðnaðr*, *skilnaðr*, *trunaðr*, *markaðr*.

For the accus. plur. the material is limited; *síðr* 'custom', and *skioldr*, regularly have the ending *-o*. The occurrences are: *þa verðr hann at vita oc baðir við saman huersu stinna skioldo við eigim*, 83; *at ræðaz vart hit micla afl oc aræði oc var hin hvassu svere oc hina harðo hialma oc hina stinnu skialdu*, 189; *Gramr er oc allra sverða bazt, vel kann þat at skeina hialma oc scioldo*, 190; *fara at sia síðu annarra mann*, 117; *oc set aldrigi annarra manna síðu*, 124; *hann veit hvers eirra síðu*, 133.

*Sunr* (*sun*), usually has *-o* in the accus. plur. e. g.; *Níðungr konongr a fiogor born þria sono oc eina dottor*, 73; *konongrenn*

*a við drottingu íii sunu*, 170; *hann a xi suno*, 190; *Norðian atti íiii sunu eptir sec*, 194; *but þu toct smor oc skart i sundr i baðom fotom minom, þar firir drap ec syni þina bada tva*, 78. The nom. sg. always has the vowel *u*, never *o* or *ö*; the form is usually *sun* in nom. and acc. alike. The occurrences are as follows: 59 (twice), 75, 76, 78, 79, 80 (three), 81, 83, 113 (five), 115 (twice), 116, 117, 118 (twice), 120, 124, 129, 130, 137, 141, 170 (two), 193. The form with *r* (*sunr*), occurs nine times, as follows: *eigi, scal huer þræls sunr bioða mer a holm*, 93; *sunr hans mindi vera*, 95; *her riðr sa maðr er Heimir heitir sunr Studars*, 97; further *sunr Ðetmars*, twice in the same chapter; other instances occur in 122 and 194 (twice) and 128 (*systorsunr*, but *i því bili kom farandi broðursun Osangtrix konongs*, 137). In chapter 194 nom. sg. *sun* and *sunr* occur twice each (*Vidga var sun Velenz,—Velent er sun Vaða risa; Vaði risi var sunr Vilcinus konongs*, and at close of the chapter: *hinn fiorði sunr Nordians*). It is to be observed that in chapters 93 to 97 inclusive only the form *sunr* occurs; up to chapter 92 *sun* alone occurs and this again almost exclusively after 97 barring the four cases noted above. The gen. sg. of *sun* is always *sunar*; examples in 83, 112, 122, and 125.

Gen. sg. of *fe* (*fæ*) is always *fear*; the *u*-stem dat. sg. of *hond* appears regularly in *hendi*.

#### AN-STEMS.

MASCULINES. Only the following call for mention: *Herra*, and the names *Atila*, *Ecce*, *Falka*, *Sifka* and *Vidga*, always appear with the ending *-a* in nom. sg. as well as in other cases in the singular. Otherwise the inflexion is normal according to the type *bani-bana-bana-bana*, pl. *banar-bana-banum-bana*. The considerable list of words occurring is as follows: *arbacki, at-beini, bani, beini, bogi, dreki, barki, dauði, drotseti, felagi, fostri, flotti, frami, herra, juncherra, hertogi, hestbaki, kappi, greivi, kastali, nafli, timi, nevi, nagli, glovi, ofstopi, raðgiavi, risi, skaði, slangi, þofi, andscoti vandi atthagi, meðalkafli, leikari,*

*meistari, riðari stelari, svimi* (only in *i svima*), *þorpari, steicari*, and the proper names: *Vadi, Aki, Hogni, Hornbogi, Soti* (in *Sotasun*), *Valtari*. The following *ian-* stems occur: *morðingi, fæðingi, hofðingi, iamningi, vili*, and pl. *varingjar*.

NEUTERS. The occurrence are *auga, eyra* and *hjarta*. The old. gen. pl. *-na* appears in *auga: a milli hans augna var vel svo (-tva) alnar*, 195; acc. pl. is *augo: vatn flygr ut un bæði hennar augo*, 119.

#### ÖN- STEMS.

These are all feminines. No instance of the transference of *o*, *u*, into the nom. sg. or of *a* into the oblique cases is found in our text, nor is there any case of gen. sg. in *-ur* such as occur in *Norsk Homiliebok* and the *Codex Tunbergensis*. I offer here the whole list of words: *ön-* stems *asca, baðstofa, blaðra, dufa, deila, dyfliza, kertistika, frialsa, harpa, fiðla, fiara, gata, ganga, gæzla, halfa, hæversca, kempa (kenpa), kona, illzca, naðra, neisa, siða, saga, scriða, munasta, mylna, nattura, orrosta, stemna, þjonasta, strandvarpa, varzla, tunga, veizla, viðræða, vica, vinatta, sysla, quama*, and *blaspiþor, brynþosor, veiðarþrumur* and *sinor*, which are found only in the plural. The following *jön-* stems occur: *brynia, gigia, hamingia, herneskiá, osynia, husfreyia, queðia, rekiá, smiðia*. The words, *tru, fru, iungfru*, and *husfru* are always without ending; dat. pl. of *fru* is *frum*, 100; cp. dat. pl. *buum*, see above, p. 33. *Kona* always has the vowel *o* and *vica* regularly *i*, never *u* (*uka*).

The following *in-* stems appear: *frænzemi, gersimi, reiðe*, and *æfi* time; plural of *gersimi* is *gersimar*.

#### CONSONANT STEMS.

The forms of *fótr, maðr, nagl* and other masculine consonantal stems are the usual ones. *Mánaðr* is ordinarily *manaðr* also in the plural: *oc lætr sva ganga alla tolf manaðr*, 64; *oc liðr sva fíora manaðr*, 66; *oc alla þessa x manaðr*, 112; *um þa borg lagu þeir ii manaðr*, 148. The *a-* stem forms are not evidenced

in our text. Of the feminines occurring only the following call for comment: *flo* appears in pl. *flær*, 120, *klo*, pl. *klær*, 105, *gos*, pl. *ges*, 113, *hond*, dat. sg. always *hendi* as stated above p. 39, nom. sg. *hand* is not found, *tonn* is only found in gen. pl. *tanna*, *nott*, pl. *Nættr*, dat. pl. *nattom*, *mork*, is regularly *merkr*, in nom. acc, pl.

## R- STEMS.

According to Noreen's statement of general Old Norwegian conditions *faðer* may be *fæpr* or *faður*, in the dat. sg. *móper* is normally *móðor*; *bróðer* is *bróðor* or *bráðr* in dative singular; *dotter* may be *dötr* or *döttr* in nom. pl. Rare forms are: nom. sg. *faðr*, gen. *faðurs*, *bróðurs*, dat. pl. *bráðrom*, nom. sg. *móðr*, gen. *móðors*.

In our text the condition differs somewhat. The inflexion of *faðir* (*faðer*) is as follows: sg. *faðir-faðor-feðr-faðor*, nom. pl. *feðr*; other cases offer no occurrences. The dat. sg. is always *feðr*. *Bróðir* and *móðir* show the same inflexion: *broðir-broðor-bráðr-broðor*; no plurals are found. Of *moðir* the forms are: *moðir-moðor-maðr-moðor*. The following is a complete list of occurrences of the dat. sg. of these words. *Velent gengr nu ut, scynir at feðr sinom*, 61; *su scriða man firir farið hafa hans*, 61; *oc segir nu feðr sinom*, 112; *nu ser hann at einn maðr fylgir feðr hennar*, 119; *oc tegr hon nu i hond feðr sinom*, 121; *meiri forvitni er mer a Þiðriki af Bern oc a hans felagum en mer er a moðorfeðr minum afgamlum*, 123; *en hann for þannig eptir feðr sinum*, 13; *oc þetta þorir hon eigi at segia sinom feðr eða maðr*, 74; *hon vill eigi syna þenna ring sinom feðr ne maðrfyrr en bættr er*, 74; *siðan riðr með feðr sinom oc maðr til veizlunnar*, 114; *oc svabyðr hann Hogna bráðr hans oc Guthormi*, 170. The dative singular of *dottir* is *dottor*, pl. *dötr*. In *en nu vil ec segia þer broðir mina atlan*, 77, *broðir* is the nom, of direct address, as also in: *ec vil fara til veizlunnar með yðr faðir*, 113.

## ND- STEMS.

The words occurring are *bondi*, *fiandi*, *frændi*. The material is limited; there are no occurrences in the plural to show whether the tendency to pass over to the *-an* declension is present as it was in 13th century Icelandic (*Skjaldesprog*, 68), or to show whether the *i*-umlaut appears in the dative plural or is absent in the nominative plural.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

*Urbana, Ill., January 22, 1910.*



## IBSEN'S PEER GYNT AND PAA VIDDERNE.

In no other poem has Henrik Ibsen expressed the essence of his doctrine of life more concisely and more beautifully than in the remarkable production entitled, "*Paa Vidderne*."<sup>1</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> On the Mountain Plains.

is much in the philosophy of this poem which can be traced in its general significance throughout all of Ibsen's dramas. The one human quality for which Ibsen always had a profound respect was character. This in its ultimate analysis is the key-note which he strikes in his long series of arraignments against weak and cowardly humanity. It is character which Ibsen has glorified also in this wonderful poem, "*Paa Vidderne*." Ibsen has chosen some outward phenomenon as the symbol of an inner truth. The mountain plains, with their eternal snow and ice far up above the narrow valley, become for Ibsen the symbol of all that is great and heroic. On the mountain plains there is that grand individual liberty which Ibsen so highly prized. There it was that Brand went to fulfil the duties of his heroic mission. It is cold and bleak upon the heights but the air is pure and life-giving. The lower life in the valley is for the weaker the average man with his common place ideals, for whom Ibsen felt such a profound contempt. As soon as the heroic nature of the individual asserts itself, the lowland life becomes too narrow and stifling for him and he is impelled to seek the higher element of nature on the mountain plains.

Life on the high mountains, therefore, is for Ibsen a symbol of the higher life of man in which the individual realizes the sublime ideal of existence, namely, the fullest and highest development of self. It was this theme which occupied the poet's attention in his two greatest dramatic poems, "*Brand*" and "*Peer Gynt*." In these two works the central theme is the attainment of self: "*at være sig selv*." To be one's self is to kill self; "*at være sig selv, er, sig selv at døde*," (*Peer Gynt*, Act V).

Self denial is the mark of the hero. What more fitting symbol of nature could Ibsen have chosen for this heroic conception of life than the rugged mountain plains of Norway? Of Norwegian natural scenery it is almost exclusively the mountains that Ibsen has depicted in his works. His first impressions of mountain scenery he seems to have had from the year 1859. It was in this year that he wrote both "*Højjeldsliv*" and "*Paa Vidderne*." In the same year he began work upon "*Kjærlighedens Komædie*," the hero of which, the poet Falk, seeks refuge in the mountains from the narrow life of the Philistine world. This play was finished the same summer that Ibsen started out on his journey through the mountains of Western Norway in 1862. There is much in both "*Brand*" and "*Peer Gynt*" which reflects the impressions of this journey. One very important reflection is the description of mountain scenery and life, especially in *Brand*.

In "*Peer Gynt*" the whole scene in *Gudbrandsdal*, spread out before us in the first three acts, bears very strong impressions of the general setting depicted in the greatest of all Ibsen's poems upon mountain life: "*Paa Vidderne*." The resemblance is so striking that one cannot help but believe that the picture of mountain life portrayed in "*Paa Vidderne*" must have been in the poet's mind when he wrote "*Peer Gynt*," thereby coloring the setting in which the opening scenes of this poem are laid.

In "*Paa Vidderne*," the hero in exile upon the mountains, his return to the valley to visit his mother, the description of the beautiful, naive Norwegian girl, the little red hut, the cat, the aged mother, her death, and the scene in which the hero bears her aloft to heaven, all these have their counterparts reflected in the opening scenes of "*Peer Gynt*."

The poem "*Peer Gynt*" opens with the celebrated ride of Gudbrand Glesne along the Gendin-Edge, which Peer has attributed to himself. Åse is upbraiding Peer for going out to hunt the deer during the busy season when she needs him at home, (*Peer Gynt*. Act I. Sc. I). The hero of "*Paa Vidderne*," likewise, starts out upon a chase for the mountain-deer. He is going to bring back the skin for his mother and his betrothed.

In the third Act of "Peer Gynt," Solveig joins Peer in the mountains. It is not only due to her fidelity and love that she feels compelled to come to him. It is the stifling atmosphere of the valley below which she cannot endure. It is this which has forced her to seek the glorious freedom of the mountains above. When Åse, upon her death-bed, refers to Solveig's love for Peer, she says that "there is somewhere here a maid who longs for the heights:"

Peer Gynt. Act III, Sc. 4.

Åse.

(smilende.)

De siger, her findes etsteds

en jente, som stunder mod højden.

It is striking that Åse should have employed the same general metaphor which Solveig herself used in the previous passage in question (when Solveig joins Peer in the mountains). This phrase "stunder mod højden" (longs for the heights) expresses the same longing which the hero of "Paa Vidderne" feels when he struggles to rise above the sorrows of his life. In fact the general symbol of the heights as the expression of a higher and better life runs throughout the whole poem as a vital essence. The relief from the narrow life and oppressive atmosphere in *Gudbrandsdal* which Solveig feels when she reaches the mountains may well be a reflection of this vital essence of the poem, "Paa Vidderne." Both Solveig and the hero of "Paa Vidderne" feel that the mountains above will bring them relief from the sorrows of the world below. They both are at home on the heights. This conception is repeatedly expressed by the hero of "Paa Vidderne." He says: "no deed has any worth in the valley below, here on the heights my thoughts grow strong, only here can I live;" and again, "winter life on the wild mountain plains steels my weakened thoughts, here no sentimental song of birds beats through the blood." The hero feels compassion for his aged mother and his betrothed who, as he says, "are groping in the valley below." He wishes them to share with him the better life upon the heights. Finally, it is on the heights that the hero

wins his battle of life. He has won the victory over self and thus rises supreme over his grief. The final moment has come when he realizes that the significance of human life is to live according to the best that God has given him. He has outlived his life in the lowlands but there is a better life on the mountains above where he is near to himself and to his God. But the others who are ignorant of such an exalted mission in life still grope blindly in the darkness below.

Peer Gynt, though an outlaw, returns to visit his mother. He risks his life to be able to stand once more by her bedside, (Peer Gynt. Act III, Sc. 4). So too with the hero of "Paa Vidderne," the loneliness on the mountain plains, far from the sympathetic touch of human love is too great for him to bear. The memories of home and mother finally break his iron will and he returns to pay her a last visit, just as Peer Gynt does. Human sympathy gains a victory over his resolve to follow the dictates of a life of renunciation. He is in fact a moral outlaw, for it is morally impossible for him to live with his mother in the valley below as it is legally impossible for Peer Gynt to do so.

The beautiful description of Solveig in "Peer Gynt" is to a large degree a reflection of the fair Norwegian maid with whom the hero of "Paa Vidderne" is in love. When Peer Gynt first meets Solveig he describes those qualities in her which have won his heart. She is modest and dutiful, she looks down upon her shoes and white apron, she clings to her mother's side, she carries a hymn book in her kerchief, (Peer Gynt, Act I, Sc. 3). When the hero of "Paa Vidderne" first meets his beloved, she shows the same girlish modesty which Solveig does. She holds her eyes away from him, she looks down upon her shoes and trembles. When on the mountain plains the hero catches sight of his aged mother and his sweetheart in the valley below, they are on their way to church. The maid is bearing her bible in her kerchief just as Solveig does as she trudges along clinging to her mother's side.

The description of Åse's hut in "Peer Gynt" is very similar to that of the hero's home in "Paa Vidderne." Peer lives alone



with his aged mother in a small hut. In "Paa Vidderne" the hero refers to the little red hut where he spent the happy days of his youth alone with his mother. In Peer Gynt's home the old cat which both he and his mother seem to love as one of the family is an important member of the household. So too, in "Paa Vidderne" the cat belongs to the memories of the home. When the huntsman whom the hero has met upon the mountains cynically remarks, as the flames devour the little cottage in the distance:

"det brønder jo bare, *det gamle hus,*  
med juleøllet og *katten*"

we see the picture of a home very much like that of Peer Gynt.

Peer Gynt has been brought up on fairy tales. His whole life is a fairy tale. He can scarcely distinguish fancy from reality. His mother attributes his wild pranks to the many tales which she has told him when a child. So too in "Paa Vidderne," the hero tells how his mother sat by his bedside when a child, spun and sang until sleep bore him away into the land of dreams. But he cannot, like Peer Gynt, live upon dreams. Action must determine the course of his life.

When Åse passes away Peer stands by her bedside and bears her soul aloft in a fanciful ride to heaven. Throughout the whole scene there is that humorous and farcical atmosphere which is peculiar to the two characters and to the whole poem. Yet there is a strain of genuine affection and of true love which gives the passage an exalted character and makes it one of Ibsen's greatest literary achievements. In "Paa Vidderne" the hero likewise expresses a deep love for his mother and at her death he has her tenderly borne aloft to heaven. When Peer Gynt arrives at the gates of heaven the sound of dance and song can be heard from without. So too in "Paa Vidderne" it is the joy of a Christmas festival in heaven to which the hero bears his mother. Unlike "Peer Gynt" the poem "Paa Vidderne" is entirely serious in tone and Ibsen has given a fitting expression to the love of this deeper and more serious character. In a few dignified words he praises his mother's life of self sacrifice. The



soul's journey to heaven is also a very much more condensed and dignified picture than that of Peer Gynt's boyish attempts to bear his mother over the sorrows of this world into a better life.

The first three acts of "Peer Gynt" constitute a little comic tragedy in itself and may well be styled the First Part. When we consider the resemblance of this First Part of "Peer Gynt" to the poem "Paa Vidderne" both in its general setting and in these many individual details we cannot but believe that Ibsen must have had this poem in mind when he wrote "Peer Gynt." Not only the outward but also the inner setting of both poems conform to a large extent. "To follow the voice that bids me wander upon the heights:"

Paa Vidderne.

Nu er jeg stålsat, jeg følger det bud,

der byder i højden, at vandre.

is the same command which Peer Gynt has persistently refused to follow, blind to the real significance of his own motto, "at være sig selv." It is the same command which Brand, written only two years before "Peer Gynt," follows out to its logical conclusion. So too in "The Comedy of Love" (1862), and in "The Pretenders" (1864), both written between the time of composition of "Paa Vidderne" and "Peer Gynt" the same philosophical concept appears, only in a different form. In "The Comedy of Love" the idea of self-realization is conceived as a divine mission (kald) and in "The Pretenders" the tragedy turns upon the failure of Jarl Skule to interpret this divine mission written within himself. "Paa Vidderne" is Ibsen's first poetic expression of this philosophical concept (self-realization) and it is not strange that he should have been strongly impressed with the setting of this poem when he developed the theme again under different conditions in "Peer Gynt." In a critical analysis of the composition of "Peer Gynt" the influence of the poem "Paa Vidderne" cannot be left out of consideration.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

*Kansas University, December 6, 1909.*

## A STUDY OF THE KENNINGS IN ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.<sup>1</sup>

"I could tell you much," says Carlyle in a letter to Murray, "about the new heaven and new earth which a slight study of German literature has revealed to me." And one of his biographers, in commenting on this passage, remarks, "It is not, indeed, the case that direct translation from the German formed any important part of Carlyle's literary work. The benefit lay in the enlargement of his mental horizon by the discovery of a world of literature, and the suggestion how the literary forms of his own country, too narrow for his genius, might be rendered pliable by the infusion of this freer spirit."<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat similar comment might be made, I think, with regard to the influence of Christian Latin literature on the Anglo-Saxon poets. In their case, as in the case of Carlyle, direct translation did not form any important part of the literary product, but the benefit, such as it was, came from the exploration of that new world of literature which set forth in Latin the doctrines and hymns of the church, and told in quasi-epic style Bible stories and the lives of the saints,—that is, the Latin church literature and the Christian Latin poems of Juvencus, Sedulius, Avitus, Arator, Lactantius, and others. From the coming of St. Augustine to the arrival of William the Conqueror, the one great influence exerted upon the vernacular literature from without came from the Latin,—not the Latin of the classic authors but the Latin of such inferior writers as those just mentioned. And, though this influence, so far as I know, has not yet been thoroughly studied in all its manifestations, it was in many ways as pervasive and definite as was the French influence exerted in the following

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philology*, vol. VIII, pp. 357-422.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Thomas Carlyle*. Richard Garnett, LL.D., London, 1895, p. 27 f.

centuries by the *chansons de geste*, the *fabliaux*, the *lais*, and the allegorical romances, or the influence of Boccaccio on Chaucer, or the influence of the Italian and French sonneteers on the Elizabethan poets, or—to take a modern instance—the influence of Aristophanes in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*.\*

In a former article, I tried to indicate in part the nature and extent of this Latin influence on Anglo-Saxon poetry by tracing to Christian Latin sources a large number of terms or kennings used as designations of the Deity. It became evident, I think, that the great majority of these Anglo-Saxon phrases occur as a result of direct translation or close imitation of the many Latin terms for God, which abound in the Vulgate Bible, the church hymns, and the other Christian Latin literature; and also that this Latin literature served as a model for the practice of multiplying these terms in a loosely appositional fashion.

I wish now to examine the Anglo-Saxon terms for a considerable number of additional representative conceptions—some religious in character, others non-religious—with the purpose of discovering, if possible, their direct or indirect sources. I shall consider, then, (A) the kennings for Heaven, Hell, Angel(s), Devil(s), the Cross, and the Virgin; (B) kennings for Men, the Body, the Breast, to Live, to Die, and to Speak; and (C) kennings for the Sea, the Earth, the Sun and the Stars. In group A, the Latin influence will again be found strong and well defined; in B, less marked yet evident; and in C, more vague but still discernible.

It is to be noted that the terms in this group A, together with those used as designations of God heretofore considered,—that is, terms for religious conceptions—comprise about four-

\* Browning's poem is full of the translations of words and phrases taken from the plays of Aristophanes: for example "sham-prophecy-retailer" (*χρησμολόγος*), "scout o' the customs" (*ἐκαστολόγος*). Cf. "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*." Č. N. Jackson. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 20, p. 15, ff.

Browning's procedure in borrowing is very similar to that employed by the Anglo-Saxon poets in their use of Christian Latin literature.

fifths of the kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry. It follows, then, that the great majority of Anglo-Saxon kennings are of Latin origin.

In the following lists, the symbol \* indicates that the exact or nearly exact equivalent of the term occurs in the other language, and the symbol °, that a term of similar import is found there.

In the Latin lists, there are many references to the *Analecta Hymnica*,<sup>4</sup> vols. 50 and 51,—thus, 50/65 and 51/96. In these lists also, S.H. refers to the Surtees Hymns; B.H., to the Ascension hymn ascribed to Bede (Migne, *Patrol.* xciv, 624 ff.); Q.B., to the Alphabetical hymn quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*. For a detailed explanation of all the references, cf. *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, vol. VIII, p. 369 ff.

#### GROUP A:

Terms for

Heaven

Hell

Devil(s)

Angel(s)

Cross

The Virgin

(I, a.) *Heaven*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *eard*, *epel*, *ham*, *byrig*, *wynlond*, et al. pp. 53 f.

\*Caelum, passim in O.T. generally singular; passim in N.T. generally plur. \*regnum caelorum, Matt. 3/2; 4/17; 5/10 etc. passim in gospels. \*habitationem in caelis, 2 Mac. 3/39. caeli caelorum Eccli. 16/18. °aedificationem ex deo habemus, 2 Cor. 5/1. °domum non manufactam, aeternam in coelis, 2 Cor. 5/1. \*aeterna tabernacula, Lu. 16/9. \*laetitia

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 50: *Lateinische Hymnen-dichter des Mittelalters*. Leipzig, 1907. Vol. 51: *Die Hymnen des 5-11 Jahrhunderts und die Irisch-Keltische Hymnodie aus den ältesten Quellen*. Leipzig, 1908.



sempiterna, Isa. 35/10; 51/11; 61/7. \*In loco habitaculi in caelo, III Reg. 8/30. \*in loco habitationis tuae, III Reg. 8/39. \*in caelo in firmamento habitaculi tui, III Reg. 8/43. \*in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt, Joan. 14/2. \*civitas, Apoc. 21 passim. °sancta civitas, Apoc. 21/2; Apoc. 11/2; 22/19. \*civitas dei, Ps. 45/4; 47/2; 86/3 et al. \*civitas domini, Ps. 47/9; 100/8 et al. °aeterna gloria, 1 Peter. 5/10, \*regnum dei, Lu. 11/20 et al. °gaudium in caelo, Lu. 15/7; °gaudium coram angelis dei, Lu. 15/10. °veniunt in Zion laudantes,—gaudium et laetitiam tenebunt, Isa. 51/11. \*vita aeterna, passim.

\*Polus, 50/65, 111, 113; S.H. 21. \*poli, 50/127; 51/96. \*regna polorum, S.H. 8. \*poli regna, 50/110. °polorum sedes, S.H. 4. \*poli culmina, B.H. 6; S.H. 87. poli januae, B.H. 80. \*caelum, 50/113; 51/62. \*caeli regnum, 50/199. \*altitudo caeli, 50/25. °aula caeli, S.H. 8. °atria caeli, 50/211. °arx alta caeli, 51/304. axis caelorum, 50/217. \*regnum tuum, 51/69. futurum regnum, 51/3. \*regnum paternum, S.H. 42. \*regnum gloriae, B.H. 104. °paterna gloria, 51/72. °sedes perpetes, B.H. 35. \*caelestes sedes, 50/211. °caeli micantis culmina, B.H. 110. \*aether, B.H. 103; S.H. 56. °portae perennes aetheris, B.H. 90. °mansiones plurimae, B.H. 43. aula celsitudinis, S.H. 41. super sidera, 50/144. super aethera, 50/134.

°Vita beata 50/114; S.H. 8. °futurum gaudium, 51/108. °gaudium angelorum, 51/295. °celeste gaudium, 51/108. \*gaudia larga, 50/214. \*sempiternum gaudium, 51/298. \*lux perennis, 50/259. \*caeleste decus, 50/257. \*gloria perpes, 51/117. laus atque decus, 51/117. vita nova laetantium, B.H. 32. \*gloria, B.H. 113 et al. \*sedes superna, Avit. de Trans. 33. \*aether, Avit. passim. \*coelestia regna, de Die 127. gaudia sanctorum, de Die 11.

\*Aeterna patria, Lib. Sac. \*regnum caelorum, Aug.—Conf. 31. Lib. Sac. °caelestis lucis splendor, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr. aethereae sedes radiantis Olympi, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr. °aeternorum dulcedo gaudiorum, Lib. Sac. satietas aeternorum



praemiorum, Lib. Sac. \*gaudia sine fine, Lib. Sac. \*patria claritatis aeternae, Lib. Sac. \*gaudia sempiterna, Lib. Sac. dona coelestia, Lib. Sac. superna dona, Lib. Sac.

(I, b) *Heaven*:

Cf. Latin *patria, domus, aedificatio, civitas, habitatio, habitaculum, et al.* pp. 51 f.

\*Upeard, Gu. 1051; \*ece eard, Gu. 1155; °engla eard, Rid. 68/8; friþgeard,<sup>5</sup> Cri. 399; wuldres epel, Rid. 67/7; °wuldres byrig, Ph. 588; \*wuldres wynland, Mensch. Gem. 65; °se glada ham, Ph. 593; °sigefolca gesetu, Dkspr. 1/66; \*godes ealdorburg, Rid. 60/15; °seo maere gesceaft, Met. 20/281; neorxnawang,<sup>6</sup> Men. 151; \*wuldorgestealda, And. 1686; °se beorhta boldwela, Jul. 503; \*eadwela, El. 1316; °sio scire scell, Met. 20/174; sceldbyrig,<sup>7</sup> Klag. Eng. 309; °engla epel, Cri. 630; °se mara ham, Cri. 647; °wuldres wlite, Jul. 311; \*ece eadwela, El. 1315; \*heofonrice, El. 197; \*uplic epel, Glaub. 32; \*uplic epelrice, And. 120; \*ham in heahþu, Gu. 768; \*heah heofona gehlidu, Gen. 584; \*ece lif, Cri. 1052; °leoht and lif,<sup>8</sup> Ex. 545; °þaet leohte lif,<sup>8</sup> Ph. 661; \*ece leoht,<sup>8</sup> Geb. 3/30; \*langsumre lif. Fa. 19; °þaet lange lif, Cri. 1464; °godes leoht,<sup>8</sup> Beo. 2469; °dryhtnes leoht,<sup>8</sup> Gu. 555; °heofones leoht,<sup>8</sup> Klag. 311; \*faeder epel, Gu. 773; \*ece rice, Men. 224; \*tires blaed, Cri. 1212; \*widbrad wela, Gen. 643; \*rodor, Gen.

<sup>5</sup> The Christian conception of heaven as a place where those who suffer and are persecuted in this life shall be safe and happy would naturally lead to the taking over of a term like this indicating a place of refuge. Cf. O.N. *friþstaþr*. For the cities of refuge in the Bible, cf. Deut. 19 and Josh. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Whatever the etymology of this word, it was used to designate the Garden of Eden, Paradise, and, more loosely, Heaven.

<sup>7</sup> Bode (p. 70) compares the description of Valhöll in the *Gylfaginning*, where it is pictured as covered with shields. In view of the strongly Christian character of the poem, however, it is more likely that the author had in mind the idea of heaven as a sheltering city.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *lux perennis, caelestis lucis splendor*, the description in Apoc., Ch. 22: "*Et nox non erit, et non egebunt lumine lucernae neque lumine solis quoniam Dominus Deus illuminabit illos, et regnabunt in secula seculorum.*" (22/5.)

21; \*swegel, Gen. 82; \*uprodor, Gen. 99; \*heahrodor, Gen. 1595; °hyhtlic heofontimber, Gen. 146; \*wuldor,<sup>9</sup> Gen. 941; °epelstapolas, Gen. 94.

(II, a) *Hell*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *grund*, *grundas*, *hate dael*, *susla hus*, *wraecstow*, et al. pp. 55 f.

\*Infernus, passim: sometimes=sepulchrum; sometimes hades; oftener place of torment. ex inferno inferiori, Ps. 85/3. usque ad inferni novissima, Deut. 32/22. \*terra tenebrosa, Job. 10/21. °dolores mortis et pericula inferni invenerunt me, Ps. 114/3. \*terra miseriae et tenebrarum, Job, 10/22. \*in tormentis, Lu. 16/23. \*tormenta, Apoc. 14/11; 18/7, 10, 15. \*in hunc locum tormentorum, Lu. 16/28. °fumus tormentorum eorum ascendet, Apoc. 14/11. \*in ignem aeternam, Matt. 25/41. \*tenebrae exteriores, Matt. 8/12. \*ignis gehennae,

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Lat. *gloria*, meaning both glory and heaven.

<sup>10</sup>Bode's statement that, "Charakteristisch ist, dass im alten Hel-denepos und auch in der Genesis der Himmel nie umschrieben wird; erst Cynewulf ist genug durchdrungen von Christlichen Anschauungen um auch hier eine Reihe neuer Benennungen zu erfinden", needs some modification so far as it relates to Genesis. In Gen. A occur *heofonstolas* (8), *swegelbosmas* (9), *wuldorfaest wic* (27), *wuldres epel* (83), *wuldorgestealda* (64), *epelstapolas* (94), *hyhtlic heofontimber* (146).

<sup>11</sup>How far the conception of Valhöll as the happy abode of the elect after death lingered and influenced the formation of phrases like *se glada ham*, *sigefolca gesetu*, *sceldbyrig* and others, is hard to tell. There can be little doubt, however, that the Christian influence was always predominant; and the probability is that the Christian writers avoided the pagan terminology in all cases except where the old term was sanctioned by the existence of an equivalent Christian Latin term. Compare the old baptismal vows, particularly the one in Old Low German containing the following specific promise: "*End ec forsacho all dioboles werecum and wordum, Thunaer ende Uuoden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint.*" (Wilhelm Braune: *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 164. Halle, 1902.)

<sup>12</sup>I add for comparison the kennings for Valhöll: *heilagt ve*, *Svafnis salr*, *Svelmis salr*, *Vipris höll*. (Vigfusson and Powell: Corp. Poet. Boreale, 2/462.)

Matt. 5/22. \*in gehennam ignis, Matt. 18/9; Mac. 9/44, 46.  
\*in gehennam, Matt. 5/29, 30; 10/28; Mac. 9/42; Lu. 12/5.

\*Abyssus, Eccli. 16/17; Apoc. 11/7; 20/13; Lu. 8/31;  
Rom. 10/7. \*ad abyssos, Ps. 106/26. \*puteus abyssi, Apoc.  
9/12. \*Profundum abyssi, Eccli. 24/8; 23/28.

Tartarus, 2 Petr. 2/4. °in stagno ignis, Apoc. 19/20;  
20/9, 14, 15. °in stagno ardenti igne, Apoc. 21/8. \*ad  
inferos, Gen. 42/38; 44/29, 31 passim in O.T. ad portas  
inferi, Isa. 38/10; Matt. 16/18. \*ubi vermis eorum non  
moritur, Mac. 9/43, 45, 47. °procella tenebrarum, Jude 13.  
°caligo tenebrarum, Evan. Nic. 391. \*carcer, Evan. Nic. 397,  
401. °tenebrae et umbra mortis, Evan. 393.

\*Infernus, 50/77; 51/285. °tenebrae inferi, 50/169.  
°umbrae inferi, B.H. 10. °infernum regnum, 50/7. regna leti,  
B.H. 24. averni fauces, B.H. 15. diri leti limina, B.H. 9.  
\*barathrum, 5/275; S.H. 128. \*gehennae claustra, 50/136.  
°infima tartara, 50/214. tartarus, 50/114. \*infernī claustra,  
S.H. 84. \*tartarea tormenta 50/148. °avēni ignes, S.H.  
5. °flammae gehennae, Q.B. 26. °ignes perpetui, Q.B. 26.  
°infernī dolores, S.H. 85.

°Gehennae ignes, Aelf. Hom. 157.

°Aeterna nox, Arat.—Migne 68/85. °poenae malorum, de  
Die 11. \*miserae poenae, de Die. 93. °perpetuae poenae, de  
Die 109. °atrocissimarum gehennarum tormentum, Acta.  
Sanct.—11 Apr.

## (II, b) *Hell*:<sup>13</sup>

Cf. Latin *abyssus, infernum, stagnum, tenebrae, barathrum,*  
*carcer, ignis gehennae*, et al. pp. 54 f.

\*Grundas, Gu. 535; \*grund, Gen. 346; \*se hata grund,  
Chr. H.A.H. 120; \*paet hate dael, Cri. 1542; se calda grund,<sup>14</sup>  
Chr. H.A.H. 271; °se bitera grund, Klag. Eng. 149; \*se  
neowela grund, Klag. Eng. 31; \*se heolstra ham, Jud. 121;

<sup>13</sup> In my opinion, practically all the terms in this group are derived from the Latin.

<sup>14</sup> This phrase, however, is apparently not from the Latin.

°se enga ham, Jul. 323; \*se reonga ham, Jul. 530; \*se þystra ham, Jul. 684; °heolstorhof, El. 764; °morþorhof, El. 1303; °morþorhus, Cri. 1625; morþer, Gen. 342; niobedd, Gen. 343; \*se deopa seap, Cri. 1545; \*þaet swearte susl, Gu. 639; \*susla hus, Cri. 1604; \*susla grund, El. 944; \*suslhof, Hy. 10/31; °cwicsusl.<sup>16</sup> Cri. 561; \*grornhof, Jul. 324; \*wraecstow, Gen. 90; \*wearhtreafu, El. 927; \*manhus, Ex. 535; \*witehus, Cri. 1536; \*witescraef, Versuch, Chr. 27; \*hearmloca, Gen. 91; windsele, Klag. Eng. 320; °wyrmsele, Jud. 119; \*deapsele, Cri. 1535; °feonda byrig,<sup>15</sup> Jul. 545; \*se neowla scraef, Jul. 684; \*dim ham, Klag. 111; \*deop dalu, Gen. 305; \*hellegrund, Cri. 265; \*fyrbaep, Cri. 831; \*hat hellebealo, Cri. 1427; \*helgeþwing, Gen. 696; \*gryrebrog, Cri. 849; \*fyrloca, Klag. Eng. 58; \*witebrog, El. 932.

(III, a) *Devils*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *feond*, *bana*, *sceapa*, *andsaca*, *waerloga*, *morþres brytta*, et al. pp. 58 f.

\*Adversarius, 1 Petr. 5/8, et al. leo rugiens, 1 Petr. 5/8. \*maglignus, 1 Joan. 2/13, 14; 3/12; 5/18, 19. \*malus, Matt. 6/13. \*draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatus diabolus et Satanas, Apoc. 12/8; Apoc. 20/2. °quibus procella

<sup>16</sup> *Baratrum* is glossed *cwicsusl*, *hellelic deopnes*. Wright: A. S. and O. E. Vocabularies, p. 144.

In the case of some of these kennings for hell, it is difficult to determine whether there are any lingering echoes of the old conception of the abode of Hell. "From a lost song, quoted by Snorri, we get a good picture of her (Hell's) dread abode. Her hall is Sleet-den (El-iuþnir); despair the porch; stumbling stone the threshold; pale woe the door; Gilling the precipice, the key; falling peril the hangings; carebed the couch; lazy the latch; hunger the dish; famine the knife; starvation the spoon." (*Corp. Poet. Bor.* 2, 471.) The ideas of a place of torment, a fiery pit, and darkness are doubtless of Christian origin. One phrase, *se calda grund*, suggests the name of Hell's hall, *El-iuþnir*, but as in the case of the terms for Heaven, the Latin influence is predominant.

<sup>15</sup> Though the exact equivalent of this phrase does not occur in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the kenning might well be derived from that source.



tenebrarum servata est in aeternum, Jude 13. \*draco, Apoc. 13 & 16 passim. °lupus, Joan. 10/12. \*princeps daemoniorum, Matt. 9/34; 12/24; Lu. 11/15. \*mendax est et pater ejus, Joan. 8/44. \*rex angelus abyssi, Apoc. 9/11. \*rectores tenebrarum, Ept. 6/12. °draco et angeli ejus, Apoc. 12/7. °maledictus es inter omnia animantia, Gen. 3/14. \*maledicti, Matt. 25/41. angelus Satanae, 2 Cor. 12/7. °ab initio diabolus peccat, 1 Joan. 3/8. angeli mali, Ps. 77/49. (Cf. bestia, passim in Apoc.) °princeps et dux mortis, Evan. Nic. 394. \*Satan princeps, Evan. Nic. 395, 397, 400. \*Satan princeps tartari, Evan. Nic. 395. \*princeps mortis, Evan. Nic. 396. \*princeps perditionis, Evan. Nic. 400. °dux exterminationis, Evan. Nic. 400. \*auctor mortis, Evan. Nic. 402. °origo omnis superbiae, Evan. Nic. 402. \*caput malorum omnium, Evan. Nic. 423. inferus (a person) Evan. Nic. 395, 396. °spurcissimus inferus, Evan. Nic. 398. °foetidissimus inferus, Evan. Nic. 398. inferus et mors, Evan. Nic. 399. °derisio angelorum, Evan. Nic. 400. °sputio justorum, Evan. Nic. 400. possessor clavium inferorum, Evan. Nic. 401. °omnium malorum impiorum et refugarum pater, Evan. Nic. 401.

\*Hostis, S.H. 12. \*hostis invidus, S.H. 3; 51/7. \*hostis humani generis, S.H. 31. \*hostis antiquus, S.H. 32. \*hostis perfidus, S.H. 35. \*hostis improbus, S.H. 62. \*hostis fallax saeculorum, 50/8.

\*Mortis auctor, 50/148. \*custos saevus tartari, 50/7. \*dirae mortis artifex, 50/8. \*serpens, S.H. 166. °serpens vetustus, 50/211. °leti princeps, B.H. 12. °inferi, 50/107, 136 et al. °feroces, B.H. 16.

\*Daemoniorum princeps, Jno. II 609. \*primaevi criminis auctor, Avit.—de Init. 215. \*antiquus hostis, Lib. Sac. \*totius mali inventor, Acta Sanct. 16 Febr. °homicidiis gaudens, Acta Sanct. 16 Febr. °filii tenebrarum, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr.



(III, b.) *Devil(s)* :<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Latin *adversarius, hostis, maledictus, auctor mortis, princeps daemoniorum, lupus, draco*, et al. p. 56 f.

\*Helwaras, Jul. 3; \*helwarena cyning, Jul. 332; °synna hyrde, Gu. 552; \*synna brytta, El. 958; \*fyrssynna fruma, Jul. 347; \*morþres brytta, Jud. 90; \*morþres manfrea, Jul. 546; °se ofermoda cyning, Gen. 338; \*feonda aldor, Klag. Eng. 76; \*wiperbroga, Cri. 564; °wuldres wiperbreca, Jul. 269; \*se wipermeda, And. 1197; \*waerloga, Jul. 455; \*wraþ waerloga, And. 1299; \*awyrge waerlogan, Gu. 883; \*sceapa, Cri. 775; °helsceapa, El. 957; °leodsceapa, Cri. 273; \*fyrnseapa, And. 1348; \*sceppend, Cri. 761; \*feond, El. 594; \*se ealda feond, ealdfeond, El. 207; °se alda, Klag. Eng. 34; °ece feond, Gen. 1261; \*feonda forespreca, Cri. 733; \*andsaca, Gu. 181; °godes andsaca, Gu. 204; \*wrohtbora, Cri. 763; \*se balewa, Chr. H.A.H. 119; \*se bealufulla, Cri. 259; deor daedscua, Cri. 257; \*feond monecynnes, Jul. 630; °sawla feond, Jul. 348; °sawla gewinna, Jul. 555; \*haelepa gewinna, Jul. 243; °gaestgeniþla, Jul. 245; \*ealdgeniþla, And. 1443; °facnes frumbearn, Gu. 1044; \*þystra stihtend, Jul. 419; \*hettend, Sal. Sat. 172; °ealdorgewinna, Gu. 505; \*niþgyst, Gu. 511; °ceargaest, Gu. 364; \*mansceapa, Gu. 881; \*wrohtsmiþ, Gu. 877; \*teonsmiþ, Gu. 76; \*grynsmiþ, And. 917; se blaca feond, Klag. Eng. 196; se swearta gaest, Cri. 269; se blaca, Cri. 897; \*se hearma, Ph. 441; \*se bona, Beo. 1743; \*feorhbana, Walf. 41; °gaestbana, Beo. 177; °se wites bana, Cri. 264; \*bana monecynnes, And. 1295; \*draca, El. 766; \*se awyrgda, Cri. 158; °se awyrgda wulf, Cri. 256; °se awyrgda gaest, Cri. 1690; °yfeles andwis, Jul. 244; se aglaeca,<sup>2</sup> And. 1314; °se atola gaest, Gu. 87; °se laþa gaest, Sal. Sat. 86;

<sup>1</sup> Practically all of these terms for the devil, in my opinion come from the Latin, in spite of the fact that we find a considerable number of them used also as names for Grendel and the other monsters in Beowulf. The number of identical or equivalent terms in Latin is very large.

earm aglaeca,<sup>2</sup> Ph. 442; °earme gaestas,<sup>3</sup> Gu. 884; °se werga,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 429; °se werga gast,<sup>5</sup> Beo. 1748; °ealra fula ful,<sup>6</sup> El. 769; helleſcealc,<sup>4</sup> Klag. Eng. 133; helleþegn,<sup>4</sup> Gu. 1042; susles þegn,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 558; helle hæftling,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 246; hellehinca,<sup>5</sup> And. 1173; \*ealra synna fruma, El. 771; \*leahtra fruma, El. 838; \*synna fruma, Jul. 362; °unclaene gaest, Jul. 418; °helle-gaest, Jul. 457; \*ligesynnig, El. 898; °scyldwyrcende sceapan, El. 761; \*se unholda, Cri. 762; °se wraecmaega,<sup>6</sup> Gu. 530; °wraeca waerleas,<sup>6</sup> Jul. 35; °werige wihte, Geb. 4/57.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The term *aglaeca* is used in *Beowulf* as a designation not only of the monsters but also of *Beowulf* himself.

<sup>3</sup> For the conception of the devil as wretched and miserable, cf. the Latin *spurcissimus, foetidissimus inferus, derisio angelorum, spatio iustorum*.

<sup>4</sup> These phrases describing the condition of the devil in hell are doubtless indirectly of Latin derivation.

<sup>5</sup> *Hellehinca* was probably compounded on the analogy of the terms immediately preceding.

<sup>6</sup> Probably referring to the exile from heaven. The exile's condition was of course most miserable.

<sup>7</sup> Of the many names given to Grendel and the other monsters in *Beowulf*, the following are identical with or similar to terms applied to the devil, many of which terms, as has just been shown, have Christian Latin equivalents: *Feond*, Beo. 143, 985, 279, 726, 749, 963, 970, 438, 1273; *feond moncynnes*, 164, 1275; *synscaþa*, 708, 802; *manscaþa*, 713, 738; *gastþona*, 177; *leodscaþa*, 2094; *se laþa*, 132, 842, 440, 1257; *godes andsaca*, 787, 1683; *hellegaest*, 1275; *þana*, 2082; *ealdorgewinna*, 2903; *wyrm* (often); *draca*, 2402 *et al.*; *fyrena hyrde*, 751; *dolscaþa*, 479; *ealdgewinna*, 1777; *hearmscaþa*, 767; *feorhgeniþla*, 970; *hellehaefta*, 789; *se ellor gaest*, 1349, 807; *wael-gaest*, 1995; *se grimma gaest*, 102; *yrre gaest*, 2073; *fylwerig feond*, 962; *yrremod feond*, 726; *feond on helle*, 101; *þeodscaþa*, 2279, 2689; *se werga gaest*, 133; *aglaeca*, 425, 433, 647, 740; 990, 1001, 1270; *atol aglaeca*, 159, 593, 733, 817.

What is the origin of these kennings common to the devil and to Grendel is a matter difficult to decide definitely. In some cases it is fairly evident that phrases of Christian origin are applied Grendel; in others, it is possible that the transference was from the monsters to the devil. The *aglaeca* phrases and *se werga gaest* possibly are not of Christian origin; yet if Grein is right in glossing *aglaec*, *tribulatio*, *calamitas*, and *aglaeca*, *vexator*, *malorum auctor* as well as

(IV, a.) *Angels*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *boda*, *dryhtnes boda*, *ar*, *þegn*, et al. pp. 61.

\*Angelus and angeli, passim. \*angelus dei, passim. \*angelus domini, passim. \*nuntius dei, 2 Par. 36/16. \*nuntius domini, Aggaci 1/13. \*ministri sui, Heb. 1/7; 05. 102/21. °multitudo militiae coelestis, Lu. 2/13.

\*Nuntius caelorum, Ant.—Cook, Christ. 73. °chorus caelestis, S.H. 55. °multitudo caelestis exercitus 50/128. °caeli chorus, 50/169. \*chorus angelorum, 50/7, 199. passim. °chorus caelestium, 50/58, 112. \*chorus archangelorum, 51/13. \*chorus angelicus, 51/108. °chori superni, 51/153. °angelorum et martyrum chorus, 51/313. °chori felices, B. H. 70. °ordines angelici, 50/133, 242. °agmina angelorum, Q.B. 14. °angelorum agmina sancta, 50/156. \*coetus angelorum, 50/8. °caelorum militia, 51/102. °coetus caelestium, B.H. 51. °caeli exercitus, 50/217. \*cives superni, 50/121. \*cives aetherei, S.H. 57. °caeli cives et incola, 50/199. \*caeligenae, 51/139. archangeli 51/278. °beati angeli, 51/295. °dei archangelus, S.H. 110. \*angelus dei, 51/143. °celestis exercitus, S.H. 115. °caeli milites, S.H. 115. °sanctorum chorus, 51/127. intimus comes dei, 50/267.

\*Caelicolae, Prud. contra Sym. I 170.

\*Nuntii Dei, Ald. 131. \*angelica agmina, de Die 65. coelestes turme, de Die 65.

°Caelorum virtutes, Lib. Sac. °omnis militia caelestic *exercitator ingens*, then there are many Latin parallels in terms for the devil such as *totius mali inventor*, *caput malorum omnium*, *auctor* (*princeps*, *dux*) *mortis*, *princeps perditionis*, *dux exterminationis*, et al. In short in the case of common terms, the transference seems to have been from the devil to the monsters.

Likewise whether the old conception of Loki and his children, Hell, the Wolf, and the Serpent, had any influence in the formation of kennings for the devil is, I suppose, impossible to determine with certainty. Terms like *wrohtsmiþ*, for example, suggest the kenning for Loki, *bólva smiþr*; but such terms have abundant parallels also in the Latin phrases. The Latin also explains the word *wulf* as applied to the devil.

citius, Lib. Soc. \*exercitus angelorum, Lib. Res. \*angelus dei, Aug.—Conf. 114 \*angeli sancti, Aug.—Conf. 173.

(IV, b.) *Angel(s)*:<sup>17</sup>

Cf. Latin *nuntius, nuntius dei, nuntius domini, minister, chorus caelestis*, et al. p. 60.

\*Dryhtnes boda, Gen. 1; \*godes boda, Cri. 1; \*ar, Cri. 595; °wuldres ar, Cri. 493; \*aerendgast, Gen. 2296; \*aerendraca, Gen. 2434; °wuldres wilboda, Gu. 1220; \*heahþegn, Dan. 443; \*wuldres þegn, And. 926; °metodes þegn, Gen. 2907; °wuldres bearn,<sup>18</sup> Gen. 11; °bearn heofonwara,<sup>18</sup> Sal. Sat. 464; °wuldor gast,<sup>18</sup> Gen. 2912; freopuweard,<sup>19</sup> Gu. 144; friþowebba,<sup>19</sup> El. 88; freoþoscealc,<sup>19</sup> Gen. 2301; °weorud wlitescyne, Cri. 493; °wlitig wuldres boda, El. 77; sigorecynn. El. 754; \*heofonengla þreat, Cri. 492; °halige gastas, Kreuz. 11; °gasta weardas, Gen. 12. \*heofonwaran (frequent.)

(V, a.) *Cross*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *treo, lifes treo, sigebeacen*, et al.

\*Lignum, Acta 5/3; 10/39 passim. crux Christi, 1 Cor. 117, et al. \*lignum vitae, Gen. 2/9, 24; Apoc. 2/7; 22/2; 14. \*signum victoriae, Evan. Nic. 430. \*lignum crucis, Evan. Nic. 401.

<sup>17</sup> The number of kennings for angels is not large either in Anglo-Saxon or in Latin. Those in Anglo-Saxon are probably all of Latin origin. Perhaps some unconscious influence was exerted by the old conceptions of the *liosalfar*, which in many ways would harmonize with the Christian conception of the angels. (Cf. also the Old Norse kennings for the Aesir: *Hroptz megir, Hroptz gildar, As-megir, Asa synir, Sigtiva synir*, etc. Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/462.) But the Christian influence is evidently the direct and predominant one.

<sup>18</sup> Though I have not found the exact equivalents of these phrases in Latin, doubtless they come indirectly from that source.

<sup>19</sup> Of these terms for angels *friþowebba* is interesting because it is also used as a designation of women (cf. Beo. 1942, *freopuwebbe*). The conception apparently is that the angels may settle the feud between God and man just as a woman by being given in marriage may settle a feud between tribes. On the Latin side, compare the message of the angels: "*Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra paz hominibus bonae voluntatis*," (Lu. 2/14).



\*Vitae arbor, 50/113. \*lignum crucis 50/7. \*lignum 50/74 passim. \*arbor 50/76. °signum crucis mirabile, 51/85. \*sacra crux 51/254. °venerabile robur, 51/251. \*arbor decora et fulgida, S.H. 78.

\*Crux triumphalis, Prud.—Cath. X 83. °signum crucis, Acta Sanct. 4 May passim. °Signum crucis ex lumine claro constitutum, Acta. Sanct.—4 May. \*sancta crux, Acta Sanct.—4 May passim.

(V, b.) *Cross*:<sup>20</sup>

Cf. Latin *lingnum, arbor, patibulum, signum victoriae*, et al.

°Haelendes treow, Kreuz. 25; \*paet halge treo, El. 107; \*lifes treo, El. 1027; \*wuldres treo, El. 89; \*wuldres beam, El. 217; \*wuldres wynbeam, El. 844; °sigebeam, Kreuz. 13; sigebeacen, El. 168; \*se blaca beam, El. 91; \*beam, Cri. 729; °rodocyninges beam, El. 886; \*se aepela beam, El. 1073; \*beacen, El. 92; °beacen godes, El. 109; galga, El. 179; °maerost beam, El. 1012; °aepelcyninges rod, El. 219; \*sigorbeacen, El. 984; °selest sigebeama, El. 1027; \*sigores tacen, El. 85; °paet wlitige treo, El. 165; \*rodetreo, El. 147; °paet maere treo, El. 214; \*sio haliga rod, El. 1011; gealgtreow, Kreuz, 146.

(VI, a.) *The Virgin*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *maeg manes leas, wifa wuldor*, et al.

Regina caeli inclita 51/139. stella maris 50/246; S. H. 76, et al. \*sacra virgo 51/143. regis porta, 51/145. virguncula 51/139. °beata mater, S. H. 74. \*gloriosa femina, S. H. 74. regis alta janua, S. H. 74. porta lucis fulgida, S. H. 74. °alma dei genetrix, De Die Judic. 148. °dei mater alma, S. H. 76. °mundi domina, Ant.—Cook Crist. p. 103. virgo virginum, Ant.—Cook Crist, p. 84. °virgo mater 51/139. \*dulcis

<sup>20</sup> The kennings for Odin's gallows are: *Yggdrasils askr, varg-tre, vinga meipr, sigynjar vers hestr, sigars ior, horva sleipnir*. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/462.) What was the relation of the *varg-tre* to the Christian ideas about the cross, I shall not undertake to decide. The Anglo-Saxon kennings doubtless go back to the Latin phrases.



filia 51/139. semper virgo, S. H. 76. felix caeli porta, S. H. 76. mater clara virgo B. H. 55. °dei generatrix inclita 50/110. porta, Arat.-Migne 68/95.

(VI, b.) *The Virgin.*<sup>21</sup>

Cf. Latin *gloriosa femina, beata mater, et al.*

\*Wifa wuldor, Men. 149; °faegerust maegþa, Men. 148; °cwena selost, Men. 168; \*dryhtnes modor, Men. 169; °cyn-inges modor, Men. 93; °modor maere meotudes suna, Cri. 93; \*maegþ manes leas, Cri. 36; \*maegþ Maria, Cri. 176; °faemme geong, Cri. 175; °seo faemme, Cri. 123; °faemme freolicast, Cri. 72; \*sio eadge maeg, Cri. 87; °þu maere middangeardes, Cri. 275; °seo clæeneste cwen, Cri. 276; °bryd þæs selestān swegles bryttan, Cri. 280-1; °hlaefdige wuldor-weorudes, Cri. 285; °wifa wynn, Cri. 71.

Thus far I have been considering terms of a strictly religious nature,—designations for God, Heaven, Hell, Devil(s), Angel(s), and the Virgin. And the conclusion, I think, is inevitable that the great majority of these Anglo-Saxon terms were borrowed directly or indirectly from the Latin.

I shall now consider the Anglo-Saxon terms for conceptions not of a religious nature,—terms for Men, Human Body, Breast, to Live, to Die, Death, and to Speak, also terms for the Sea, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars.

GROUP B:

Terms for

Men

Body

Breast

Live

Die

Death

Speak

<sup>21</sup> These terms are doubtless all of Latin origin.

(I, a.) *Men:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gastas*, *gastberend*, *feorhberend*, *eorþbuend*, *burhsittend*, *fira bearn*, et al.

\*Genus hominum, Acta 17/26; 2 Mac. 7/28. \*filii hominum, Ps. 4/3; 10/5; 11/29; 13/2- passim. Often in N. T. \*anima vivens, Gen. 2/7 et al. 1 Cor. 15/45. °omnes animae eorum, Ex. 1/5 et al. \*opus manum tuarum, Job. 10/3, 14/15. \*habitatores terrae, Gen. 34/30; 50/11; Ex. 23/31; passim in O. T. \*habitatores orbis, Isa. 26/9. \*habitatores urbium, Gen. 19/25. \*habitatores civitatis, Gen. 24/13. \*habitatores urbis, Deut. 13/13; Judic. 20/30. Seculum, passim. \*filii hujus seculi, Lu. 16/8. \*genus humanum, Evang. Nic. 409. °turbæ, Matt. 5/1 passim. °multitudo, Joan. 6/2, passim. °linguae, Dan. 3/4, 7, 98; 5/19. \*generatio, Deut. 32/5, 20, (frequent).

\*Terrigenae, 51/139. \*ruricolae 50/145. \*genus humanum 50/77. \*filii hominum 51/293. mortales B. H. 11.

\*Genus humanum, Ven. Fort. Migne, 88/132; De Die 10. \*omnes homines, De Die 66. filii Adam, Aug.-conf. 13, 187, 189. \*fili hominum, Aug.-Conf. 79, 203, 311.

(I, b) *Men:*

Cf. Latin *animae*, *anima vivens*, *habitatores terrae*, *terrigenae*, *ruricolae*, *genus humanum*, *habitatores urbium*, *filii hominum*, et al.

\*Gastas,<sup>22</sup> And. 1002; \*gastberend,<sup>22</sup> Cri. 1600; \*sawelberend,<sup>22</sup> Beo. 1005; \*reordberend,<sup>23</sup> Cri. 278; \*feorhberend,<sup>22</sup> Gen. 1955; \*cwic wiht,<sup>23</sup> Rid. 29/8; °dryhtwuniend,<sup>25</sup> Craeft. 7; \*woruldwuniend,<sup>24</sup> Met. 13/7; \*woruldbuend,<sup>24</sup> Met. 13/35;

<sup>22</sup> *Gastas*, *gastberend*, *sawelberend*, and *feorhberend*, not used in Beowulf (except *sawlberend* once in a moralizing passage, 1002 ff) or in the non-religious poems, probably come from the Biblical account of the creation, as does also *cwic wiht*. Cf. Latin *anima* and *anima vivens* as terms for men.

<sup>23</sup> *Reordberend*, probably an analogical formation, is also not used in Beowulf or the non-Christian poems. I think it not improbable that it comes ultimately from the Latin *linguae* used as a term for men.

\*eorþbeund,<sup>24</sup> Ex. 84; \*eorþwaran,<sup>24</sup> Cri. 382; \*grundbuend,<sup>24</sup> Beo. 1006; \*londbuend,<sup>24</sup> Wid. 132; \*foldbuend,<sup>24</sup> Gu. 35; \*herbuend,<sup>24</sup> Jud. 96; \*sundbuend, Cri. 73; \*egbuend,<sup>25</sup> Eadg. 4/57; \*þeodbuend,<sup>24</sup> Cri. 616; \*burhsittend, Cri. 337; \*burhwaran, Met. 10/47; eormencynn<sup>26</sup>, Mensch. Ges. 96; 1godes handgeweorc, Cri. 226; \*woruldbearn, Rid. 81/27; \*foldan bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1664; \*folcbearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1760; \*dryhta bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gu. 1103; \*aepelinga bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1216; \*gumena bearn,<sup>27</sup> Beo. 878; \*leoda bearn,<sup>27</sup> Cri. 2; \*elda bearn,<sup>27</sup> Dan. 106; \*haeleþa bearn,<sup>27</sup> Jud. 51; \*fira bearn,<sup>27</sup> Cri. 242; \*niþþa bearn,<sup>27</sup> Rid. 58/6; \*wera bearn,<sup>27</sup> Rid. 27/18; \*monna bearn,<sup>27</sup> Ex. 395; \*byre monnes, Ph. 128; \*fira cynn,<sup>28</sup> Cri. 610; \*aelda cynn,<sup>28</sup> Cri. 780; \*monnacynn,<sup>28</sup> Jul. 470; eorlas on eorþan. Jul. 510; \*manna gecynd, El. 734; \*werþeod, El. 17; yrm-enþeoda, Men. 139; \*haeleþa cynn<sup>28</sup> And. 909; folc under

<sup>24</sup> As for the *buend*, *wuniend*, and *waran* combinations, the evidence is somewhat conflicting. *Buend* combinations occur 8 times in Beo., 1 in Finnsb., and 1 in Wid., and 1 in Rid.; their occurrence might reasonably be explained on the ground that they were early borrowed from the language of the church. All of these combinations are very numerous in the Christian poems, where they naturally suggest *habitatores terrae, terrigenae*, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Dryhtwuniend* and *egbuend* are apparently analogical formations, the latter being used in the Chronicle to designate the inhabitants of England.

<sup>26</sup> *Eormencyn* occurs once in Beowulf (1957) and *eormenþeod* only in this instance and here in the plural. They suggest at once *irmindeot* of the Hildebrandslied and the frequent *irminþiod* of the Heliand, and were possibly (but, to my mind, by no means certainly) old Germanic formations used to designate mankind in the same way that *genus humanum* was used in Latin.

<sup>27</sup> The *bearn* combinations are used very infrequently in the non-religious poems with the exception of Beowulf; and when they do occur, once in Seef, and once in Run., six times in Rid., and eight times in Beowulf, this fact together with the fact that *alða börn*, *alða synir*, *gumna synir*, *yta synir* occur in Old Norse and *kint der manne* in Old High German, would not disprove that these compounds were early taken over from the language of the church into the everyday speech and that they come from the very common Latin *fili hominum*.

<sup>28</sup> That these *cynn* compounds are derived from *genus humanum* might be explained in the way mentioned above in note 27.

wolenum, Cri. 588; folc under roderum, Cri. 569; wera cneoris, Ex. 3.

Most of the Anglo-Saxon terms for Men may be grouped in four classes: (1) the *berend* group; (2) the *buend* group; (3) the *bearn* group; (4) the *cynn* group. In each of these groups I think the relations to the Latin were somewhat as follows:

(1) BEREND: terms for warriors, such as *aeserberend* and the like, were probably but not certainly formed before there was any Latin influence, though similar formations occur in Latin, as, for example, Vergil's *scutatus*, *clipeatus*, *cristatus*, etc. On the analogy of these terms were later formed expressions for conceptions borrowed from the Latin,—*gastberend*, *sawelberend*, *reordberend*, and perhaps *feorhberend*,—terms in which *berend* has become a suffix meaning simply "having", "possessing". Of these terms it is probable that *gastberend* (*-gast*), *sawelberend*, and perhaps *feorhberend* come from the Latin *anima* and *anima vivens*, which occur frequently in the Genesis account of the creation. As for *reordberend*, I suggest that it may come from the Latin *linguae*, which recurs many times in Daniel in the formula *nationes, tribus et linguae* as a term for men. It is of some significance that the term *reordberend* is used in the Anglo-Saxon poem Daniel. As has already noted, this group does not occur in Beowulf (except in 1004) and the non-religious poems. In Old Norse we find *berendr* used as a suffix in *sverpberendr*, *hringberendr*, *randberendr*, *seipberendr*, and *skrökberendr*.

If *gastberend*, *sawelberend*, *reordberend*, and *feorhberend* are of Biblical origin, it may be asked why they are not used in the Heliand or the Old Saxon Genesis. In regard to the Heliand, the author, as I shall show, follows faithfully the terminology of the Latin Tatian, that is, of the Gospels, and gives no evidence of familiarity with the language of the Old Testament, in which *anima* and *anima vivens* are used as terms for men. In regard to the Old Saxon Genesis, one can say that these terms are infrequent even in the large body of An-



glo-Saxon religious poetry, and that it is not of any great significance that they do not appear in that part of the Old Saxon poem which is preserved, particularly since that part does not treat of the creation.

2. BUEND: to this group may be added the *wuniend* and *waran* combinations. Though *buend* compounds occur eight times in Beowulf, and once in Widsiþ and Finnsburg respectively, there is some evidence to show that they are not ancient Germanic terms but that they come from the Latin *habitatores terrae*, *habitatores urbium*, and *habitatores orbis*, which are very frequent in the Old Testament. In Old Norse, the *buend* combinations do not occur as terms for men. In the Heliand, with its New Testament terminology, there is only one example, *erthbuendi* (4316). In the Anglo-Saxon Genesis A, on the other hand, *eorþbuend* occurs five times and *herbuend* once. In Widsiþ, *londbuend* (132) occurs in a Christian passage. As for Beowulf and Finnsburg, the occurrence of the terms might be explained on the theory that they were early and naturally adopted into everyday speech.

3. BEARN: in Old Norse, the only phrase I have found containing this term is *alda börnum* (Vsp. 20). In Old Saxon, on the other hand, the *barn* combinations are very frequent as designations of men. In Anglo-Saxon, outside of the strictly religious poems, they occur in Beowulf eight times, and once in the Seafarer and the Rune poem respectively. In the Seafarer (77), *aelda bearn* occurs in a Christian passage,

þæt hine *aelda bearn* aefter hergen  
and his lof siþþan lifge mid englum  
awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blaed. (77-79)

And the Rune poem is a Christian production.

The Latin equivalent, *fili hominum*, is not only very frequent throughout the Old Testament, but occurs often in the New Testament in the Gospels and elsewhere, a fact which would explain its frequent use in the Heliand. In all the Anglo-Saxon religious poems except those of Cynewulf (who seems to restrict the use of the word *bearn* for the most part to



the designation of Christ) the *bearn* compounds are very frequent. It is then, in my opinion, quite possible that these phrases were not old Germanic terms but that they were derived from the Latin.

4. *CYNN*: it does not seem probable that the primitive Germans or any other primitive people would conceive of all mankind as a unit. If it be objected that *irmindeot* in the Hildebrandslied (*chud ist mir al irmindeot*, 12) embodies this conception, what then is meant by the plural *yrmenpeodum* (Men. 139) in Anglo-Saxon? Does *irmindeot* in the Hildebrandslied necessarily mean the entire human race? On the whole, it seems possible that the *cynn* compounds are derived from the Latin *genus humanum*.

(II, a.) *Body*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *eorþfaet*, *banfaet*, *banhus*, *feorhhus*, *sawelhus*, et al.

°Hominem de limo terrae, Gen. 2/7. \*caro, Eph. 2/3, (frequent) °vas perditum, Ps. 30/13. °vases fictiles, 2 Cor. 4/7. °terrestris domus, 2 Cor. 5/1. °pulvis, Gen. 3/19; Ps. 103/29. °tabernaculum, 2 Pet. 1/4.

°Vas, 50/273; 50/18. °vas Prud.—Cath. VII 190. °cratis, Prud. Cath. VIII 59. °vas, Ven. Fort.—Migne 88/148. °cratis, Avit.—de Int. 100. °cratis, Vergil. \*domus animae, Aug.—Conf. 5. templum tuum, Aug.—Conf. 33.

(II, b.) *Body*:

Cf. Latin *vas*, *terrestris domus*, *domus animae*, *crates*, et al. *Lichama*,<sup>29</sup> And. 791; °*flaeschama*,<sup>30</sup> Gu. 345; *banhus*,<sup>31</sup> Ex.

<sup>29</sup> *Lichama* (O. S. *likhamo*, O. H. G. *lichamo*, O. N. *likhami*) was doubtless an old formation independent of Latin influence.

<sup>30</sup> *Flaeschama*, which occurs in the non-religious poetry only once in Beowulf and once in the Seafarer, I think was probably an analogical formation influenced largely by the frequent use of *caro* in the Vulgate for the human body.

<sup>31</sup> The conception of the body as a vessel, a house, or enclosure, does not occur in the non-religious poetry, except in Beowulf and the late

523; banfaet, Ph. 229; bansele, Dom. 102; bancofa, Gu. 94; banloca, Gu. 953; eadorgearð, And. 1181; licfaet, Gu. 62; °eorþfaet, Rede, 8; °lamfaet, Cri. 15; \*sawelhus, Gu. 1003; \*gaestes hus, Gu. 774; °sawlhord, Mensch. Ges. 34; \*feorhhus, By. 298; \*feorhbold, Kreuz. 73; feorhhord, And. 1182; °greothord, Gu. 1240; \*gaesthof, Cri. 821; °þaet faege hus, El. 880.

(III, a.) *Breast, Heart:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *feorhhord*, *hordcofa*, *breostcofa*, et al.

°Thesaurus, Matt. 12/35; Lu. 6/45. °claustra pectorum, S. H. 61. °claustra pectoris, S. H. 166.

(III, b.) *Breast, Heart.*<sup>32</sup>

Cf. Latin *thesaurus*, *claustra pectoris*, et al.

Breostcofa, Wand. 18; breostloca, Dan. 167; hreþercofa, Cri. 1329; hreþerloca, El. 86; gewitloca, Met. 10/12; ferhþloca, Wand. 13; feorhloca, Gu. 625; hordcofa, Wand. 14; incofa, Met. 22/18; runcofa, Met. 22/59; hreþer, Beo. 1745; ferhþcofa, Gen. 2603.

poem Maldon, nor does it occur in the Heliand. In Beowulf only the *ban* combinations are found and perhaps these are native formations. As for the others, I think it quite possible that they are due to Latin influence. Equivalents of the *ban* compounds apparently do not occur in Old Norse.

<sup>32</sup> Of the kennings in this group, only *hreþer* occurs in Beowulf. In the Seafarer, *hreþerloca* occurs once; in the Botschaft, *gewitloca* once; in Des Vaters Lehren *breostcofa* once; and in the Wanderer *ferþloca*, *hordcofa*, and *breostcofa*, once each. As has been already noticed, the Christian influence is evident in the Seafarer, and it is also obvious in the other poems just named. (Cf. Bot. 31 ff.; Vat. Lehr. 63 ff.; and Wand. 2 ff.) In the religious poems also these terms are infrequent.

I have found but few Latin kennings. Of these *thesaurus* and *claustra pectoris* might have had some influence in forming Anglo-Saxon phrases. On the whole however, it seems more probable that the conception of the breast as the seat of thought and feeling was independent of the Latin. The number of Old Norse terms for this conception is very large: cf. *muntun*, *munvangr*, *munströnd*, *hugtun*, *hugborg*, *viljabyrgi hus hugar*, et al. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/452.)

(IV, a.) *Live, Life:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *worulde brucan*, *blaeddaga brucan*, et al.

Mundo uti, 1 Cor. 7/31. (Cf. \*voluptates vitae, Lu. 8/14. mundi gaudia, 51/137 (frequent) \*vitae gaudia, 51/196; S. H. 53. fugitiva gaudia mundi, Ven. Fort.—Migne 88/162, 172.)

(IV, b.) *To Live:*<sup>32</sup>

Cf. Latin *mundo uti*, also such phrases as *mundi gaudia*, *vitae gaudia*. pp. 000.

°Eardes brucan, Gen. 1952; °burhwelan brucan, Beo. 3100; \*worulde brucan, Beo. 1062; °lifwynna brucan, Beo. 2097; °lifgesceafta brucan, Beo. 1953; °blaeddaga brucan, Gen. 1201; °worolde wynne healdan, Beo. 1080.

(V, a.) *Die:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gewitan*, *feorh aleccan*, *feorh gesellan*, *gast onsendan*, *dryhten secan*, et al.

\*Egrediens anima, Gen. 35/18. °vadam et non revertar, Job. 10/21 \*animam ponere, Joan. 10/15; 17, 18; 13/37, 38; 15/13. °si terrestris domus nostra hujus habitationis dissolvatur, 2 Cor. 5/1. \*animam dare, Joan. 10/11. (Cf. quaerite primum regnum dei, Lu. 12/31. cumque quaesieris dominum, Deut. 4/29. non est requirens deum, Ro. 3/11. qui inquirant dominum, Prov. 28/5. inquietibus se remunerator sit, Heb. 11/6.) \*spiritum emittere, Matt. 27/50. \*spiritum tradere, Joan. 19/30. expirare, Mar. 15/37; Lu. 23/46. °dissolvi et esse cum Christo, Philipp. 1/23. \*mortem gustare, Hebr. 2/9. °morte morior, Matt. 15/4. \*ad caelum mittere spiritum, 51/256. °tartarea caeca petere, 50/212. °sidera celsa petere, 50/212. °sidera petere, 50/241. °spiritus astra petit, 50/241.

<sup>32</sup> The phrases for to live are for the most part combinations with *brucan*. Latin *utor* and *fruor* were used in the same sense as *brucan* and possibly were influential in the formation of these terms; cf. *mundo uti*. With *lifwynna*, *worolde wynne*, and *blaeddaga*, compare *gaudia vitae*, *mundi gaudia*, *voluptates vitae*.

Sopitus morte quievit, Juv.-Gen. 198. \*decessit, Juv.-Gen. 1441. \*petiit deum, Juv.-Gen. 1441. \*corpus reliquit, Juv.-Gen. 1441. °arva deus petiit, homo sidera, Arat.-Migne 68/90. °spiritus astra petit, Avit.-Epitaph. S. Greg. VI 2190. °dominus caelum petiit, Greg.-Hom. in Evang. 29. °animam ad gaudia perpetuae exultationis emisit, Acta. Sanct. 11 Apr.

(V, b.) *To Die:*

\* Cf. Latin *egredi, decedere, animam ponere, animam dare, spiritum emittere*, and *deum* or *astra* or *sidera* or *caelum petere*.

In the following long list of kennings for *to die*, the exact relations to the Latin are extremely difficult to make out. The idea of death as a departure, a setting out on a journey, might well have been Germanic as well as Latin, and also the conception, giving up the world and its pleasures. In the brief notes on the list, I shall call attention only to those cases in which Latin sources seem to me reasonably probable, or in which the parallels are striking.

\*Gewitan, Gen. 1236; \*forþgewitan, Ex. 41; \*forþgewitan of lice, Gen. 1622; °forþgewitan of worulde dreamum, Gu. 1337; °heonan gangan, And. 893; °on forþweg gewitan, Beo. 2625; gumdream ofgifan, Beo. 2469; hleahtor alecgan, gamen and gleodream, Beo. 3021; woruld of gifan, Beo. 1216; woruld oflaetan, Beo. 1183; grundwong ofgifan, Beo. 2588; flet ofgifan, Wand. 61; lifdagas oflaetan, Beo. 1622; laendagas alaetan, Beo. 2592; \*lif oflaetan,<sup>38</sup> Gen. 1073; onweg hweorfan of gearde, Beo. 265; °lifes weg siþe secan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 31; °gewitan on frean waere, Beo. 27; °godes leoht ceosan,<sup>34</sup> Chron. 3/B.2; \*dryhten secan,<sup>34</sup> Beo. 187; °metodscaft seon, Beo. 1181; °wynleas wic secan,<sup>34</sup> Beo. 823; °gewitan deaþwic seon, Beo. 1275; \*feorh alecgan,<sup>38</sup> Beo. 852; \*feorh gesellan,<sup>38</sup> And. 1618; °feorh wiþ flaesce ealdre gedaellan, Fa. 36; aldorgedal fremman, Gen. 1071; °friþgedal fremman, Gen. 1142; \*sendan sawle to Criste,<sup>35</sup> Chron. 5/2; \*gast onsendan,<sup>35</sup> And. 187; °sendan gast on godes waere,<sup>35</sup> Chron. 5/3; °sendan gast to metod-



sceafte,<sup>85</sup> Men. 172; ende gesellan, Fa. 85; fyrngewyrht fyllan, Gu. 944; \*feorh ofgifan,<sup>86</sup> Fa. 12; \*feorh alaetan,<sup>86</sup> Jul. 477; \*lif alaetan,<sup>86</sup> Jul. 483; °langsumre lif geceosan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 20; \*sawle forletan,<sup>86</sup> Jul. 488; °wuldres leoht gesecan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 61; °sigelean secan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 81; °langne ham secan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 93; °eardwic uncuþ secan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 93; °swilt þrowian, Fa. 71; ellor hweorfan, Beo. 55; from mandreamum hweorfan, Beo. 1715; °gewat sawol secean soþfaestra dom, Beo. 2819-20; grundwong ofgifan, Beo. 2588; °agifan eorþcunde ead, Gen. 1626; °ofgifan þas eorþan wynne, Cri. 1667; hinan wendan, Gen. 476; ellor scacan, Beo. 2254; ceosan oþer leoht,<sup>84</sup> Chron. 3/22; gangan in oþer leoht, Men. 97; °secan oþer lif,<sup>84</sup> Gen. 1626; °ceosan ece lif,<sup>84</sup> Ph. 381; °ceosan ecne raed,<sup>84</sup> Beo. 1201; °secan ece dreamas,<sup>84</sup> Dan. 441; °gangan on godes rice, Sal. 352; wica neosan eardes on upweg, Gu. 1340; °gaest englas feredun to þam longan gefean, Gu. 1280; \*feran onweg, secan hellegrund, Seel. 104; \*helle secan,<sup>84</sup> Jul. 682; ece lif gesecan,<sup>84</sup> Fa. 38.

<sup>84</sup> The *secan*, *ceosan*, *geceosan* combinations possibly come from the Latin *petere* phrases, which are common, though it is perhaps more probable that an old Germanic formula, which may have been *oþer leoht secan* or *ceosan*, served as a model. More probably still, the Latin phrases gave rise to terms similar to others already in existence.

<sup>85</sup> The *gast* (*sawle*) *sendan* (*onsendan*) combinations probably go back to the *animam* (*spiritum*) *emittere* phrases used in the account of the Crucifixion.

<sup>86</sup> These phrases, with somewhat less probability, may be assigned to such Latin combinations as *animam ponere*, *animam dare*, *spiritum tradere*.

<sup>87</sup> In regard to the Old Norse terms for to die, which are more or less parallel to the Anglo-Saxon phrases, it is to be noted that they do not occur in the older mythological poems and may be later formations: for example, *kvöl þola*, *Atlam.* 62; *fjorvi lata*, *Sigkv. sk.* 16; *lifi tyna*, *Guþrkv.* 2/12; *aldri tyna*, *Sigkv. sk.* 51/62; *öndu tyna*, *Sigkv. sk.* 51/60; *öndu lata*, *Sigkv. sk.* 53; *fara i ljós annat*, *Atlam.* 84.



(VI, a.) *Death*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gedal*, *sip*, *hinsip*, et al.

°Tempus resolutionis, 2 Tim. 4/6. (Cf. dissolvi et esse cum Christo, Philipp. 1/23.) °depositio tabernaculi mei, 2 Petr. 1/14. occasus, Prud.-Cath IX 103. °et semitam, per quam non revertar, ambulo, Job. 16/23. fugit velut umbra et numquam in eodem state permanet, Job. 14/2. deficient et in pulverem suum revertentur, Ps. 103/29. hac nocte animam tuam repetunt a te, Lu. 12/20. si terrestris domus nostra hujus habitationis dissolvatur, 2 Cor. 5/1. bonam voluntatem habemus magis peregrinari a corpore, 2 Cor. 5/8.

(VI, b.) *Death*:

Cf. Latin *resolutio*, *depositio*, et al.

Though the conception of death as a journey is implied in various passages in the Bible, the exact term is not used (cf. Job, 10/21; 16/23, 2 Cor. 5/8 et al.) It is more probable that the Anglo-Saxon phrases expressing this idea are of common Germanic origin.

*Sip*, Gu. 1349; *se deora sip*, Sal. 361; *bealusip*, Ex. 5; *neosip*, Mensch. Gem. 55; *forþsip*, Gu. 1023; *ellorsip*, Beo. 2452; *forþweg*, Gu. 773; *hingong*, Gu. 783; *hinsip*, Gu. 1331; *heonansip*, Jung. Ger. 86; °*ealdorgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Beo. 806; °*feorhgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gu. 1151; °*lifgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gu. 1019; °*deapgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gu. 936; °*lices gedal*,<sup>38</sup> Ph. 651; °*sawelgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gu. 1008; °*gastgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gen. 1127; °*nydgedal*,<sup>38</sup> Gu. 906; *ealdorlagu*, Gu. 1234; *feorhlagu*, El. 458; *feorhbealu*, Beo. 156; *ealdorbealu*, Beo. 1677; *wiga waelgifre*,<sup>39</sup> Ph. 486; °*woruld gedal*,<sup>38</sup> El. 581; *utgong heonan*, Jul. 661; *feorhewalu*, Jul. 573; *feorh-cwealm*, Gu. 887.

<sup>38</sup> From the fact that the *gedal* compounds are seldom found in the non-religious poetry but frequently in the religious poems, it is possible that these kennings show Latin influence. Cf. *resolutio*, *dissolvere*, *depositio*. They do not occur in Old Saxon.

<sup>39</sup> As for the other phrases in the list, it would be difficult to determine whether or not there was any Latin influence. The personification *wiga waelgifre* occurs twice in the religious poetry (Ph. 486 and Gu. 972) and was probably not an old German phrase.

(VII, b.) *To Speak:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *wordhord onlucan*, *ferþlocan onspannan*, et al.

°Solutum est vinculum linguae, Mar. 7/35. *levare vocem*, Isa. 24/14; 1 Reg. 11/4, passim. \*os aperire, Ps. 77/2. (Cf. *claustra oris*, Micah 7/5.)

(VII, b.) *To Speak:*

Cf. Latin *vinculum linguae solvere*.

It is likely that these phrases for to speak are of Germanic origin. Probably the *onlucan* combinations are the older, and the *onspannan* and *onwreon* compounds, which occur only in the religious poetry, are later analogical formations. It is, however, worth while comparing the Latin *ora solvere* and *ora aperire* of Ovid (cited by Bode) and the Vulgate *solvere vinculum linguae* (Mar. 7/35). Compare also *claustra oris* (Micah, 7/5).

Wordhord onlucan, Beo. 259; modhord onlucan, And. 172; wordhord onwreon, Jul. 1; wordlocan onspannan, And. 470; hordlocan onspannan, And. 671; ferþlocan onspannan, Jul. 179; topum ontynan, Zaub. 1/32; wordes ord þurhbraec breostes hord, Beo. 2792; laetan word ut faran, Beo. 2552; beadurune onbindan, Beo. 501; meoto onsaetan, Beo. 489; hreþerlocan onspannan, El. 86; wordum wrixlan, Beo. 366; muþ ontynan,<sup>40</sup> Ps. 77/2.

## GROUP C:

Terms for

Sea

Earth

On Earth

Sun and Stars.

(I, a.) *Sea:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *floda begong*, *flodes wylm*, *yþa gewealc*, et al.

<sup>40</sup> Muþ ontynan translates os aperire in Ps. 77/2. Cf. topum ontynan.

°Fluctus, Ps. 41/8; 106/25 et al.; Ex. 14/27. °fluctus maris, Job. 9/8. \*oceani limites, 50/136. ponti freta, 50/11; S. H. 7. °fluctus aequorei, Jno.-Gen. 244. °vastus gurgēs, Avit.-de Init. 35. °undae, Avit.-de Trans. 146 and passim. gurgēs, Avit.-de Trans 140 and passim. \*oceani ambitum, Aug.-Conf. 237. °aestus (Vergil) often.

I have found but very few Latin kennings for the sea or indeed any of the natural phenomena. And even when there are parallels, it could hardly be maintained that the Latin expression was the source of the Anglo-Saxon phrase. In the notes to the following lists, I shall simply indicate the cases in which the Latin phrases are more or less similar.

The Anglo-Saxon kennings for the sea are much more numerous, varied, and highly wrought than those in Old Saxon, and are more like the numerous kennings in Old Norse. And both the Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse terms for the sea seem to me to suggest more than any others the quality of the Celtic imagination.

(I, b.) *Sea:*

Cf. Latin *oceani ambitum, oceani limites, fluctus, undae, gurgēs*, et al.

Hwaeles eþel, And. 274; maewes eþel, Bot. 25; fifelcynnnes eard, Beo. 104; fifel waeg, El. 237; fifelstream, Met. 26/26; ganotes baep, Beo. 1862; fisceas baep, And. 293; seolhwapu, Rid. 11/11; seolhwapu, And. 1714; baepweg, El. 244; hranrad, Beo. 10; swanrad, Beo. 210; segelrad, Beo. 1430; deop gelad, And. 190; argeblond, And. 383; aryþa geblood, And. 532; arwela, And. 855; waeg faet, Rid. 4/37; yþa ful, Beo. 1193; °floda begang, Beo. 1498; °sioleþa bigong, Beo. 2367; °yþa gelong, Bot. 40; fyrnstreamas, Wulf. 7; lagofaesten, El. 249; °waeges welm, El. 230; °flodes wylm, Beo. 1756; °floda genip, Beo. 2809; °yþa gewealc, Seef. 6; °yþa gelac, Klag. 7; °sealtyþa gelac, Seef. 35; sealtstream, Bot. 4; firigenstream, And. 390; sealtwaeter, Beo. 1990; seo fealu flod, Beo. 1050; se ginna grund, Beo. 1552; wapuema, gebind, Wand. 24; gar-

seġ, Ex. 281; °waetera geþring, Chron. 3B/27; brim, El. 253; heah holm, El. 982; holmþracu, El. 727; hreo hryeg, Cri. 851; °holma bigong, Jul. 112; earhgeblond, El. 239; brad waeter, Ps. 105/8; ceald waeter, Cri. 852; deop waeter, Gen. 2875; °waeteres þrym, And. 1262; °waeteres wylm, El. 39.

Most of the kennings in the first half of the foregoing list, that is those of the *hwæles epel*, *ganotes bæþ*, and *swanrad* type, probably are quite independent of any Latin source. Common in Beowulf, they occur in the other poems partly no doubt as the result of the influence of Beowulfian phrasing. This imitation is seen most clearly in Andreas. Of the phrases of this type, Cynewulf in the signed poems uses only *swanrad*. In Old Saxon they do not occur at all. In Old Norse kennings for the sea are very numerous: *silægja*, *alheimr*, *diupan mar*, *bla-maer*, *glæ-heimr*; as girdle, *hauþr-men*, *þangs-þjalmi*, *skers glym-fjöturr*, *landa band*; land of sea beasts, *ma-skeiþ*, *mava maer*, *lyrgata*, *angrs buþ*, *hval-moenir*, *hvals rann*, *lyso-vangr*, *sæþings sloþ*; land of ships, *fleyja flat-vollr*, *borþa-braut*, *borþ-heimr*, *haf-sloþir*, *stafn-klif*; land of fishing, *dor-gar vangr*; land of sea-kings, *Vandils jormungrund*, *Ekkils braut*, *Jalks maer*, *Rakna rym-lei*, *Ropa rein*, *Ropa rost*, *Geitis vegr*, *Leifa land*, *Glamma sloþ*, *Rakna stigr*, *Froþa flat-sloþ*, *Sveiþa vangr*, *Sveiþa trop*, *Solsa bekk*. Compare also the terms for the waves: *sia-gnipa*, *mar-fjoll*, *huna-gnipor*, and *Aegis doettr*, *Hfless doettr*, *Eyluþrs nio bruþir*, et al. (Corp. Poet, Bor. 2/456 and 470.)

The phrases, on the other hand, describing the sea as a welter of waters, with struggling waves and currents, as well as such phrases as *floda begang*, come much closer to the Latin, and may possibly have been influenced in their formation by such expressions as *fluctus*, *aestus*, *gurgēs*, *undae*, *oceanī limites*, *oceanī ambitum*, etc.

As to *garsecg*, without attempting an etymology, I simply call attention to the gloss in the Wright-Wülker Anglo-Saxon



and Old English Vocabularies (1/154), where *garsecg* is equated with *oceanus* and *sae* with *mare*, *aequor*.

(II, a.) *Earth*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *ymbhwyrft*, *eorþan sceatas*, et al.

\*Orbis, de Die—36. \*fines terrae, 1 Sam. 2/10. \*Omnis creatura, Rom. 8/22. \*orbis terrarum, (Vergil) often. \*orbis cardines, 50/265.

(II, b.) *Earth*:

Cf. Latin *orbis*, *orbis cardines*, *orbis terrae*, *orbis terrarum*, *omnis creatura*, et al.

The number of kennings for earth in Anglo-Saxon is much larger than in Old Saxon or even in Old Norse, if we may judge by the collection of terms in the Corpus Poeticum Bor-eale (2/456). With the exception of *foldvegr* and *mipgarþ* (Goth. *midjungards*, which has its equivalent in all the Germanic dialects) the Old Norse phrases do not throw much light on the Anglo-Saxon terms: thus *vind-kers botn*, *el-kers botn*, *alda ve*, *manna sjot*, and *i-groen* have no parallels in Anglo-Saxon.

°Hwyrft,<sup>41</sup> Dan. 322; eardgeard, Wand. 85; grund, Hy. 9/30; yrmengrund, Jul. 10; brytengrund, Cri. 357; se sida grund, Gen. 134; se wida grund, Dan. 301; se ginna grund, Wid. 51; se ruma grund, Gen. 213; eorþweg, El. 1015; foldweg, Cri. 530; moldweg, Jul. 334; grundwaeg, And. 582; se wlitebeorhta wong, Beo. 93; þes grena wong, Rid. 61/83; þes beorhta bosm, Pan. 7; þeodland, Cri. 306; burga gesetu, Cri. 1240; \*ymbhwyrft,<sup>42</sup> El. 731; \*þeos side gesceaft, Sal. Sat. 368; þeos laene gesceaft,<sup>43</sup> Sal. Sat. 32; frod fyrngeweorc, Ph. 84; frean ealdgeweorc,<sup>44</sup> Met. 11/40; gumena rice, Met. 9/41; °eodera ymbhwyrft,<sup>45</sup> Jul. 113; fira modor, Zaub. 1/67;

<sup>41</sup>*Ymbhwyrft*, which does not occur in Beowulf and the older non-religious poetry, is apparently a translation of *orbis*, *orbis terrae*, or *orbis terrarum*. In Ps. 89, it translates *orbis terrae*.

<sup>42</sup> These phrases suggest Christian influence.



foldan faeþm, Beo. 1393; \*eorþan sceatas,<sup>42</sup> And. 332; mid-dangeard, Beo. 75.

(III, a.) *On Earth:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *under roderum*, *under wolcnum*, et al.

\*In terra, Lu. 2/14. \*sub caelo, Gen. 1/9; Deut. 4/17, often. \*sub firmamento, Gen. 1/20. \*sub sole, (Vergil) \*per orbis cardines, 50/265.

(III, b.) *On Earth::*

Cf. Latin *sub caelo*, *sub firmamento*, *sub sole*, et al.

It is remarkable that the Old Saxon phrases for on earth have extremely little in common with the Anglo-Saxon terms. The only parallels in the Heliand, which has eighteen expressions for the idea, are *undar þesum himile*, which occurs once, and *mid firihon*, which also occurs once. I think it not improbable that the familiar Latin phrases had some influence in the multiplication of Anglo-Saxon terms. In any case it is worth while to call attention to the closeness of the parallels.

Under wolcnum, Beo. 8; \*under roderum, Beo. 310; °under roderes hrofe, Hy. 5/5; \*under swegle, Wid. 101; \*under swegles begong, Beo. 860; °under swegles hleo, Cri. 605; \*under heofonum, Wid. 142; °under heofonhwealfe, And. 545; °under heofones hwearfte, Rid. 42/32; \*under sunnan, And. 1915; under tunglum, And. 2; mid eldum, Wald. 11; be saem tweonum, Gu. 251; on eorþwege, El. 1014; on moldwege, Jul. 334; geond widwegas, Cri. 482; on grundum, Cri. 682; geond sidne grund, Cri. 785; geond ealne yrmenne grund, Cri. 481; ofer ealne yrmenne grund, Jul. 10.

<sup>42</sup> *Eorþan* (*foldan*) *sceatas* suggests *orbis cardines* and *finēs terrae*. Compare *fram feowerum foldan sceatum þam ytemestum eorþan rices* (Cri. 879-80). It is reasonable to suppose from the nature of the phrase and from the plural *sceatas* that this was the original meaning. Sometimes, however, as in Kreuz. 43, it seems to mean the surface of the earth.

(IV, a.) *Sun and Stars:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *leoht*, *swegles leoma*, *heofoncondel*, et al.

\**Luminaria* in firmamento caeli, Gen. 1/14, 16. *luminare majus*—*luminare minus*, Gen. 1/16. \**luminaria caeli*, Ezect. 32/8. \**lucerna*, Job 29/3. \**astra caeli*, Deut. 4/19; 10/22; 28/62. °*astra dei*, Isa. 14/13. \**sidera caeli*, Heb. 11/12; 2 Mac. 9/10. \**sidera splendida*, Baruc. 6/59. *sidera*, passim in O. T. \**stellae caeli*, Gen. 22/17; 26/4, passim in O. T. & N.T. *stellae*, passim in O.T. & N.T.

\**Lampas*, 50/113, (Vergil). *unaris lampas*, 50/30. \**lumina caeli*, 50/170. \**astra polorum*, 50/127, 170. °*mican-tium astrorum globi* 50/15. \**sidera caeli*, 51/62. *chorus astrorum*, 50/ 217. *aetherea sidera*, 50/239. *globi dierum et noctium*, Prud.—Peri. X 327. *menstrualis sphaera*, Prud. Peri. X 538.

(IV, b.) *Sun, Stars:*

Cf. Latin *lampas*, *lucerna*, *lumina caeli*, *luminaria*, et al.

\**Leoht*, Beo. 569; \**heofonleoma*, And. 840; \**swegles leoma*, Ph. 103; \**swegles leoht*, Ph. 288; *leohtes leoma*, Ph. 116; \**swegles tapur*, Ph. 113; \**sweglcondel*,“ Ph. 108; \**heofoncondel*,“ And. 243; \**roderes condel*,“ Beo. 1573; °*godes condel*,“ Ph. 91; °*woruldcondel*,“ Beo. 1966; °*daegcondel*,“ And. 837; °*wedercondel*,“ And. 31; *wederes blaest*, And. 839; *weder tacen*, Gu. 1267; *folca friþcondel*,“ Gu. 2539; *wyncondel wera*,“ Gu. 1186; *merecondel*,“ Met. 13/57; *beorht beacen godes*, Beo. 570; *gim*,“ Men. 109; *swegles gim*,“

“The *condel* phrases occur in the non-religious poetry as follows: twice in Beowulf and once in Brunanburh. They are more frequent in the religious poems, particularly in the Phoenix. It is not improbable that they were influenced by the Latin *lampas*, *lucerna*, and *luminare*. Their equivalents are not found in the Heliand and apparently do not occur in Old Norse.

“In Beowulf and the non-religious poems, the *gim* combinations occur as follows: once in Beowulf and once in the Riddles. They are most frequent in the Phoenix and the other religious poems. Latin

Ph. 208; wuldres gim,<sup>45</sup> Ph. 117; heofones gim,<sup>45</sup> Beo. 2073; se æþela glaem, Gu. 1252; heofones wyn, Beo. 1803; faeder fyrngeweorc, Ph. 95; seo æþele gesceaft, Chron. 1/16; æþelast tungla, Cri. 607; halge gimmas,<sup>45</sup> Cri. 692; haedre heofontungol, Cri. 693; beacna beorhtast, And. 242.

### OLD SAXON KENNINGS.

A comparison of the Old Saxon kennings with the Anglo-Saxon is in many ways instructive. The Heliand poet's chief source, the Gospel Harmony of Tatian, is definitely known; and it is interesting to note how he handles his material in the matter of kenning formation and to observe the differences and similarities of his diction as compared with that of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Such a comparison shows at a glance many striking similarities and reveals clearly also many equally striking differences, and makes evident the more popular style of the Old Saxon poet.

In regard to the religious kennings in the Heliand, they are fewer and less varied than the Anglo-Saxon. For example, there is only one kenning<sup>46</sup> for the conception of God as creator and none for the conception of Him as judge or giver. And the number of kennings in the other categories which the Old Saxon has in common with the Anglo-Saxon is much smaller.

The kennings for God in Old Saxon are also much simpler and more concrete than those in Anglo-Saxon. There is only one for the conception of Him as a spirit, only one for the abstract conception of Him as glory or splendor, and no ab-influence is not improbable, though I have not noted any close equivalents. They do not occur in Old Saxon or Old Norse. In general the Old Norse kennings for the sun have no counterparts in Anglo-Saxon, for example, *himins hleifr*, *himin-targa*, *ey-glo*, *þagrahvel alskir*, *Val-föþrs ve mana systir* *Dvalins leika* and *Mundil-fora dottir*. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/457, 470.)

<sup>46</sup>My statements with regard to the number of Kennings in the Heliand are based upon Sievers' Formelverzeichnis in his edition of the poem, p. 391 ff. Eduard Sievers. Heliand. Halle, 1878.

stract terms like Anglo-Saxon *wyn*, *hyht*, or *maegen*. On the other hand, God as King is for the most part simply the most powerful of Kings or the heavenly King; as lord, *herro*, *drohtin*, *helag drohtin* or *frao*; as protector, *landes ward*; as savior, simply *heliand*; as father, simply *fader*; as son, *bearn godes* or *godes sunu*. There are no such complex or abstract phrases as the Anglo-Saxon *weoroda wuldorcynning*, *sigora soþcying*, *wuldres wealdend*, *þrymmes hyrde*, *eallra þrymma þrym*, *maegenþrymmes ealdor*, *eallre sybbe bearn*, *weoroda wuldorgifa*, *heafonmaegen*, *lifes wyn*, *haligra hyht*, etc.

The Old Saxon kennings for God, moreover, are more familiar and intimate than the Anglo-Saxon. For example, He is the best of all Kings, and *fro min the godo*, *the lioba herro*, *herro the godo*, *liof landes ward*, *heliandero* or *neriandero*, *leriandero* or *radandero bezt*, *allaro barno bezt* or *liobast*, *manno the bezt* or *liobast*. Similarly far more emphasis is laid on the human nature of Christ; He is called *barn* 43 times, *gumo* 14, and *man* 5,—in all these instances the term being used separately, apart from the name Christ. Such use of familiar terms is foreign to Anglo-Saxon.

What has been said of the Old Saxon kennings for the Deity is true, though in a somewhat less noticeable degree, of the kennings for other religious conceptions. For example, heaven is generally designated simply as *godes riki*, *ewig lif*, or *lioht godes* or *himiles*. The concrete conception of heaven as a *wang* occurs frequently in *hebanwang*, *groni wang*, as does also the conception of it as *lioht*, which is found 23 times. Such concrete vizualization of course gives simplicity and vividness to the description. So, also, in the phrases for hell, the kennings are few and concrete, though the Old Saxon poet took over the Latin *infernus*. The same is true for devils, angels, and the cross: in comparison with Anglo-Saxon, the kennings are very few. *Feond*, *godes* or *drohtines engil* are the usual terms for devil and angel: there are no definite kennings for the heavenly hosts, and in the case of the cross, none for *signum victoriae*.



Turning now to the non-religious kennings in the Heliand, one again observes greater simplicity and less variety than one finds in Anglo-Saxon. It is noteworthy that among the kennings for men, phrases like the Anglo-Saxon *wuniend*, *sittend*, *waran* and *berend* combinations do not occur at all, and that the *buend* compounds common in Anglo-Saxon are represented by the single phrase *erpbuand* and that this is found only once. The *barn* combinations are the most frequent. In this connection, it is significant that the Latin *habitatores* combinations (e.g. *habitatores terrae, orbis*) are found everywhere in the Old Testament, whereas *fili hominum* occurs often in the gospels as well as in the Old Testament. Furthermore, the frequent *werod*<sup>27</sup> in the Heliand is often apparently a rendering of the often recurring *multitudo* and *turbæ* of the Gospels. Likewise it is noteworthy that in Old Saxon there is no kenning expressing the conception of the human body as a containing vessel or as a house or dwelling, a conception which occur frequently in the Anglo-Saxon poetry. In the gospels Latin expressions for such ideas do not occur, but they exist elsewhere in the Bible.

In the Heliand there are no kennings for the breast as the seat of the soul and, as in Anglo-Saxon, only a few for live, death, and speak. Among those for death, combinations like the Anglo-Saxon *gedal* compounds are not found, which is also significant in view of the fact that the Latin equivalents for such phrases occur in the Old Testament, but not in the Gospels.

The Old Saxon Kennings for sea are very few and prosaic in comparison with those of the Anglo-Saxons: all the strikingly picturesque phrases that are frequent in Anglo-Saxon poetry are noticeably absent,—a fact which furnishes some evidence to support the theory that the Anglo-Saxon kennings of this type show Celtic influence.

In Old Saxon the kennings for die are, as in Anglo-Saxon, numerous and comprise the *sokian* combinations as well as the

<sup>27</sup>Cf. the feeding of five thousand. H. 2810 ff.



phrases for laying down life and giving up the world and its pleasures.

As for the Heliand kennings for earth, sun, moon and stars, they are fewer and more prosaic than the Anglo-Saxon phrases. It is noteworthy that the common Anglo-Saxon *condel* compounds do not exist. This too is significant in view of the fact that *lampas* and *lucerna* as designations of the heavenly bodies do not occur in the gospels but are found in the Old Testament and in the hymns. This comparison leads to the following conclusions:

I. If the Heliand poet was an ecclesiastic,<sup>48</sup> his style is not ecclesiastical, and he succeeded marvelously in accomplishing what the alleged command of Louis the Pious ordered him to do.<sup>49</sup>

II. All the religious kennings in the Heliand might well have come from the gospels through the Latin Tatian; they show no evidence that the author was familiar with the Latin hymns or even with the Psalms or Genesis. From the gospels also comes naturally the emphasis on the humanity of Christ.

III. Finally, this comparison with the Anglo-Saxon furnishes evidence for believing that not only many of the religious kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry, but also some expressing non-religious conceptions come from the Old Testament, the New Testament outside of the gospels, from the Gospel of Nicodemus, from the Latin hymns or from other Latin sources. For the religious kennings this evidence is clear; it arises from the rare occurrence in Old Saxon and the frequent oc-

<sup>48</sup> Diese auffassung hat die annahme zur vorbedingung dass unser dichter ein mann von gelehrter, geistlicher bildung gewesen sei, d. h. doch aller wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein geistlicher. Heliand, p. XLIII ed. by Edward Sievens. Halle, 1878.

Der dichter des Heliand war also ohne allen zweifel ein sachsischer geistlicher. Ib., p. XLIV.

<sup>49</sup> Praecepit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur. (Latin Preface to The Heliand.)

currence in Anglo-Saxon of the conception of God as creator; from the absence in Old Saxon and the presence in Anglo-Saxon of the conception of God as King of Glory, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Lord of Hosts, Lord of Might, etc; of the conception of heaven as a city (as in Revelations), of hell as a place of imprisonment (as in the Gospel of Nicodemus); of the devil as a monstrous beast, dragon, or serpent (as in Revelations and Genesis); of the cross as the sign of victory (as in the Constantine story), and of the phrase "tree of life" which occurs—though not applied to the cross—in Genesis and Revelations. In regard to the non-religious kennings there is evidence to the same effect from the rare occurrence in Old Saxon and the frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon of *buend* compounds for men, and from the absence in Old Saxon and the presence in Anglo-Saxon of *wuniend*, *sittend*, *waran*, and *berend* compounds for men; of the conception of the body as a vessel, dwelling or enclosure; of death as a dissolution; and of the sun as a lamp or candle.

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## WHITMAN AND GERMAN CRITICS.

A few months before Ferdinand Freiligrath left his London exile, he read W. M. Rossetti's *Selections from Whitman's Poems*. Impressionable as he was and ever eager to contribute toward the realization of Goethe's ideal of "Welt-Literatur," he published at once a tentative account of his discovery in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 24th, 1868.<sup>1</sup> Admitting that his judgment of the American author is by no means settled and that he writes under the spell of a first infatuation, he urges his fellow-countrymen to note in Whitman the advent of a new and singular power.

Whitman, he says, is the poet of the Ego as a part of America, of the earth, of mankind, of the universe. With all its individualism and Americanism Whitman's philosophy is transcendental and cosmic. Whatever he hears or sees, whatever he comes in contact with, even the lowly and commonplace, seems a symbol to him of something higher, something spiritual. Or rather, the ideal and the real, spirit and matter, are to him one and the same. So, asserting himself a proud, free man, and neither more nor less than a man, he opens world-wide social and political vistas.

The metrical structure of *Leaves of Grass* reminds Freiligrath of the "Northern Magus," Hamann, of Carlyle's oracular wisdom, of the *Paroles d'un Croyant*, and first of all, of the Bible. Whitman's rhapsodic rhythms, which sound like the sonorous roar and surge of ocean waves, make our traditional prosody, our scanning, our sonnet-writing appear almost childish. Is this, Freiligrath asks, to be the poetry of the future as there has been a music of the future announced to us for years? Is Walt Whitman more than Richard Wagner?

This article did not create a sensation, nor were the German versions that followed characteristic illustrations. All of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. IV of Freiligrath's Collected Works.

ten pieces which Freiligrath translated refer to the Civil War; nine being taken from the original edition of *Drum-Taps*, the tenth from *Ashes of Soldiers*. The poems are: Arm'd year! year of the struggle! = Jahr in Waffen! Jahr du des Kampfs! . . . Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, = Auf aus euren grundlosen Tiefen, o Tage, steigt, . . . I see before me now, a traveling army halting, = Halt machen seh' ich vor mir nun ein Heer, das auf dem Marsche. . . . As toilsome I wandered Virginia's woods, = Als müh'voll ich schritt durch Virginia's Wälder . . . Bathed in war's perfume—delicate flag! = Gebadet im Dufte des Kriegs,—weichzarte Flagge du. . . . A march in the ranks hard prest, and the road unknown = Ein Marsch in den Reihn hart bedrängt, und der Weg uns fremd. . . . A sight in camp in the day-break grey and dim = Eine Lagerschau, eine Schau im düstern Taggrau'n. . . . Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice = Über das Blutbad prophetisch hub eine Stimme sich. . . . Far hence, amid an isle of wondrous beauty = Weit von hier, auf einer Insel (wunderschön sie!). . . . In clouds descending, in midnight's sleep = Aus Wolken nieder, im Mitternachtsschlaf.

It is surprising that the same man who gave the Germans the classical translation of *Hiawatha*, was unable to master the Whitmanian verse. There is almost nothing left of the sway of pathos, of the mighty roar of waves Freiligrath himself had found in the original. Those translations are a stale mixture of prose and rhymeless doggerel, as may be seen even by the beginning lines quoted above. Since the selection was indifferent, the version poor, it is but natural that the eulogy remained abstract and unheeded.

In 1870 Adolf Strodtmann, who had spent the years between 1852 and 1856 in the United States, published an *Amerikanische Anthologie* with more selections and with the same negative result as Freiligrath.

An equally unsuccessful attempt was made in 1877, by the German-American poet Ernst Otto Hopp, who included a version



of "O Captain! My Captain!" in a volume of prose-sketches, poems, and translations *Unter dem Sternenbanner*.

Freiligrath had ended his essay with the warning that Whitman, if any writer, must be judged by the sum total of his work. Dr. Eduard Bertz was the first, and has remained up to the present time, the only German to come up to that critical standard. He, too, like Strodtmann and Hopp, had lived in America for some time (as a member of the ill-fated Rugby colony in Tennessee, 1881-1883); he had thoroughly absorbed Whitman, and, after settling in London, had served George Gissing as a model for the Whitmanite in the novel *Thyrza*. But it was not until after his return to Germany in 1889, that he felt called upon to take part in the international Whitman-propaganda. In the *Deutsche Presse*, II, No. 23, he published an article: *Walt Whitman zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*. It begins with the sweeping confession: "As the greatest benefit which I derived from my sojourn in America, nay as one of the happiest events of my life, I regard the acquaintance with the writings of the most original and deepest of all American poets." He praises the sound vitality, the spiritualized naturalness, the universal sympathy of "that most humane of all philanthropists." Under the disguise of Gissing's hero he quotes himself as saying that Whitman will help him grow to be a perfect and mature man. For Whitman is a man, a great, healthy, plain, strong, fully-developed man. What to many critics seems sheer materialism is in reality purest spiritualism, the body being a revelation of the soul. The poet's own soul is so full of unlimited love that it may well be considered identical with mankind at large. Whitman makes his readers realize their unity with the universe. In him for the first time nature has found a true expression in words. It is through him that forests and seas sing to us, that the healthy average man speaks out at last what he had so far been unable to articulate, i. e., his secret yearning, his silent love and admiration. Bertz goes on to defend the poet's sensuality as the religious view of the sanctity of all life.—Whitman is an optimist in the real sense. He does not deny

the existence of evil but accepts it from Mother Nature with the devout reverence of a loyal son. Being in harmony with the will of the universe, he points forward to the ultimate salvation from all earthly woes. An all-embracing sympathy, then, is the source of Whitman's poems; they are sure to live through centuries and will be a consolation to future generations. Judged merely from an esthetic point of view, Whitman is inferior to a number of other poets; however, his form must be acknowledged as a thoroughly adequate vehicle of his thought.

Whitman was delighted with the homage of his German admirer. He entered into a correspondence with him, and, hoping to make him a permanent advocate of his cause, he liberally provided him with material—photographs, laudatory newspaper-clippings, and the like. The effect upon Dr. Bertz was quite contrary to Whitman's expectations. The German disagreed with what he considered a typical American self-advertizing scheme, became critical, and soon stopped responding to Whitman's advances. Nevertheless, he kept up his interest and wrote a favorable, though somewhat reserved, account of Whitman's work and life for *Spemann's Goldenes Buch der Weltliteratur*, 1900. In view of Bertz's later attitude one statement in that article deserves special mention: "The most modern of all poets, Whitman has assimilated the scientific investigations of the century and connected their results into a grand harmony, thus becoming the poetical interpreter of monistic philosophy."

In the meantime T. W. Rolleston, assisted by Karl Knortz, had made another attempt to introduce Whitman in Germany. With the sanction of the author himself they published, in 1889, a selection from *Leaves of Grass—Grashalme*—which was headed by a comparatively well-balanced preface. The book was an improvement upon Freiligrath. It contained the entire *Song of myself* and a goodly number of other characteristic *Leaves*, e. g., *Out of the Cradle*, *The mystic Trumpeter*. The version is rather crude, at times even faulty, neither German nor English. It suggests the interlinear method of medieval scribes and

would probably have met with the same fate as Freiligrath's, if it had not been for Whitman's German pendant.

Even Whitman's death in 1892 did not cause more than a shallow ripple in the sea of letters. There was an insignificant article by Johannes Schlaf in *Freie Bühne* (now *Neue Rundschau*), which simply reproduced the views of Rolleston-Knortz, Freiligrath, and Bertz. Nor did any of the other professional journalists and magazine writers find it worth while to read Whitman's original text. What they said about him was a sort of second- or third-hand literary gossip, such as Whitman himself had indulged in—"Kant having studied Fichte, Schelling and Hegel." Toward the middle of the decade, however, the Nietzsche-cult reached its high-water mark. "Jüngst-deutschland" turned largely away from the rigid tenets of naturalism, reveling instead in the rhetorical symbolism of *Zarathustra*. Whitman was illuminated by Nietzsche: democratism versus aristocratism in their political, social and religious aspects respectively. *Grashalme* and *Zarathustra*: each seemingly destroying the old, traditional institutions and proclaiming new ethical standards; the form of each resembling the oracular tone of oriental prophets. Nietzsche-mania was the beginning of Whitmanism in Germany. The latter has to the present time fortunately been limited to a small group of adepts, while Nietzsche's influence, directly or indirectly, exerted itself as a fertilizing power upon the thought of the masses.

An Austrian, Karl Federn, a student of Emerson and Nietzsche, was attracted to Whitman by his transcendentalism. In 1897 he published an essay on Whitman (*Die Zeit*), which two years later was reprinted, with papers on Emerson and Thoreau under the title *Essays zur Amerikanischen Literatur*. In contrast to Schlaf he had not rested satisfied with the knowledge of selections only. Federn had read all of Whitman's writings, poetry as well as prose. But he also knew Bucke's biography and O'Connor's eulogy, *The good gray poet*, and completely identified himself with their views. Accordingly Whitman is represented by him as the most perfect, the most

original and the grandest of all American poets—as *the* poet of America. Whitman is also the greatest of thinkers, not only in his own country, but in all countries, for his ideas are the ultimate fruit of the Nineteenth Century. His Ego is the physically and spiritually perfect man in whom there is contained the essence of civilization and nature alike. His sensuality is as pure as nature herself. He is the most healthy, powerful, loving, life-asserting personality since Goethe. He is possessed of a magic magnetism such as is ascribed to Moses, Buddha and other founders of religions—a parallel to Christ is indirectly drawn, cf. O'Connor. Whitman is a Cosmos, a symbol and type of universal life. His gospel of love and comradeship reconciles democracy with aristocracy, the equality of all being the soil out of which great aristocratic individuals—Ibsen's Adelsmenschen—grow. As in Whitman the two principles of individualism and collectivism are combined into a higher synthesis, so Heaven and Earth, spirit and matter are forever united.

Whitman's, the wound-dresser's, superhuman qualities are enlarged upon in another article of the same volume: *Aus Amerikanischen Kriegszeiten*. It is, here as before, Bucke's and O'Connor's phantastic exaggerations that guide Federn's pen. The author did not think it necessary to change his opinion when, in 1904, he published a *Selection* from the *Leaves*, using for an introduction what he had written five and seven years before.

Curiously enough, reprinting from stored-up material with slight or no alterations seems to have been a tenacious habit with the German Whitmanites. In 1899 Karl Knortz republished an essay *Walt Whitman als Dichter der Demokratie*, which previously had appeared in the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, December 1882, again in 1886, and once again, translated into English by Alfred Forman and R. M. Bucke, in *In Re Walt Whitman*, 1893. Knortz's article, in itself, was worth reading. It was based upon independent study and good common sense—a very exceptional quality with Whitman-admirers—; it was enthusiastic and yet free from ecstatic madness. Knortz did not



worship Whitman as a modern Christ, but he respected him as a great poet and fearless thinker. Admitting that there is some rubbish among the *Leaves*, he declares *Out of the cradle* and *When lilacs last in the door-yard bloom'd*<sup>2</sup> to be masterpieces that equal any of the world's greatest achievements in literature. Whitman's philosophy is interpreted as monistic optimism, his eroticism as a wholesome antidote against puritanic prudery, his gospel of fellowship as the democratic principle of sympathy for all mankind. A brief biography, an enlightening analysis of *Democratic Vistas* and an appendix of good translations, e. g., *The Song of the Broad-Axe* and *Night Poem (The Sleepers)*,—all that makes Knortz's pamphlet the most valuable contribution to Whitman-literature in Germany, before Dr. Bertz entered the field once more.

Johannes Schlaf repeated his article of 1892 in the magazine *Neuland* of 1896, and two years later again in book-form. In 1900 he prefaced a superfluous German translation of Whitman's *Novellen* by Thea Ettlinger. In 1904 he established himself as the authorized Whitman-apostle by a monograph *Walt Whitman* which appeared as volume 18 of *Die Dichtung*. This little book is an unparalleled example of high-handed arrogance, cowardly imposition and utter ignorance. As Dr. Bertz, in *Whitman-Mysterien*, 1907, has clearly shown, Schlaf had even then, 12 years after his first contribution, no knowledge of Whitman's own language. He discussed an author of whose writings he had not read more than perhaps 15%, and for his judgment he relied solely on the few German articles that have been mentioned. What, then, could he do but pilfer his sources and conceal his plagiarism behind nebulously mystic exaggerations? Whitman is not only Buddha plus Jesus re-incarnated but at the same time an anticipation of Nietzsche's superman. Whitman at last has brought to an end the long struggle between religion and science. His is the scientific religion of monism.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> First translated into German by the present writer and published in *Aus fremden Zungen*, Berlin, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Fritz Lienhard in *Wege nach Weimar* is uncritical enough to make Whitman a successor of Goethe; cf. *Erwinia*, Strassburg, Sept. 1909.

Absurd and blasphemous as such hero-worship was, Schlaf's non-chalant charlatanism duped publishers as well as reviewers. In 1907 the reputable firm of H. Haessel, Leipzig, published Henry B. Binns's *Life of Whitman* translated by Johannes Schlaf. The book was another proof of Schlaf's literary irresponsibility. With the exception of certain portions which were taken care of by an anonymous helper,<sup>4</sup> the translation is absolutely worthless, as has been shown elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> And yet this remarkable translator boldly advertizes himself in the preface: "I have rendered the English text without any alterations whatever!" But that was not all. Schlaf surpassed himself by publishing *Grashalme* of his own selection where the Whitman student will be able to make many sensational discoveries, such poems as had previously been translated by others excepted.<sup>6</sup>

In 1904 and 1906 other translations had appeared: *Grashalme* by Wilhelm Schölermann and *Prosa-Schriften* by the present writer. Schölermann's introduction did not essentially differ in point of view from Federn-Bucke. I myself confess to the guilt of a serious attack of Whitmania, although I tried to be moderate in my statements and made Whitman *only* a superman instead of a God as my predecessors had done.<sup>7</sup> Both Schölermann and myself defended Whitman against what we believed possible misinterpretations of his gospel of friendship.

Dr. Bertz had the courage to face the truth and he had the scholarly equipment to prove the truth, i. e., the fact that Whitman's conception of friendship is based upon an abnormal sexual instinct. This being the case, Whitman can no longer be considered the perfect, typical man, the model, the leader of others. On the contrary: the world must be enlightened and warned as to the real meaning of Whitman's principal message. Bertz's article: *Walt Whitman, Ein Charakterbild*, appeared in Vol.

<sup>4</sup> So Mr. Binns informed me.

<sup>5</sup> *Englische Studien*, 1907, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Appeared in the Reclam-Library.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Deutsche Arbeit*, Prag, 1905-06, V. pp. 392-403.

VII of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1905.<sup>8</sup> It systematized, strengthened and brought to a conclusion the evidence gathered by Havelock Ellis, J. A. Symonds, Raffalovich, Edward Carpenter, Max Nordau, and others. It was not without reluctance that Bertz destroyed with his own hands the idealizing picture of Whitman which he had painted before. During many years of careful study he had found the solution of the secret lurking behind Whitman's seemingly unfathomable personality; and once recognized, truth must be revealed to others. Bertz, in this matter, is far from British cant. He does not condemn Whitman; for how can anything be condemned, the cause of which lies beyond the control of personal will power? Nor does he join Edward Carpenter in extolling Whitman and all Uranians, as if they represented a higher type of humanity than the normally built. As a man of science Bertz knows that nature tends to differentiation and that the most purely differentiated species, not the hybrid, is typical.

In addition to Bertz's arguments we may call attention to the curious onesidedness of Whitman's gospel. If it ever had meant an ideal love of mankind, as the adepts—even the women among them—claim, Whitman would have declared the love of woman to woman a means of redemption as solemnly and emphatically as he did the love of man to man. But there is no allusion in his writings to that essential part of the conception of friendship. And as to the love of man to woman, did he ever sing of anything higher than brutally physical relations, did he ever find an expression for the sweet charm of soulful womanly love? No, among the lyrists of the world Whitman stands almost alone in not having given us one true love song, nor ever having dreamed of that most beautiful of all forms of friendship, the friendship between husband and wife, between man and woman. Whitman's "universal love" may refer to rocks and trees, to mountains and oceans, to clouds and planets, but it excludes the basic love of mankind and contaminates the conception of manly friendship with morbid passion.

<sup>8</sup> This article contains some excellent translations from *Calamus*.

Whitman shaped his covenant to suit his own individuality, not to make it acceptable by humanity at large. And if, toward the end of his life, after his fatal passion had died out, he encouraged a symbolical interpretation of *Calamus*, he deceived, more or less consciously, himself and the world.

The sound scholarship, the matter-of-fact tone and discretion of Bertz's article, stand in glaring contrast to the vicious attack it called forth. Johannes Schlaf again assumed the rôle of the Whitman-apostle. Without investigating the sources, without even entering into a serious discussion of the arguments advanced, Schlaf hurls a pasquil at Dr. Bertz so mean in contents and form that Bertz, in sheer self-defence, was forced to expose to the public Schlaf's astounding ignorance and thievish methods. That was done in the booklet *Whitman-Mysterien*, 1907, referred to above. At the same time Dr. Bertz published another volume on Whitman: *Der Yankee-Heiland*, in which he proved himself definitely the superior of any Whitman student on the continent.

The book is a final refutation of Whitman's claim to have found the synthesis of science and religion. It shows how extensively and how indiscriminately Whitman borrowed his ideas from others. It shows that he contradicts himself, not in the Emersonian sense of a progressive development and self-revelation, but in the sense of a disharmonious chaos.<sup>9</sup> Side by side with Emerson's (or Rousseau's) individualism, pantheistic transcendentalism, and dogmatic metaphysics, we have a crude theism and a materialistic doctrine of personal immortality which seem Whitman's own mental possession. For does he not announce his religion as entirely new? In reality Whitman's theism does not differ from the creed of the Old Testament, and his conception of personal immortality—identity as he is pleased to call it—is nothing else than the doctrine of St. Paul.

<sup>9</sup> Similarly Leopold Weber in *Kunstwart*, October 1905, and Hermann Esswein in *Der Deutsche*, November 1905, point out the barbarous chaos of Whitman's thought. *Der Yankee-Heiland* bears the significant sub-title: "Ein Beitrag zur Modernen Religions geschichte."



After drawing a parallel with Carlyle and Berkeley, Bertz points out Whitman's indebtedness to Novalis, whose principal ideas were transmitted to him by Carlyle. Here we have a striking illustration of Whitman's method of second hand philosophizing: Carlyle gives extracts from Novalis; Whitman in his turn gives extracts from Carlyle's. For Novalis as well as for Whitman religion is the center of gravitation, the purpose of creation. Both dream of a uniform, universal religion. Both see manifestations of God in every natural phenomenon (cf. the Psalms, too, etc.). Both value faith more highly than knowledge, mystic intuition more highly than science. It goes without saying that here again Whitman is inconsistent, inasmuch as he never ceases to pose as a radical rationalist. To both love seems the basis of all metaphysics—only, Whitman's theory of love has that peculiar tinge alluded to above. Both fall a prey to that romantic ecstasy, where religion and sensual passion intermingle. Even in thinking of death they experience the sensation of voluptuousness. Both are typical romanticists in their quest of the blue flower, in their longing for an illusory ideal in a world of dreams. Again Whitman is inconsistent. According to the materialistic element in his philosophy, the pleasures of this life mean as much to him as the pleasures of the beyond, and the joys of Heaven are no less physical than the joys of the world.

It was stated above that Whitman shared with St. Paul the conception of immortality. With the author of the first epistle to the Corinthians he believes in the transcendental reality of space and time as the abode of the eternal soul. He also believes that the soul is born with the body. It is the predestined purpose and end of all material evolution to bring forth the immortal soul. The human body itself is the ultimate stage in the preparation of the soul for an everlasting individual existence.

The same biblical teleology Whitman applies to his conception of God. And yet Whitman is not a Christian. He does not believe in the salvation through Christ nor in the remission of sins. Redemption and condemnation are allotted to man ac-

according to his deeds in this life. If Christ were acknowledged as our Saviour, there would be nothing left for Whitman to do. So Whitman expects of his disciples a mystical faith in his own mission. If there is any intercessor at all—it is Walt Whitman.

Christians conceive of God as a Trinity. Whitman invents—following the example of Spinoza et al.—a Quaternity including Satan. Evil is not a punishment for sins committed, but a benevolent part of God's original program of human education. Consequently Evil is the same as Good, sin as perfect as virtue; and if Whitman were capable of thinking out one thought logically, he would have come to the conclusion that the world should be left alone, no salvation of any kind being needed. His only mission would then have been to interpret somewhat liberally Pope's and Hegel's famous sayings: All that is, is right; or: all that is, is reasonable.

This seems absolute and unshakable optimism. Indeed, if any one, Whitman has the reputation of being the optimist par excellence. It is his emphatic and thousandfold affirmation of life and death, bliss and misery, good and evil, body and soul that attracts to him those who are discontented with established church-religions. But how can an optimist declare life a fraud of the most tragic kind, if there should be no immortality? That is what our optimist actually did: literally in conversation with Horace Traubel; practically in his well known debate with Robert Ingersoll. Socrates, Lucretius, Marcus Aurelius welcomed eternal sleep as the greatest of blessings. They did not take refuge to the theory of personal immortality for a justification of this life. Nor did Nietzsche. They accept life unconditionally as it really is. That is the standpoint of science. Whitman's affirmation, however, depends upon a hypothesis, which may be believed, which can never be scientifically proved. Where, then, is the Whitmanian synthesis of religion and science? Dr. Bertz drily remarks: Whitman's intellect disapproves, his faith approves the world. Apparently he is an optimist, secretly a pessimist.

Certainly Dr. Bertz deserves credit for having laid bare this irreconcilable discrepancy in Whitman's philosophy and, besides, its principal cause: Whitman's abnormal sexuality. As an Uranian the poet was at variance with the ethical standard of society. Therefore his spells of moral anarchism, as well as the undertone of despondency, misery, and negation in his gospel of affirmation. Whitman was anything but the type of manly perfection. While his instincts were largely feminine, his constitution degenerate, he tried to persuade himself and others of the contrary—just as Nietzsche did.

Bertz devotes a brilliant chapter to a detailed comparison of the two poet-prophets. In spite of certain points of similarity in their life and thought—the latter being due chiefly to a common source: Emerson—they are direct counterparts as regards the ultimate meaning of their message. Nietzsche's superman is a lofty, if utopian, ideal to be reached in a faraway future, as the result of gradual evolution. The superman is really Godlike. Whitman sees his ideal of manhood, the divine average, fulfilled now among the common people. An ordinary hack-driver with the spiritual aspirations of a savage meets his requirements completely, if only he is a "good fellow." But since both Whitman and Nietzsche place instinct above reason, and since both have never attained to logical consistency in their philosophy, they may not be counted among the leaders of mankind. They have not given new cultural values to the world as have Goethe and Emerson.

As artists they have fallen below many a less famous poet. Neither *Zarathustra* nor *Leaves of Grass* are, strictly speaking, poetical compositions. They contain a wealth of esthetic material. But the passages where form and content reach the permanency of concrete images are few. Nietzsche and Whitman are poetizing orators, not artists with the formative power of visualization. As to Whitman we have said that he shaped his gospel to suit his own individuality. The same is true of his theory of art. Accepting Sainte-Beuve's view <sup>10</sup> that a work of

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Diary of 1882* and *Democratic Vistas*.

art should rather suggest emotions than give definite form to an esthetic experience, Whitman, in true romantic fashion, meets the critics' objection to the hazy vagueness of the majority of his poems.<sup>11</sup>

But his own theory offers no excuse for the monotony of his verse. If it reminds the poet and some of his readers of the roll of ocean waves, we have to ask the question: What does that mean? Are we to take for comparison the indefinable roar of the agitated sea with its general effect upon the ear of monotony? Or are we to think of the equally indefinable, innumerable, ever changing curves the sea in its calm moods inscribes upon the sand of the beach? Or what? The fact remains that Whitman applies the same technique of rhetorical pathos to any and all subjects: *Cavalry crossing a ford* in its rhythmical structure does not differ from *Passage to India*. And that is uncreative impressionism. Nor does Whitman's theory do away with the greatest objection to his poetry, viz., that its final effect is enervating rather than invigorating. In this Whitman resembles a vastly superior artist: Richard Wagner, whom Nietzsche justly called the great sorcerer.

Both Whitman and Wagner were possessed of an indomitable sensuality, the magnetism of which, vibrating through all their compositions, causes an ecstatic intoxication invariably followed by utter exhaustion. This may not be an esthetic consideration, but it is a fact worth recording. The more openly we face the truth, the sooner we get over that dangerous malady which Swinburne diagnosed as Whitmania. Nations that have produced a Goethe and an Emerson need not and should not worship a Whitman as one of their heroes.

O. E. LESSING.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Knut Hamsun, *Die Gesellschaft*, XVI, pp. 24-35. It is interesting to note that Jakobowsky, the editor, published Hamsun's severe criticism of Whitman with the footnote "We who love Whitman prefer to have Johannes Schlaf instruct us." For criticism of Whitman's rhetorical style, cf. Arno Holz, *Revolution der Lyrik*, Berlin 1899.



A HISTORY OF GERMAN LITERATURE by Calvin Thomas, L.L.D., Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures in Columbia University, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1909.

In der Beurteilung eines Buches ist der Zweck, dem es in erster Linie dienen soll, ein nicht unwichtiger Massstab. Ueber diesen Punkt schweigt sich der Verfasser zwar aus, da er jedoch selbst akademischer Lehrer ist und überdies im Anhang eine Art wissenschaftlichen Apparat bringt, so liegt die Annahme nahe, dass sein Buch, wenn auch vielleicht nicht ausschliesslich, zum Gebrauch in den Schulen dieses Landes bestimmt ist.

Von diesem Standpunkte aus betrachtet hat es ganz erhebliche Mängel; es sei denn, dass sich der Leser nur mit Professor Thomas' Auffassung bekannt machen wollte. Wer nicht bereits mit dem Gegenstande vertraut ist, dürfte aus dem hier besprochenen Buche kaum eine klare Vorstellung von der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur gewinnen. Dazu ist die Art der Darstellung und die Anordnung des Stoffes zu gleitend und verschwommen; die Hauptpunkte springen nicht genügend ins Auge, die Umrisse sind zu undeutlich.

Dann gereicht auch die ausserordentlich umfangreiche Kenntnis des englischen Wortschatzes, die Professor Thomas ohne Zweifel besitzt und gerne zur Schau trägt, dem Verständnis des Buches hin und wieder zum Nachteil; jedenfalls gilt dies, soweit der jugendliche Leser in Betracht kommt. Wörter wie *sutorial*, *cachinnatory*, *bouleversasion*, *pococurantism*, u.s.w. sind ihm unbekannt, und die Gefahr liegt nahe, dass er einfach darüber hinweg liest. Selbst wenn er sie nachschlägt, so bleibt der betreffende Begriff wohl doch in Gestalt eines dem Leser bereits bekannten Synonyms oder in umschriebener, d. h. verschwommener Form haften. Eine für die grosse Mehrzahl der jugendlichen Leser wirklich wertvolle Bereicherung ihres Wortschatzes fände durch Aneignung solcher Wörter wohl kaum statt; in jedem Falle stören sie die augenblickliche, unmittelbare Erfassung des Gedankeninhalts in einer Weise, die durch etwaige, anderweitige Vorteile nicht im entferntesten aufgewogen wird. Das Buch ist sonst in einem fliessenden, flotten, geistreichen Stil geschrieben—mancher Ausspruch kommt allerdings der Geistreichelei bedenklich nahe—der Verfasser hat über alles und jedes seine eigne Meinung, mit Ausnahme vielleicht des 19. Jahrhunderts, wo er sich wiederholt auf die

allgemeingültigen Anschauungen beruft; er kennt nicht nur seinen Gegenstand, er steht hoch und stolz über demselben. So wird der Ton seines Buches oft geradezu geringschätzig. Wenn es gilt, seine überlegene Verachtung zum unzweideutigsten Ausdruck zu bringen, bedient sich Professor Thomas ohne Scheu der stärksten Mittel. Der arme Ulrich von Lichtenstein wird unbedenklich als *cracked gentleman* eingeschätzt.

Eine Einführung in die Literatur eines anderen Volkes erfordert vor allem ein liebevolles Eingehen auf den jeweiligen Standpunkt des betreffenden Dichters, ein Sicheinfühlen in die Anschauungsweise anderer Zeiten und Völker. Die den Werken anhaftenden Härten und Mängel sind nicht etwa zu verschweigen, wohl aber nach Möglichkeit aus den Zuständen einer vergangenen Kultur zu erklären. Und jede Schönheit ist besonders hervorzuheben, so weit dies Zeit und Raum irgend gestatten, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, dass sich der eine oder andere Leser bei näherer Bekanntschaft mit diesem oder jenem Werke etwas enttäuscht fühlen sollte. Von allem dem findet man in dem vorliegenden Buche nur sehr wenig. Der Verfasser scheint einen wahren Genuss darin zu finden, alle Schäden und Gebrechen schonungslos an den Pranger zu stellen, und zwar ohne jedes erklärende und versöhnende Wort. Er ist häufig mehr Ankläger als Anwalt, und überall legt er seinen eignen, höchst verständigen und korrekten Massstab an. Man darf mit gutem Gewissen versichern, dass sich niemand aus seinem Buche einen Begeisterungsrausch trinken wird. So verwerflich kritikloses Lob und leere Phrase, so notwendig sind aber dem Verfasser einer derartigen Schrift ein teilnehmendes, nicht nur intellektuelles Verständnis des geistigen Lebens vergangener Epochen und fremder Völker, die Fähigkeit aus sich selbst herauszugehen, die Welt und menschliche Schicksale mit den Augen anderer zu betrachten, sich in das Seelenleben anders gearteter Menschen zu versetzen.

Daran mangelt es in diesem Buche überall da, wo es sich um im weitesten Sinne des Wortes romantische Dichtungen handelt, die sich besonders an das Gefühl und die Phantasie wenden. Für Professor Thomas ist z.B. das Nibelungenlied im wesentlichen nur eine Schilderung schimpflichen Mordes und teuflisch boshafter Rache, in ästhetischer Beziehung durchaus ungenügend; die zu Grunde liegende sittliche Anschauung ist empörend und die Darstellung übertrieben. Statt den kulturgeschichtlichen Wert der Dichtung in Bezug auf das Ritterwesen hervorzuheben oder auch nur anzudeuten, wird gerügt, dass dieselbe nicht die für das gesamte Volk massgebenden Kultur-mächte verkörpert.

Da der Verfasser nach dem Vorgang längst veralteter deutscher Kritiker die homerischen Dichtungen zum Vergleich heranzieht, ist die Frage wohl erlaubt, in wiefern die Ethik des Nibelungenliedes hinter den in ersteren zum Ausdruck gelangenden ethischen Anschauungen zurücksteht, besonders da bei Thomas der Vergleich zu Ungunsten des deutschen Epos ausfällt. Ist die Stellung der Frau bei Homer etwa höher als im Nibelungenliede, oder die Art und Weise wie Achilles noch über den Tod hinaus seine Rache an Hectors Leichnam auslässt etwa menschlicher als die raue Sitte der Nibelungenrecken? Das Verhältnis Siegfrieds zu Brunhild ist für die ethische Bewertung eigentlich wenig massgebend, da sich der Dichter hier mit einem durch die Ueberlieferung gegebenen Bestandteile abzufinden hatte. Aber Siegfried unterzieht sich seiner Aufgabe keineswegs, um seiner eignen Neigung zu dergleichen Abenteuern zu fröhnen, wie man nach Professor Thomas annehmen muss. Er rät Gunther im Gegenteil, von dem Abenteuer abzustehen, und nur die Aussicht auf diese Weise Kriemhild zu gewinnen, veranlasst ihn schliesslich zur Teilnahme, und nur um das Werk, für das er bereits seinen Lohn empfangen hat, nun auch zu Ende zu führen, überwältigt er Brunhild zum zweiten Mal. Die zwei Zeilen, in denen Kriemhild der Strafe für ihre Redseligkeit erwähnt, stellt der Verfasser natürlich in das rechte Licht; doch von den mehreren hundert Zeilen, in denen die geachtete und einflussreiche Stellung der Frau geschildert wird, erwähnt er geflissentlich kein Wort.

Es ist die eherner Konsequenz Hagens, die ihn zur gewaltigsten Gestalt im Nibelungenliede macht. Sein gesamtes Tun und Handeln entspringt einer unwandelbaren, streng geschlossenen Weltanschauung, und in der furchtbaren Geschlossenheit seines Charakters liegt echte sittliche Grösse. Die Grundzüge seines Wesens sind Furchtlosigkeit und Treue; jedoch nicht Treue zu Brunhild, wie Thomas findet. Von einer solchen kann überhaupt nicht die Rede sein, oder wenigstens nur in sofern sie von seiner Treue zu Gunther unzertrennlich ist. Dazu kommt aber als weiteres Motiv seiner Tat Eifersucht auf Siegfried und das Verlangen nach dem Besitz des Nibelungenhorts.

Man vergleiche die folgenden Stellen:

hort der Nibelunge beslozen hât sîn hant.  
 hey, sold er kommen immer in der Burgonden lant!  
 'Sîn gevolgte niemen, niwân daz Hágene  
 riet in allen zîten Gunthêr dem dégene,  
 ob Sîfrit niht enlebte, sô wurde im untêrân  
 vil der kûene lande.'

Auch gegen Ende der Dichtung taucht der Nibelungenhort wieder auf; es sind dieses Anklänge an den Fluch, der ihm nach der nordischen Sage anhaftet.

Der Untergang der Burgunder geht nicht aus deren Mitschuld hervor, sondern er wird durch die unverbrüchliche Treue herbeigeführt, die der König und seine Brüder ihrem Lehnsmanne Hagen beweisen, ein Motiv, das doch wohl kaum dem Vorwurf sittlicher Verwerflichkeit ausgesetzt sein dürfte. Auch Kriemhilds Rache ist nicht lediglich als solche zu betrachten. In damaligen Zeiten machte die Obrigkeit im Falle eines Mordes nicht den Ankläger. Es war Sache des nächsten Angehörigen den Mörder zur Verantwortung zu ziehen. Konnte jener eine Sühne auf dem Rechtswege nicht erreichen, so war es seine sittliche Pflicht, diese auf andere Weise herbeizuführen; in der Wahl der Mittel war man allerdings dann ziemlich unbedenklich. In einem solchen Falle befindet sich Kriemhild; sie fordert nur das Leben Hagens, doch schreitet sie freilich über die Leichen ihrer Brüder hinweg, um es zu erreichen. Starres, unbeugsames Rechtsgefühl ist aber mindestens eine ebenso starke Triebfeder ihres Handelns, wie ihr Verlangen nach rein persönlicher Rache. Der nächste Angehörige konnte andererseits dem Schuldigen die Sühne erlassen. So z. B. in Tristan und Isolde. Man vergleiche:

‘der küene sprach: “triuwen, disen rât  
den lâze ich bältliche an dich:  
er gât dich mêre an danne mich.  
Môrolt din bruoder der was dir  
nâher gesippe danne mir.  
hâstu’z umbe in varen lân,  
wil dû, sô hân ouch ich ez getân”.

Die damalige Auffassung geht aus dieser Stelle deutlich genug hervor. ‘Wo kein Kläger ist, da ist auch kein Richter.’ Die Königin Isolde verzichtet keineswegs aus Gründen der Menschlichkeit auf die ihr zustehende Sühne, sondern da sie die Heiligkeit ihres gegebenen Wortes höher stellt als ihr Recht auf Sühne. Hier erinnert man sich unwillkürlich an Rüdiger und den Zwiespalt, in den er durch ein gegebenes Versprechen und die Heiligkeit des Gastrechts gerät, ein Zwiespalt, an dem er zu Grunde geht, zu Grunde gehen muss. Warum geschieht der ergreifenden Schilderung von Rüdigers Seelenkampf bei Thomas keine Erwähnung? Oder ist Rüdigers Ethik etwa zu irrational?

Noch ungünstiger fällt, wie leicht begreiflich, das Urteil über die höfischen Epen aus. Gleich am Eingang des betreffenden Kapitels stossen wir auf *the mounted knight with head full of sublime nonsense, fighting for an idea—something that*



*was neither food nor raiment nor scrip—and the romantic adventurer Barbarossa.* Welche Verirrung der menschlichen Natur, Gut und Blut an etwas zu wagen, was sich nie und nimmer in blanke Dollars umsetzen lässt! Die Besprechung von Tristan und Isolde ist gänzlich unzulänglich. Es ist unrichtig, dass in dieser Dichtung nichts ernsthaft genommen wird als sinnliche Liebe. Die ganze Verwicklung entsteht nur dadurch, dass Tristan seine Pflichten gegen König Marke als etwas Unanstasbares betrachtet. Für ihn existiert keine Möglichkeit, die Braut, die er Marke zuführen soll, einfach für sich in Anspruch zu nehmen. Seine Bewertung der äusserlichen Ehre, des guten Rufes, als notwendiger Lebensgüter ist eine derartig hohe, dass er, mit Isolde in die Verbannung verwiesen, nicht daran denkt, die Geliebte nach seinem Erblande zu führen, was doch die einfachste Lösung wäre. Tristans Auffassung stimmt zwar nicht mit der unsrigen überein, aber die Befriedigung seiner Leidenschaft ist durchaus nicht die einzige Richtschnur seines Handelns. Das Epos predigt auch nirgends das Recht der Leidenschaft, wohl aber stellt es die Fehltritte der Liebenden als ein trauriges Geschick hin, das aus den Umständen mit Notwendigkeit hervorgeht, welches innigstes Mitgefühl, nicht aber sittliche Entrüstung hervorrufen soll. Diese Auffassung ist vom rein menschlichen Standpunkte auch dann noch vollkommen verständlich, wenn man den Liebestrank aus dem ursächlichen Zusammenhange ausscheidet.

Wohl spricht der Dichter von geschlechtlichen Dingen ohne Scheu und Umschreibung, nie aber in frivolem Tone, auch findet man nirgends eine Schilderung üppiger Sinnenlust. Wer sich an der Sprache und Ethik Gottfrieds stösst, muss auch manches Kapitel der Bibel überschlagen. Die Mängel, die Professor Thomas an Tristan und Isolde aufdeckt, bezeugen nur die Engherzigkeit seines Standpunkts, und der Umstand, dass er die hohen Schönheiten der Dichtung mit absolutem Stillschweigen übergeht, lässt vermuten, dass er für dergleichen keine Empfänglichkeit besitzt.

Warum findet man z. B. auch nicht den entferntesten Hinweis auf die edle Selbstlosigkeit der Liebenden, die nicht das eigne Glück, sondern das des anderen zum Ziele ihres Strebens machen, die sogar das eigne Glück freiwillig aufopfern und vernichten, da der andere nicht daran teilnehmen kann, wie dies in der Episode von dem Hündchen Petiteriu zum Ausdruck kommt?—Doch das ist ja Unsinn! Solch ein Hündchen gibt es ja gar nicht, hat es auch nie gegeben. Wie kann man nur verständigen, gereiften Leuten mit einer derartigen Erfindung kommen?—Und zwei Menschen, die so gänzlich in einander aufgehen, die das grösste Glück ohne Zaudern von sich

weisen, da es nur einem von ihnen zuteil werden kann, sind einfach nicht normal.

Wie echt poetisch und rein ist nicht die Schilderung von Tristans und Isoldes Leben in der Minnegrotte, wie edel und ergreifend das Kapitel vom Scheiden und Meiden der Liebenden. Doch darüber verlautet kein Wort. Zum Ersatz wird der Unvollkommenheit des Gottesbegriffs eine ganze Seite gewidmet und Gottfrieds kritische Bemerkung als nahezu gotteslästerlich bezeichnet. Es ist übrigens nicht gerade wahrscheinlich, dass der Dichter dabei nur an die Missbräuche der Priesterschaft gedacht hat, denn gerade zu jener Zeit waren schwere, religiöse Zweifel weit verbreitet.

Wolframs Parzival, so sollte man meinen, muss aber doch Professor Thomas' Anforderungen genügen. Weit gefehlt! Hier ist Parzivals Unterlassungssünde, durch deren Folgen er in Schwermut und Verzweiflung gerät und den Glauben an Gott verliert, der Stein des Aergernisses, denn sie ist nur das Resultat eines rein äusserlichen Zufalls. Nein! Indem Parzival es unterlässt zu fragen lädt er schwere Schuld auf sich, da er seinem natürlichen sittlichen Empfinden zuwider handelt. Er ist vorübergehend auch einer von jenen, die mit einem unverrückbaren Massstabe an das Leben herantreten und es danach richten, die die von der Erfahrung und menschlichen Klugheit aufgestellten Regeln für ein unwandelbares Gesetz halten, und deren ganze Sittlichkeit darin besteht, dass sie ihren 'kleinen Katechismus' auswendig wissen, und alles verwerfen was nicht darin zu finden. Eine Handlung, die nur aus blinder Unterwürfigkeit unter ein Gesetz geschieht, wie hoch dieses auch stehen möge, hat jedenfalls nur geringen sittlichen Wert, und nur der handelt sittlich im eigentlichen Sinne, der sich über dieses Gesetz hinwegsetzt, wenn sein Gewissen, sein eignes sittliches Gefühl, ihm solches zur Pflicht machen. Das Wesen der Sittlichkeit ist immer und überall dasselbe, seine äussere Erscheinungsform, die jeweilig von der Gesellschaft vertretene Moral ist wandelbar. Die jetzt herrschenden ethischen Anschauungen werden ohne Zweifel künftigen Geschlechtern ebenso unvollkommen erscheinen, wie Professor Thomas die Ethik jener Dichtungen des Mittelalters; doch hoffentlich fällt das Urteil milder aus. Es ist wohl kaum nötig darauf hinzuweisen, dass ethische Bewertungen in einem ästhetischen Urteile überhaupt nicht am rechten Orte sind. Doch freilich wer will beweisen, dass der ästhetische Standpunkt in einer Literaturgeschichte massgebend sein sollte!

Da Zeit und Raum eine eingehende Erörterung sämtlicher abweichenden Urteile nicht gestatten, so muss in Folgendem ein einfacher Hinweis auf die Hauptpunkte genügen. Der

Ansicht, dass von Luthers Schriften nichts als seine Bibelübersetzung der Literatur im engeren Sinne des Wortes zuzuzählen sei, dürften wohl nur wenige beipflichten. Auch ist es ein Irrtum von den Problemen der Reformation einfach anzunehmen, dass— *all these are questions on which the modern mind can hardly fail to have an opinion*. Die meisten Leser haben keine Ahnung von denselben. Wer sich wirklich ein selbstständiges und unparteiisches Urteil gebildet hat, sollte dasselbe seinen Lesern nicht unterschlagen, am wenigsten nachdem er diese Fragen einmal angeregt hat.

Die Kapitel, die sich mit der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts befassen, sind der beste Teil des Buches. Doch ist die Auffassung auch hier eine rein verstandesmässige. Die Persönlichkeit Goethes und Schillers kommt nicht genügend zur Geltung. Raummangel liesse sich hier kaum als Entschuldigungsgrund anführen, denn manches in einer blossen Einführung Unwichtige wird ohne ersichtlichen Grund mit grosser Breite behandelt, so z. B. die Vorgeschichte des Don Carlos. Manches schiefe Urteil läuft mit unter. Professor Thomas ficht gegen Windmühlen, wo er sich gegen die Legende wendet, dass der junge Schiller durch die strenge Zucht der Karlsschule zur Empörung getrieben worden sei. Es ist durchaus nicht die herrschende Anschauung, dass der leidenschaftliche Ausbruch des jungen Dichters ausschliesslich auf die äusseren Verhältnisse zurückzuführen sei, obschon jeder zugeben muss, dass durch die despotische Behandlung, unter der der Jüngling zu leiden hatte, Oel ins Feuer gegossen wurde. Posa wird, nebenbei bemerkt, nicht zum Verräter an seinem Volke und Vaterlande, sondern nur an dem Tyrannen, eine Handlungsweise, die ein Republikaner wie Thomas doch wohl mit edler Denkungsart vereinbar finden sollte. Die Ausführungen über Wallenstein sind durchaus ungenügend; in Bezug auf Wilhelm Tell ist daran zu erinnern, dass das Verhalten der Zuschauer nun und nimmer einen ästhetischen Wertmesser abgeben kann, und in diesem besonderen Falle nichts für oder gegen die Einheit und Geschlossenheit der Handlung des betreffenden Dramas beweist. Es gehört schon eine ausserordentliche Portion 'gesunder Menschenverstand' dazu, Tassos Geschick einfach als einen gezwungenen, durch die Uebergriffe eines Verliebten veranlassten Ortswechsel aufzufassen, und dem Drama objektive Tragik rundweg abzuspochen. Ertzens ist die Trennung an sich tragisch,—alle Tragik besteht eigentlich in Trennung und Verlust—und zweitens wird sie noch dadurch verschärft, dass sie gänzlich durch Tassos eigene Natur, und zwar durch an und für sich berechnigte Charaktereigenschaften veranlasst wird.



Nach dem bereits Gesagten ist es selbstverständlich, dass die Romantiker einfach als Vagabunden abgetan werden und dass gerade die Romantiker im engeren Sinne, mit ihrem ausserordentlichen Ideenreichtum am schlechtesten dabei wegkommen. Den philosophischen Gehalt ignoriert der Verfasser sowohl hier wie bei Schiller und Herder. Die Bedeutung der Schlegel'schen Shakespeareübersetzung für die Entwicklung des deutschen Dramas, der Umstand, dass durch die Brüder Schlegel die Meisterwerke der italienischen und spanischen Literatur dem deutschen Volke zuerst zugänglich gemacht wurden, die Verdienste der beiden Schlegel um die klassische, germanische, romanische und auch orientalische Philologie: alles das bleibt unerwähnt. Man wende nicht ein, das gehöre nicht in eine Literaturgeschichte. Wer eine Geschichte der deutschen Literatur schreibt, sollte es sich besonders angelegen sein lassen, die innigen Beziehungen der Literatur zu dem gesamten Geistesleben der Nation nachzuweisen. Eine andere Methode ist in der Tat fast unmöglich.

In den Kapiteln über das 19. Jahrhundert sieht es bunt aus; Auswahl und Anordnung scheinen mehr Zufall als Absicht. Es ist zwar manchmal nötig ein unbedeutendes Werk, einen schlechten Schriftsteller ausführlich zu besprechen. In solchen Fällen muss aber die Minderwertigkeit besonders scharf betont werden. Wo es nicht geschieht, ist der Leser vollkommen berechtigt den einem bestimmten Schriftsteller zugewiesenen Raum als ungefähren Massstab seiner relativen Bedeutung zu betrachten. Falls man nun dieses Verfahren in vorliegendem Falle anwendet, so ist man gehörig auf dem Holzwege, und ein anderer Wertmesser ist auch nicht vorhanden. Was für einen Begriff muss sich ein Anfänger machen, wenn er findet, dass Gerhart Hauptmann fast drittheil, Sudermann dreiviertel Seiten eingeräumt sind, während Spielhagen sich mit ungefähr einer halben Seite begnügen muss, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer mit drei Zeilen, Anzengruber und Rosegger mit zusammen viertelhalb Zeilen abgespeist werden, und Liliencron gar nicht erwähnt wird. Nietzsche und Schopenhauer werfen selbstredend einen weit grösseren Schatten als z. B. Kant, der überhaupt nur ein einziges Mal genannt wird, und Fichte. Natürlich spukt auch die blonde Bestie jenseits von Gut und Böse herum. Kurz, im 19. Jahrhundert hat der Verfasser seiner Rosinante die Zügel schiessen lassen und trabt auf gut Glück in dem Dichterwalde herum, arbeitet mit Schlagwörtern und *bons mots*, und sucht häufig Deckung hinter der landläufigen Anschauung. Das Buch schliesst bezeichnender Weise mit einer Art Prophezeiung.—Sudermanns Bestes wird weiter leben als



ein ziemlich getreues Abbild der gesellschaftlichen Zustände in Deutschland um die Wende des 19. Jahrhunderts.—Selbst wenn man ohne weiteres zugäbe, dass Sudermann getreu nach dem Leben gezeichnet habe, so bleibt zu erinnern, dass er sich mit einer Gesellschaftsklasse befasst, die nur in Berlin und einigen anderen grösseren Städten gedeiht, dass diese Klasse einen verschwindend kleinen Bruchteil der Bevölkerung jener Grossstädte ausmacht, und dass endlich Berlin, selbst in seiner Totalität, ebensowenig Deutschland ist, wie New York die nordamerikanische Union. So dürfte jene Weissagung wohl doch zuschanden werden, und das Land wird sich hoffentlich noch auf recht lange hinaus des verderblichen Einflusses erwehren, der ohne Zweifel von dorthor ausgeht.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO OLD FRENCH PHONOLOGY  
AND MORPHOLOGY by Frederick Bliss Luquiens, As-  
sistant Professor of Spanish in the Sheffield Scientific  
School of Yale University, Yale University Press, 1909.

Through the appearance of Professor Grandgent's admirable *Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal* and his equally scholarly *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* we have been led to hope that an Old French Grammar of similar scope might follow. To be sure, the publication of such a book is not a crying need. Provençal and Popular Latin had not received separate treatment in easily accessible form before the appearance of Grandgent's treatises, but Grammars are not lacking for the study of Old French. Students of this subject are naturally familiar with Modern French, and if their reading knowledge of Modern German should be weak the absolute need of perfecting this knowledge for the successful pursuit of advanced studies is so evident that even a German Grammar is not looked upon as an insuperable obstacle. Teachers of this subject have thus been able to choose between Nyrop's clear and readable *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* and Schwan's *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen neu bearbeitet von Behrens*. It is not the intention here to institute a comparison between these two works. Either has merits which the other lacks. The writer has used them both and found the French work on the whole a little more acceptable, not because it is the better of the two, but because it is clear and readable. The German Grammar is more concise and ap-

parently bewilders the student with an amount of detail whose bearing he is unable to understand, largely because his knowledge of German is insufficient for the purpose. Nor is this difficulty removed by the French translation which the Schwau-Behrens Grammar has received. Whether the arrangement of the subject and the tremendous mass of detail be the cause, or the fact that the concise German method of statement made a clear French rendering impossible, experience seems to show that even in this French form the German Grammar continues to overwhelm the beginner in French Philology. The announcement of the book before us brought to mind all the difficulties that we have met in the presentation of this subject. The first thought was that at last we should have the opportunity of teaching with an English book prepared especially for American students.

The title of the book is rather misleading. It is not so much an introduction to Old French as an Introduction to the Schwan-Behrens Grammar. To be sure, there has been no intention on the part of Professor Luquiens to conceal this fact. He gives ample credit to the German Grammar in his Preface, but the full measure of the relation of the two books could hardly be inferred from what he says there. It is so close and vital that it would not have been improper to introduce the names of Schwau and Behrens into the title page.

One may question the advisability of publishing an Old French Grammar composed in this manner. Granting that an elementary book on this subject would be welcomed by American students, it would be possible to prepare it along independent lines. Whether such a Grammar would be really useful is another question. When we know how complicated linguistic processes are and how soon the limits are reached when essentials alone are taken into account, we may appreciate the limited value of such a book. Purely pedagogical in scope it would be thrown into the corner with the toys of the nursery as soon as the nursery period is over. If our present Grammars are inadequate for the needs of American students it would of course be well to have a book specially prepared for them, but it would be perfectly feasible to write it on a larger plan. It could in the main differ from other Grammars only in that it is written in English. It should treat the whole subject, it would separate rules from exceptions, and through its arrangement of main paragraphs and notes it would emphasize the matter of principal interest to the beginner. Such a book would take its place by the side of other Grammars, and if in addition it were provided with a proper bibliography it would be a continual guide to the student.

Professor Luquiens has tried to solve the problem in another way. On the whole he has merely translated the text of the German Grammar, occasionally combining several paragraphs into one. To make reference simple, he has retained the original numbering of paragraphs. Where he contracts, the remodelled paragraph, though it be only a dozen lines in length, has the numbers of the contracted paragraphs (cf. § 1-4), and when he adds the addition is equally clearly indicated by his method as in § 371½. His most fundamental omission consists in the absence of the Notes of the German Grammar which usually contain the smaller and more difficult problems.

The general arrangement of the subject has not been altered. There is one feature of the German Grammar, which is entirely arbitrary and tends to create confusion in the student's mind. The Old French period is sub-divided into an early period from the beginning to about 1100 and a later one from 1100 to the beginning of the Renaissance. The whole question is one of method and is in itself perfectly logical. It has the drawback that it fails to present compactly an outline of the history of the language to the present time. In my opinion Nyrop is here preferable. No such division is made there, so that each section of the book is complete for the problem involved. Luquiens retains the division with which his model provided him, and whatever difficulties there may exist in the German arrangement, these reappear in the abridged American form.

In the next place Luquiens reduces in each paragraph the illustrative examples to one, so that for the Phonology the Grammar becomes practically a synoptic outline of phonetic changes, similar to Röttger's *Die Altfranzösischen Lautgesetze in Tabellen* with this difference, that the printed arrangement varies. Each example is preceded by a clearly worded formulation of the rule which it illustrates. For a Grammar this is a questionable proceeding. The impression of the rule is emphasized by the examples, and the strength of the Schwan-Behrens Grammar lies precisely in the large amount of illustrative material which it contains. If the student is to derive benefit from Professor Luquiens' book he will need the German original before him while he studies the abridged translation.

Furthermore the selection of examples seems to have been done thoughtlessly. Usually the choice has fallen upon the first in Behren's list, and very frequently this illustrates perfectly the principle stated in the rule. But just as frequently the rule is more comprehensive, and then the examples which follow in the German Grammar are arranged by means of proper punctuation so as to correspond to the various features of the



rule. Professor Luquiens has completely over-looked this feature, so that his rules present statements for which no examples are given. This fault occurs so constantly that it constitutes a real weakness of the book. In illustration I may cite §§ 15, 16-20, 43, 62, 86, 93, 94, 97, 100, 117, 123, 131, 161, 167, 186, etc. No attempt has been made to make this list complete. Occasionally a rule occurs without any example as §§ 60 or 153-2. In still another series of paragraphs, which however is not very extended, through an apparent desire for logical consistency the author has been led to expand Behrens' rule so that the revised version contains statements absent from the German Grammar and for which no examples could be cited. What words contain  $\phi$  + epenthetic  $i$  before a nasal (§ 62) or pretonic  $u$  in similar conditions (§ 100)? In paragraph 211 we read that during the thirteenth century both  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{e}$  lose their quantitative difference and become  $e$  unless they come to be final, in which case they still lose their quantitative difference but remain  $e$ . Three examples are cited: *faba* > *fēve* > *fēve*, *\*mēttēre* > *mētre* > *mētre*, *amatu* > *amēt*, > *ame*. But where is the word showing checked  $\bar{e}$  having become final  $e$ ? This vowel became final only when it was followed by a consonant which ceased to be pronounced as in *misum* > *mēs*, *mittit* > *mēt*, and then its quality had been opened before the consonant disappeared.

There are further paragraphs where the condensation or elaboration of the German text has led the author to make erroneous statements. A few such instances may be cited by way of illustration. Others might be added though it would be doing the author wrong to allow the reader to infer that the book teems with such errors.

The Vulgar Latin development of vowels is treated in a single paragraph, numbered 16-20, which indicates a serious abridgment of the German text. The subject is very confusing to beginners. In the form in which it is presented here it is obscure. The student would be forced to conclude that Latin vowels possessed only the characteristic of quantity and that the differentiation into open and closed vowels is a development of the early centuries A.D.

In the history of proporoxytones, scattered through various paragraphs Professor Luquiens has overlooked the voicing of stops. *Tiep'du* §46 is wrong, just as *rap'du*, §52 (neither is found in Behrens) while §122 cites *sab'du* correctly. To be sure the problem is difficult; Neumann may not have given the final solution in *Zs. f. rom Phil.* XIV, pp. 559-563, and Behrens is exceedingly guarded in his statements §122. But this much is certain that voiced consonants must have come together where



the modern form has a voiced stop or spirant; *tiép'du* is impossible.

*Friēmīta* (§ 47-2) is surprising. We have had all sorts of dates for nasalization, and Luquien is cognizant of this fact (cf. § 35-3) but the process has certainly never been dated to precede the fall of penult vowels.

Upon what authority is the seventh century (not in Behrens) cited as the date for the change of *sapi* > *sqi* (*sauui* should have been added for the sake of clearness)? Is it likely that *sqi* is older than *causa* > *chose*?

Note in § 135-3 the impossible row *dq̄cet* > *du̇q̄ct* > *du̇é̇ḋzt* > *du̇é̇-idzt* > *dū̇iḋzt* > *dū̇ist* (not in Behrens).

Professor Luquien tries to show by his notation how an epenthetic *i* developed from a palatal consonant. To do this he separates the affected vowel by a hyphen from the consonant, as in *va-isel* (*vascellu*) 136, *pla-īye* (*plaga*) 140, *ma-iyour* (*majorem*) 152, *nėgru* > *nė-yr* > *nė-ṙ* > *nė-ir*, *tra-itier*, 158. This method gives, however, an entirely wrong conception of the process and is sure to be completely misleading to the student. The epenthetic vowel is the glide leading over to the palatal. As such it belongs to the vowel that precedes it as soon as it has acquired an independent value.

In words like *plaga*, *nėcat* (§ 140) it is difficult to say how long the spirant *y* (< c, g), remains after the epenthetic *i* has been developed. According to § 151 it lives in O. Fr. *nient* (*nē̇gē̇nt*), the *i* doing double duty (not in Behrens). *nicnt* (*nē̇gē̇nt*), the *i* doing double duty (not in Behrens). This position might be defended if the palatal consonant having changed its glide into a full vowel now continues to live on as a glide consonant. But what are we to say to the history of *pagensem* (§ 152) > *pa-īyēs* > *páiyis*, written *pais*, the *i* here doing triple duty? The pronunciation of this word was *pa-is* (correct in Behrens) until comparatively modern times; cf. Thurot *De la Prononciation Française*, I. p. 501.

Latin *l* (§ 174) does not become *u* 'after all vowels'; cf. Behrens § 281 where the history is correctly stated. This error is repeated by implication in Luquien's § 281.

The regular n. s. of *homo* (§ 299) in O. Fr. is (*h*)*uem* or (*h*)*om*, not *uen*. Final *m* is phonetically regular and older than *n*. Luquien looks upon *uen* and *on* as the older forms and explains *om* as due to the analogy of *ome*. It is needless to add that this paragraph is entirely reworked and that the German Grammar contains no similar statements.

The treatment of the verb, to which attention is called in the Preface is on the whole good and calculated to be serviceable. It should be stated, however, that the arrangement is

largely tabular and that Historical Grammar has been reduced to a minimum. Let us note in passing that *redédi=réddidi* (§§ 338-1 and 342-2) is not a weak perfect, and that the 2 p. pl. pres. ind. and sub. of the inchoative verbs of the second weak conjugation (§§ 339 and 340) apparently ends in *-ez*; not *fenissiez*, but *fenissez*.

The book ends with an Appendix containing three short passages of French, one from each period, in phonetic transcription. Examination reveals the fact that Professor Luquiens believes in the absoluteness of phonetic law not only in isolated words, but also in stress group. In consequence these lines contain many notations which it would be difficult to defend. How could it be proved that final consonants before a word beginning with a consonant were silent in the *Roland*, that final *t* in *devant* became *d* before *lui*, that *Apollin reclaimet* was pronounced *apollānd reklāimet* and *mals ne māu nē*? Phonetic theory is certainly carried to its limit here, and the explanations which follow on p. 144 only serve to emphasize this first impression.

This review should not close without pointing out certain excellent features of the little book. Its style is clear and comprehensible, the Glossary of technical terms, pp. 20-22, should be useful, and there are many small additions here and there which shed clearer light on difficult problems. While I doubt the advisability of teaching of Old French Grammar in this way, it is not impossible that students insufficiently familiar with German may find here a useful commentary provided, however, that they will keep the Schwan-Behrens Grammar constantly open before them.

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SCHILLER, SEIN LEBEN UND SEINE WERKE, von Karl Berger, In zwei Bänden, Zweiter Band. 812 pp., 1909.

With the appearance of the final volume of Berger's Life of Schiller the evil spell which has seemed hitherto to prevent the completion of a biography on a worthy scale of the best loved of the German dramatic poets is at last broken.

J. Minor's attempted "Life" remains a fragment at the end of the second volume, while its style as well as its exhaustiveness must have prevented it from becoming an interpreter of the poet to the masses, however imposing and authoritative it might have proved to the scholar and investigator. Weltrich's great work is

still unfinished, and probably is destined to share the same fate, and remain a torso. It, too, if completed, could scarcely become the definitive Schiller biography, certainly not the final one, for it likewise fails to keep the golden mean between too much and too little. Otto Brahm's Schiller biography might, with due apologies, be mentioned in this connection, because it also remains a fragment. The age of its earlier portions and the spirit out of which it grew render it unsatisfactory to present day students.

Other "Lives" had all proved inadequate for one reason or another, or had outlived their day of usefulness. The great problem remained unsolved, of producing an account of Schiller's life and works, in their origin and development, with their content and influence, that would be adequate in fulness but not overburdened with minute discussion of minor matters or analyses that render the works themselves unnecessary, popular in form and appeal, yet sound in every respect and taking due account of what investigation of various phases of the poet's career and works has established in recent years down to date of going to press.

The success of Bielschowsky's *Life of Goethe* naturally awakened a desire to see as happy treatment of his great companion poet, and few works of a like nature were ever expected more eagerly by scholar and public alike, than Berger's Schiller biography, when it was known, that both author and publisher proposed to make it a worthy companion piece to the former.

The appearance of the first volume in 1905 seemed to fulfill that promise in every respect. The style was certainly delightful, though a little unequal in some portions, and scholars in general agreed that the presentation of facts was exceptionally sound, and the perspective right. The elements of importance were given due prominence, and the details, while full, were not obtruded on the attention in such fashion as to distort the conception of the life as a whole.

Unfortunately, as a result of the attempt to divide a life of three well marked periods into two logical parts, that volume closed with Schiller's entrance upon his career in Jena. Not only the period of his mature works, but the whole decade of preparation for them, the most important period in his life and the one most likely to receive inadequate treatment at the hands of a popular biographer,—the crux of any *Life of Schiller*,—was left to a second volume. Judgment as to the final value of Berger's work, whether it should prove to be the definitive biography, or at least the standard for years to come, had to be suspended in the meantime.

At length, after several years of delay beyond the term first set, the second and final volume has appeared, and the German



speaking world has a biography of its greatest dramatic poet, which on the whole fulfills the demands of an adequate "Life" and does not disappoint in any essential feature the expectations raised by the first volume.

The first naturally challenged comparisons with its predecessors, particularly Minor's and Weltrich's works, but also with Brahm's and the briefer popular works. Of Berger's work we may briefly say, that it used with fulness all essential data presented, but was more critical and cautious in following Minor than Weltrich. The second volume has the field more clearly to itself. There is no real competitor in point of fulness of treatment, for Brahm's second volume does not even finish the analysis of the aesthetic essays, and leaves the classic plays and Schiller's whole connection with the Weimar theater untouched.

Of recent attempts to present Schiller's career as a whole in moderate compass we naturally compare with Berger's Kühnemann's and Thomas' biographies.

Kühnemann's interesting work, of course, can never become the standard biography, because of its frank intention to treat the works with unequal fulness and because of its general viewpoint. It is stimulating, to be sure, to see the poet and his art principles, in youth and in maturity, illuminated by Kühnemann from the two great eminences, "Die Räuber" and "Wallenstein," and to look at the man and the poet, not so much to discover what he was and how he became such, but to estimate his value to us now, but that is not the function of biography proper. Berger's purpose is to show us not only the man, but his works, not only the poet in his value for the present generation, but in his achievements for his own age, his significance historically as well as absolutely. Every thing is brought to light that can serve this purpose. Every fact of any importance in the brief life of the poet, which the latest investigations have brought to light or established, is used to complete the picture of the man. Brief sketches of his friends, some account of the dominant interests of the different circles with which he was associated, and the relation of all to general historical, literary, and philosophical movements, help the reader to a better appreciation of the milieu of the poet, and therefore to a better understanding of his remarkable career. Such sketches occur in Bd. I, Kap. 9, the literary movement in Swabia; in Bd. II, Kap. 24, the academic life and conditions at Jena; in Bd. I, Kap. 18, characterization of Körner and Leipzig friends; Bd. II, Kap. 32, of Fichte, Humboldt, Goethe; Bd. II, Kap. 34, of the Schlegels; etc., etc.

However the milieu is not overemphasized. The better viewpoint is taken throughout, that the personality, the inborn genius, is ultimately unexplainable, a datum to be accepted. A bio-



raphy has to narrate the unfolding of this personality in all its relations, its interaction with other personalities and external modifying forces, its accomplishments in word and work. Heredity will not explain all, nor will the artist's milieu, nor specifically, the literary influences. Berger gives us these in ample fulness, but everywhere he is more concerned with the fundamental character and genius of Schiller, which gradually but surely comes into its own in a struggle against adverse conditions, poverty, tyranny, want of appreciation, and last and heaviest, disease and its constant interruption of his plans.

But far more than the mere externally uneventful life are the works. Schiller's life is preeminently the progressive embodiment of himself in his works. Hence the great bulk of this biography is devoted to the latter. Every scrap of his productions is considered and placed in its true relation to his unfolding career. Every work, small or great, is analyzed more or less fully and its content noted. Berger, in fact, does not presuppose on the reader's part a large acquaintance with Schiller's works. He rather assumes an acquaintance with only several of the greater masterpieces, such as may be reckoned upon among *Gymnasiasten* and the general cultured public. Hence the careflessness to give full and sufficient insight into the message and meaning of everything the poet produced.

In the treatment of every phase of Schiller's life Berger shows a generous, sympathetic attitude toward his subject. Not a blind worshipper of every word, yet a lover of the poet's personality in all its expressions, he is able to see that the historical works are out of date, and displaced by better treatises based on fuller facts and produced in accordance with better methods, without condemning them as worthless and lacking interest. Thomas' rather flippant and cavalier way of hustling the historical works out of sight with a shrug of the shoulders and a curl of the lip, is in marked contrast with the recognition which Berger gives them from the point of view of their purpose, the available data, the customary mode of history writing at that time, the power of presentation of historic movements, and their art value today. The wide range of Schiller's interests in his lectures on history at Jena is brought out clearly.

Also in marked contrast with Thomas is the treatment of the philosophical studies and the aesthetic treatises that grew out of them. One feels at every turn that Thomas made his acquaintance with Schiller through the medium of that school which constantly exalted Goethe at the expense of Schiller, who, having formed a conviction that philosophy and poetry are mutually exclusive things, condemn and regret the years spent by the poet in mastering the Kantian system. Thomas waves most of the

aesthetic works aside with a word or two and an assurance that they are without interest to readers nowadays and of but slight importance for the appreciation of the poet's great creations. He even unkindly magnifies into the chief motive for their production the poet's need of money to make ends meet. One need only consider Schiller's refusal of Cotta's flattering offers of the editorship of a political journal to be convinced that money considerations were never dominant in any of his serious work. These essays were not mere pot-boilers, as Berger and Kühnemann rightly agree, but as much an expression of Schiller's genius as any other of his works. They represent a necessary stage in the development of a fundamentally philosophic personality, which was also endowed with marvelous powers of imagination. We might almost as well brand the classic dramas pot-boilers because the poet tried to market them to the best advantage for the support and security of his family.

In accordance with this better view, this recognition of the legitimacy and value of the philosophic studies, Berger devotes seventy-five pages of his "Life" to a clear characterization of Schiller's views and an expository analysis of all his essays. Like Kühnemann, Berger finds Schiller essentially Kantian, but is careful to emphasize the fact that Schiller was particularly inclined by character and previous thinking to be affected by the new and revolutionary doctrines which had just come from Königsberg. We do not have the conquest of an unwilling mind, or the temporary and superficial adoption of a system which happened at that time to be in the ascendancy, but the final clarification of a way of thinking fundamentally allied, yet different in certain important respects. The conquest of Schiller's mind, so far as was possible, by Kant's philosophy, or shall we rather say Schiller's conquest and assimilation of Kant's system so far as it furthered himself as a man and artist, is carefully and clearly sketched by Berger, and the moral and aesthetic differences of the poet from his master brought out. Whether Kühnemann and Berger do not go too far in identifying Schiller's thought with Kant's, is a question that will be answered differently by different thinkers. The present writer misses somewhat an emphatic recognition of Schiller's contribution to the solution of the ethical and the aesthetic problem. Doubtless Schiller remains generally within legitimate deductions from Kant's fundamental principles, but Kant himself felt and insisted upon the marked difference between his view of moral action and that of Schiller's "*schöne Seele*," and Schiller's attempt to find a criterion of objective beauty is certainly an advance upon Kant. But with this slight reserve, that may represent only a personal impression, Berger's chapter is to be praised as an excellent presentation of Schiller's development as a philosophic thinker,

and of his views as set forth in each and all of his essays. His style is not quite so crisp as Kühnemann's, but is clear and uniform and readable, which is important in so difficult a portion of a biography intended for popular use.

Likewise, the frank acceptance of the so-called reflective poetry as a genuine type of lyrical expression, and the equally patent desire to see and interpret the poet as he was, makes Berger's chapter on Schiller's "Gedankenlyrik" a notable one. Though a product of transition from the aesthetic studies to his serious occupation with "Wallenstein" it is not necessarily a mere by-product of his genius. The half apologetic tone of Thomas, the ascription of unripeness and partial validity to them, as transition products, by Kühnemann in his interesting rapid sketch, are replaced here by the warmest recognition. Of course, for those who exclude philosophic poetry from the realm of valid art, Schiller's lyrics of this period will appear only brilliant rhetoric and keen didactic. This Berger admits, though he insists that the difficulty is rather with the narrow definition of lyric art than with Schiller. Quoting with approval Dilthey's category of lyric poetry, in which a content that reaches out beyond and above the personal destiny of the soul, takes hold of it and completely determines its mood, Berger adds: "In this kind of lyric Schiller's mastery is incontestable, his imperial greatness unmatched. His philosophical poems shine with unwonted splendor as rare jewels among the crown treasures of German poetry, and the whole world, according to the judgment of the best critics, can present nothing equal in rank with these lyrics, so rich in meaning and at the same time so noble in form." As a counterpart of this high estimate, Berger rightly emphasizes the fact that Schiller's lyric field is not wide. Love lyrics, nature lyrics, which some consider the only true lyrics, were not his field. In general, Berger's chapter gives the fullest, warmest, and at the same time sane and thoughtful appreciation which this part of Schiller's art product has yet received. In the same spirit the long series of ballads and the "Glockenlied" are analyzed and judged.

The chapter devoted to "Wallenstein" is an excellent essay on the genesis of the play and the struggle of the poet to master the chaotic materials, and in fulness, accuracy, and clearness, leaves little to be wished. The analysis of the play by Acts affects one at first reading as a little pedantic, and Kühnemann's treatment may be more satisfying because freer formally, but the writer is attempting at the same time to make clear the relations of the parts of the two dramas, the "Piccolomini" and "Wallenstein's Tod" when considered, as they always should be, and as Schiller intended them, as making one single drama. One is ready to withdraw all charge of pedantry, however, on compar-



ing a few pages of Frick's "Wegweiser" devoted to the same subject.

What one might rather offer as a criticism is this noticeable fact: Berger rightly insists that a full understanding of Schiller's historical and aesthetic studies are of prime importance for the appreciation of his classic dramas, most of which have their source in historic events, which have been elaborated in a sovereign manner in accordance with the demands of his aesthetic system; and his readers would never have pardoned him if he had given too slight attention to those chapters. Now, in this sketch of the poet's years of difficulty and endeavor to master the mass of historical materials and transform them into a suitable tragic subject, as well as in the analysis of the play itself, everywhere the chief emphasis is laid upon the play as it is, the characters as they appear in the play, the actions as the poet presents them. Nowhere do we see, except in the most general fashion, how the poetic genius transforms his raw materials. With a few words and the introduction here and there of a few specific instances of the poet's transformations with their reasons, the whole artistic process might have been made luminous. However what is given is very full and excellent.

The chapter on the friendship with Goethe offers another point for comparison, not only with the other Schiller biographers, but with Bielschowsky's "Goethe," the model of Berger's work, which necessarily treats the same subject. All recite the same facts, but the personal viewpoint and individual style varies greatly. Bielschowsky emphasizes in a succession of sharp antitheses the differences between Goethe and Schiller, and assumes that their firm friendship rested upon the complementary character of these differences. Berger, less brilliantly perhaps but more fully portrays these differences, but insists that they kept the poets apart until the development of both toward a common ground of meeting reduced the contrasts to a narrow enough margin to permit a lasting union. Berger rightly agrees with Kühnemann, that the friendship rests primarily, not on complementary contrasts, but upon fundamental unity of view concerning art, which was the highest interest of both. Their differences could supplement each other, only because the poets were approaching from opposite paths a predominant unity of view and interest.

Of the biography as a whole it may be said, that it has no new discoveries to present and champion with partisan warmth, as Bielschowsky's work had. It makes use of the whole contribution of Schiller's scholarship to date, and is generally reliable to the slightest detail. Careful comparison, when in doubt, generally confirms the view presented.



In one particular, however, which occurred to the writer, the language might be misleading. When Berger remarks that "durch Veruntreuung" the English translation by Coleridge appeared too early, etc., the language seems to imply a charge of malversation against the English translator. It is probably true that the English publisher, Bell, to whom Schiller gladly sold the right of translation and publication, and for whom he prepared accurate copies of his manuscripts, found himself unable to carry out his part of the agreement, and, considering himself seized of the rights of translation and publication, resolved to dispose of them, as he would of any other property, to another publisher, who might handle the enterprise. Longmans, to whom the transfer was made, were already Coleridge's publishers, and knowing him to be a poet of rare ability, and one of the few able German scholars in England, offered him fifty pounds to translate it. Coleridge was distressed financially at all times, and therefore ready to take any offer. And thus it all came about, and it is well for Schiller that his work fell into so good hands. That Schiller had difficulty in securing the sum agreed upon by Bell is readily understood from the fact that the edition was a failure and Longmans lost money on the venture. Bell, and the lax notions of the age concerning literary property, were probably the only source of the difficulty. A slight change of wording could remove from Berger's statement all ground of misunderstanding.

Berger also makes use of the famous letter of Frl. v. Schimmelmann in the text in discussing the relations of Schiller to Goethe. In the notes, however, he calls attention to L. Geiger's attempt to prove it ungenueine. Geiger may be correct in his surmises, but few will be persuaded that the views contained in that letter are not those of Schiller himself, whoever may have pieced out the letter for publication, as Geiger will have it.

An excellent "Register" makes the contents of both volumes readily accessible for consultation.

All in all, this biography of Schiller is the best in all respects that the German people possess, the fullest and sanest, thoroughly reliable, with just perspective, and written with warm admiration for the genius of the poet, and clear insight into the personality of the man.

In closing we can only express the wish that some translator and some American or English publisher might be idealistic enough to make this work as accessible to the English speaking contingency of Schiller's admirers, as Bielschowsky's "Goethe" now is; for at present we are not in possession of an English biography which renders another either unnecessary or undesirable.

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# THE LAY OF THRYM, OR THE FETCHING OF THOR'S HAMMER.

Translated by George T. Flom.

(Reprint from the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XX.)

Is this new rendering of the *Hammersheimt* the first-fruit of a proposed translation of the entire body of Eddic poetry? In that case it augurs well for the whole. English readers stand in sore need of a version which, while fulfilling modern requirements, will do ample justice to the treasured poetic lore of their brethren beyond the Norway foam as this translation promises to do.

To be sure, the *Thrymskviða* is an alluring task for the translator, thanks to its unusually clear text and incomparable ballad-manner. Yet one needs but to read a few stanzas to perceive that the combination of stylistic training and technical knowledge is present, for once. It is especially his evident acquaintance with English ballads which enables Flom to reproduce the rough-hewn masculinity of the original in a most telling manner, making his version superior by far to Thorpe's, whose forte certainly was not the 'inevitable' word. The comparison of a few stanzas will bring that out in all clearness:

Thorpe 16,4—18.

Let us clothe Thor  
with bridal raiment,  
let him have the famed  
Brisinga necklace.

17)

Let by his side  
keys jangle,  
and woman's weeds  
fall round his knees,  
but on his breast  
place precious stones,  
and a neat coif  
set on his head.

18)

Then said Thor,  
the mighty As:  
Me the Aesir will  
call womanish  
if I let myself be clad  
in bridal raiment.

Flom 14,4—16.

Bind we Thor in  
Bridal linen,  
Let him bear the  
Brising necklace.

15)

Hang down from his  
waist  
The dangling keys,  
And female dress let  
Fall round his knees.  
We'll place on his bosom  
Precious stones,  
And a handsome top-  
knot  
Tie o'er his head.

16)

Then up spake  
Great Thor the mighty:  
Well might the gods  
Womanish call me  
If I let me bind  
In bridal linen!

I would venture to suggest that—in a contemplated translation of all poems—difficult names, such as *Njord* and *Mjólnir* be anglicised as much as possible; that words unknown in English, such as *sald*, be avoided altogether; also, that explanatory notes be more generously added, for the sake of the general reader.

The note on the famous lines so finely rendered

The mountains crashed,  
The earth was aflame,  
As Odin's son  
Drove to Giant-home

would seem superfluous. This is by no means, as Flom opines, "a strange inconsistency of the poet, since Thor is not now in possession of his hammer, and therefore cannot wield the thunderbolt or hurl the flash of lightning:" Thor's rumbling car and his yoke of fire-snorting goats produced thunder and flame as well. Cf. Swedish *aska* 'thunder' (< as-aka) lit. 'driving of the god,' and *toraka*. (Cf. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss* <sup>2</sup> iii p. 357).

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## THE ENGLISH DRAMATIC CENSORSHIP.

The recent attack upon the censorship of the English drama by Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. John Galsworthy, and others of smaller note lends an immediate as well as a scholarly interest to Miss Gildersleeve's book.<sup>1</sup> Not that it is in need of any extraneous claim to attention. It stands by its own merits as a truly craftsmanlike piece of work—a model thesis—planned and executed as such an undertaking ought to be, not merely with grasp of the whole subject and accuracy in detail, but with skill in presentation and individual incisiveness of style. The struggle between the players and the Puritans with the City Fathers at their head is set forth clearly and dispassionately in its various phases, with due recognition of the fact that there were two sides to the dispute. The final paragraph of the book may be quoted as an example of the writer's judicious lucidity of thought and expression:

"It is customary in histories of the drama and the stage to express some judgment, generally severe, upon the Puritan suppression of the theaters. But fair decisions on such actions in the past are not easy. According to their own standards, the

<sup>1</sup> *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*. By Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, Ph. D. Columbia University Press, New York, 1908. Price, \$1.25.

Puritan or Parliamentary party certainly did right in rigorously prohibiting the drama. And it is not impossible for modern English and American minds, still so deeply impregnated by the spirit of the Puritan movement, to appreciate their point of view. To men who had already developed something of the modern sensibility in matters of decency and morality, most of the later Elizabethan drama must indeed have seemed hopelessly abhorrent. Motives of political prudence, moreover, also urged the dominant party to act against the stage. Their moral zeal, it is true, carried them to an extreme,—just as the lack of that quality had carried the playwrights to the opposite pole, whither again, in the perpetual swinging of the pendulum back and forth across and beyond the golden mean, the reaction against Puritanism was to carry the men of the Restoration. There was much to justify extreme measures at the time of the closing of the theaters. As one thinks of the stage of the period, no longer expressive of the best feelings of the nation, as one remembers the preposterous horrors into which tragedy had degenerated, and the inexpressibly offensive indecency of much of the comedy of the time, and with this picture of the drama in mind, reads the grave and dignified phrases of the edict of 1642, one feels that, for the moment at least, the Puritans had the better part.”

Another instance of the writer's good judgment is the clearness with which she has set forth the social position of the Elizabethan actor, who has been too hastily classed by some authorities with “rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars” on account of the mention of “Comon Players in Enterludes” in the statute of 1572. But, as Miss Gildersleeve points out, in this act of parliament the status of players is touched on only incidentally, and its penalties are directed against them only if they (1) do not belong “to any Baron of this Realme or . . . any other honorable Personage of greater Degree,” or (2) “have not License of two Justices of the Peace at the leaste, whereof one to be of the quorum, wher and in what Shier they shall happen to wander.”<sup>1</sup> Players, as players, were evidently not vagabonds in the eyes of the law; it was as “masterless men,” without place in the social system, that they were liable, if they failed to observe the statutory regulations, to the penalties imposed on all vagabonds. If they took advantage of the protection afforded to them by the statute, they were granted special privileges. “Players in their interludes” were exempted from the sumptuary laws regulating the apparel to be worn by different classes of society, and to judge from the allusions in contemporary literature to the magnificence of their array, they took full advantage

<sup>1</sup>P. 30.



of their opportunities. The "manes gowne of peche-coler In grayne," the "clocke of sade grene," the lace and broadcloth Henslowe sold to various players may have been worn on the street as well as on the stage.

But it is to Miss Gildersleeve's account of the development of the dramatic censorship in England that most readers will turn with the greatest interest, and their expectations will not be disappointed, for we have here for the first time a rational and detailed account of the characteristically English fashion in which that institution was evolved, with many new facts and curious sidelights upon the conditions of dramatic production in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The censorship arose, almost by accident, out of the natural desire of the Master of the Revels to make as much as possible (both in dignity and profit) out of an office not in itself very lucrative. Mr. E. K. Chambers, who in his excellent little book, *Notes on the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors* (1906), has cleared up many misapprehensions on the subject, has shown that while there were occasional holders of the office of Master in earlier times, the first regular occupant was Sir Thomas Cawarden, whose patent, dated March 11, 1545, created him *Magister Jocorum Revelorum et Mascorum omnium et singularium nostrorum vulgariter nuncupatorum Revells and Masks* with an annual fee of £10. On his death at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Benger, who died in 1577, leaving "many debts" and "very few goods." The new Master and the creator of the system of censorship still in force today was Edmond Tilney, who continued to hold office till August 20, 1610. In addition to his annual fee of £10, Tilney received about £30 a year as allowance for extra attendances, and, according to the statement of his successor, Sir George Buck, a sum of £100 "for a better recompence." He ranked in processions with the Knights Bachelor, and had an official residence, his post being held, (as his patent sets forth) "cum omnibus domibus mansionibus regardis proficuis juribus libertatibus et advantagiis eidem officio quovismodo pertinentibus sive spectantibus vel tali officio pertinere sive spectare debentibus." But as Tilney's term of office coincided not only with a period of unusual splendor in court entertainments, but with the rise of the regular drama, he must have found his duties exceedingly onerous, and it is not surprising that he turned the new condition of affairs to his own advantage. Originally, (as the patent indicates), the sole duty of the Master had been the supervision of court entertainments; but a foothold for the extension of his authority had been given by the royal patent granted to Leicester's servants on May 7, 1574, to act plays "throughout our Realme of England"—"Provided that the

saide Comedies, Tragadies, Enterludes and Stage-playes be by the Master of our Revills (for the tyme being) before seen and allowed." Tilney in 1581 succeeded in obtaining a special commission, authorizing him to summon all players with their play-makers "to appeare before him, with all suche Plaies, Tragedies, Comedies or Showes as they shall have in readiness, or meane to set forth, and them to presente and recite before our said Servant or his sufficient Deputie, whom we ordeyne, appointe and authorize by these presentes of all suche Showes, Plaies, Plaiers and Playmakers, together with their playinge places, to order and reforme, auctorise and put downe, as shalbe thought meete or unmeete unto himself or his said Deputie in that behalfe." He was further empowered to imprison, at his discretion, persons refusing to obey. During the years immediately following, there is no proof that Tilney succeeded in reaping a profit out of his new functions, but from 1592 onward we find Henslowe making payments for the licensing of plays and theatres—ten shillings a week for the Rose, and £3 a month for the Fortune. Sir George Buck, Tilney's successor, received £20 in 1613 for a license to erect a new playhouse in Whitefriars, then part of the City of London; but this seems to have been a rare windfall. Fees were also charged for allowing the actors to play at Christmas, in Lent, and on the Cessation of Plague; and in 1628 the King's company, "with a general consent and alacrity," agreed to give Sir Henry Herbert, who was then Master, two benefit performances, one at Christmas and one in Mid-summer, "to be taken out of the second day of a revived play at his own choice;" from these performances Herbert said in 1662 that he netted £50, but this is probably an exaggeration, as the company compounded the benefit performances in 1633 for £20 a year. For licensing a play, the fee rose from seven shillings under Tilney to £2 under Herbert, who in 1633 succeeded in exacting £1 for each of the revived plays, previously re-allowed for nothing, or "on consideration to give mee a booke." After reading a play, Herbert had his fee, whether he granted a license or not. In January 1631 he refused to allow the first version of Massinger's *Believe As You List*, and entered in his Office Book, "I had my fee notwithstanding which belongs to me for reading itt over, and ought to be brought always with the booke." In June 1642 we have the terse entry: "Received of Mr. Kirke, for a new play which I burnte for the ribaldry and offense that was in it, £2.0.0." In addition to these emoluments, he had "a box gratis" at each of the theatres. Herbert continued the practice, established by his predecessor Buck, of licensing the printing, as well as the performance of plays, and in some cases he extended these powers to books of poetry. He granted to players and musicians warrants

of protection from arrest, and licenses to travel, threatening the Mayor of Maidstone with all kinds of penalties when the latter hinted that it was not within Herbert's power to grant players "a license to wander abroad all England over, at what distance soever from you." Herbert not only licensed plays, but other exhibitions: "a strange lion brought to do strange things, as turning an ox to be roasted;" "an Elephant;" "a live Beaver;" an "outlandish creature called a Possum;" wax works, musical organs, and many other curious shows. The Dutchman who obtained a license "to show two Dromedaries for a year" paid one pound. One way and another, Herbert made a very profitable business of his office, and the variety and ingenuity of his methods might teach a thing or two to a predatory New York policeman. His brother, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, says that "by these means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and his posterity to enjoy." Herbert himself after the Restoration, estimated his profits at £4000 a year, equal to about \$200,000 of our money. This, as Miss Gildersleeve remarks, "seems impossibly large," but his income from the once onerous and unremunerative Mastership must have been a very handsome one. It is sad to think that these rich emoluments might have turned to sunshine the last poverty-stricken years of Ben Jonson, who was granted the reversion of the Mastership in 1621, but was outlived by a previous holder, Sir John Astley, who sold the office to Herbert.

To the players and to the public the Master rendered some service in return for his fees. He protected the players from encroachments on their rights by unscrupulous competitors or Puritan magistrates: he protected the public from manifest abuses on the stage. When the Martin Marprelate Controversy made its way to the boards in 1589, the Privy Council ordered the suppression of all plays in and about London "in that Mr. Tilney did utterly mislike the same." Elizabeth's proclamation of 1559 had forbidden the acting of plays "wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled, or treated; beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated upon, but by menne of auctoritie, learning, and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discreete persons;" and the censorship continued to be exercised on these lines. "Scenes which to our modern sense of propriety seem inexpressibly offensive, the Master passed over without a misgiving. His concern was, in general, not a moral, but a practical political one,—the suppression of anything tending to cause disorder or contempt of authority." It was such considerations as these that Tilney had in mind when he wrote on the margin of the MS. of *Sir Thomas More* submitted to him for



licensing:—"Leave out the insurrection wholly, and the cause thereof, and begin with Sir Tho. Moore at the mayors sessions, with a reportt afterwarde off his good service don, being shrieve off London, uppon a meeting agaynst the Lumbardes, only by a shortt reportt, and nott otherwise, att your own perilles. E. Tyllney." The players, however, (probably Lord Strange's men<sup>2</sup>) did not "leave out the insurrection," but had this scene revised by a playwright identified by competent critics with William Shakespeare.<sup>3</sup> Tilney went through the play very thoroughly, striking out long passages with the terse direction, "all altered" or "Mend yt." Shakespeare was similarly required to revise *Henry IV*, and changed the name *Oldcastle* to *Falstaff*. As we have not the first draft, the extent of the alterations cannot be determined, but unobliterated traces of the original text remain in Pt. I, I. ii. 47, "my old lad of the castle," and the prefix *Old*. before one of Falstaff's speeches in Pt. II (Q. 1). Jonson's *Sejanus*, on accusations "both of poperie and treason;" Jonson, Chapman, and Marston's *Eastward Hoe*, for references to the Scotch and to James I's "thirty pound knights," and Chapman's *Biron's Conspiracy* and *Biron's Tragedy*, for allusions to English and French politics, got their authors into serious trouble, and were censored before or in course of publication, though not until after they had been acted. But so far as one is able to judge of these changes, the wonder is not that they were objected to, but that they were ever allowed to pass a censor who knew his business.

Tilney's work during the last years of his term appears to have been done chiefly by his Deputy, Buck, who succeeded him on his death in 1610. Buck was the first to enforce strict attention to the provisions of the statute of 1606 "for the preventing and avoiding of the great abuse of the Holy Name of God in Stage playes." He would not permit "'Sheart," or "'Slife," or "By th' mass," and struck them out or put in innocuous substitutes for them, often to the destruction of the metre. The *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (Lansdowne MS. 807) exhibits his meticulous care in such matters of detail. His "reformacions" were directed chiefly to removing or mitigating the denunciations of the "lustful king" who was the villain of this play, but he also showed a delicate consideration for the feelings of the fair sex. When the Tyrant laments over the body of his victim, who preferred death to dishonor:

Hadst thou but asked th' opinions of most ladies,  
Thoud'st never come to this!

<sup>2</sup> The Messenger of III. iii, we know from the MS., was "T. Goedal," and Thomas Goodale was a member of this company in 1592. See Tucker Brooke *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Introduction, p. 1, and Maas *Aeusserer Geschichte der Englischen Theater-Truppen*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See Tucker Brooke *u. s.*, and Ward, II. 214-5.



Buck changed *most* to *many*, and put a big cross in the margin to emphasize the importance of the emendation! *Sir John Van Olden Barnevelt*, by Fletcher and Massinger, was also rigorously expurgated for political reasons, and was not printed until Mr. Bullen included it in his *Old Plays*. Buck's office book was burnt, but the rather scanty evidence surviving indicates that his administration was vigorous, if not intelligent.

Of his successor, Herbert, we have very much fuller records in his Office Book, which was preserved in the chest containing the Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Herbert's accession to office coincided with the popular excitement over the projected Spanish marriage of Prince Charles, and the thinly veiled allusions to this in Middleton's *Game at Chess* involved not only the players, but the Master who had licensed the comedy in very serious trouble, from which he escaped by invoking the protection of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, his kinsman and superior officer. Like his predecessors, Herbert was apparently more attentive to details than to the obvious significance of the plays he examined. He ordered Jonson to strike out of the *Tale of a Tub* the part of Vitruvius Hoop, ridiculing Inigo Jones, but only after the latter had complained of the attack upon him. Herbert's chief objection, as he himself expressed it more than once, was to "oathes, prophanness and public ribaldry," but as he commends in his Register Shirley's *Young Admiral* as "a patterne to other poets," it is evident that he paid less attention to morals than to profanity. In the case of D'Avenant's *Wits* the dramatist appealed from the judgment of the Master to that of the King, and Herbert records in his office book:—"The king is pleased to take faith, death, 'sight for asseverations and no oaths, to which I do humbly submit as my master's judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here to declare my opinion and submission."

The political aspect of Herbert's censorship presents a problem on which one would have welcomed more decided expression of opinion from Miss Gildersleeve, weighted with her full knowledge of the traditions of the office and Herbert's idiosyncrasies. Professor S. R. Gardiner, it will be remembered, contended that Massinger in many of his plays "treated of the events of the day under a disguise hardly less thin than that which shows off the figures in the caricatures of Aristophanes or the cartoons of *Punch*." Miss Gildersleeve summarizes Gardiner's theories, and describes them as "interesting," "possible," "often plausible;" one guesses that her attitude is sceptical, and a rigid examination from that point of view would have been worth while. One of Gardiner's main examples is *Believe As You List*,

and of this play we have Massinger's own revised MS.<sup>4</sup> as it was licensed on May 6th, 1631. Though we have not the MS. Herbert rejected in January of the same year, we are able to form some conclusion as to the character of the revision. Herbert refused to license the original draft because "it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian, king of Portugal, by Philip II, and there being a peace sworn 'twixt the kings of England and Spain." Massinger's efforts were evidently directed, not to mitigating any political allegory, but to removing direct historical references to the events of 1578. Names and places were changed, Sebastian to Antiochus, Europe to Africa, Venice to Carthage, and so on; Herbert struck out references in the revised version to the personal appearance of Sebastian, though they were now ascribed to Antiochus. But the treatment of the political situation in England, which Gardiner discerns in the revised play, is in his opinion "so plain and transparent, that anyone who possesses only a slight acquaintance with the history of the reigns of the first two Stuarts can read it at a glance." In his view, Prusias stands for Charles I, the Queen for Henrietta Maria, Philaxenus for the Lord Treasurer, the Roman ambassador for the Spanish ambassador, Carthage for the Dutch Republic, and Antiochus for Frederick, Elector Palatine, the intention being to criticize the King for not coming to his brother-in-law's assistance. If so, Charles I showed less insight than Elizabeth on the occasion of the Essex rebellion, when *Richard II* was performed, and she said, "I am Richard II, know ye not that?" Massinger's *King and Subject* was held up by Herbert and referred to the King himself. The entry in the office book is significant, both as to the king's attitude, and as to that of the Master of the Revels:—

"At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that he would warrant it.

Monys? Wee'le rayse supplies what ways we please,  
 And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which  
 We'le mulct you as wee shall thinke fitt. The Caesars  
 In Rome were wise, acknowledginge no lawes  
 But that their swords did ratifye, the wives  
 And daughters of the senators bowinge to  
 Their wills, as deities, &c.

<sup>4</sup> This MS. has had a curious history. It apparently escaped (with the loss of a leaf) from the destructive energy of John Warburton's cook, and found its way into the Garrick collection. It was discovered in 1844 by Samuel Beitz, whose brother acted as executor to Garrick's widow, and after further adventures was bought in 1900 for the British Museum. There is a photographic reproduction in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts (Folio Series)*.

This is a peece taken out of Phillip Messinger's play called *The King and the Subject*, and entered here for ever to bee remembered by my son and those that cast their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my master, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, set his marke upon the place with his owne hande, and in thes words:

This is too insolent, and to bee changed.

Note, that the poett makes it the speech of a king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and spoken to his subjects."

It is difficult to believe that the man who wrote these lines knowingly suffered reflections to be made on his royal master in *Believe As You List*, relying on the protection of the Lord Chamberlain, who was Massinger's patron. Herbert was, as Miss Gildersleeve remarks, "more royalist than the king." He afterwards described the Commonwealth as "the Late Horrid Rebellion, when Sir Henry Herbert owned not their unjust and Tyranicall Authority," and there is an almost pathetic ring in his last entry in the Office Book: "Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in August, 1642."

Herbert succeeded in re-establishing his authority to some extent under Charles II, but Miss Gildersleeve does not carry her investigation further, contenting herself with the remark that "there is no satisfactory account of the office after the Restoration." Although the field is obviously not so promising as that which is traversed in this volume, it is work worth doing. The issue of the quarrels between Herbert and the managers of the two patent theatres, D'Avenant and Killigrew, has never been clearly set forth, and though this was a period of decadence, alike for the drama and the Mastership, we ought to have a better account of it than has been given by Colley Cibber and Chalmers. Herbert died in 1673, and was succeeded by Thomas Killigrew, who held office for ten years. It was during the latter's Mastership that the *Maid's Tragedy* was provided by Waller with a happy ending, on the ground that Beaumont and Fletcher's original version showed "too dangerous an example to other *Evadnes*, then shining in the same rank of royal distinction," though Cibber, who gives this as a current explanation, immediately turns it to ridicule, "it being wellknown that the ladies then in favour were not so nice in their notions as to think their preferment their dishonour, or their lover a tyrant." Cibber himself, under the next Master, Charles Killigrew (1683-1725) was obliged to sacrifice the first act of his version of Shakespeare's *Richard III* for equally recondite reasons of high policy, the explanation given being "that the distresses of King Henry VI, who is killed by Richard in the first act, would put weak people too much in mind of King James, then living in France." Nat.



Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* was silenced after the third day of acting, and Banks's *Mary Queen of Scotland* was kept from the stage for twenty years, for similar reasons. Killigrew was roused by Jeremy Collier's *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) to a campaign against indecency of which the drama at that time was in sore need, but on the accession of George I, the Master's authority was weakened by the grant of a patent to the directors of Drury Lane, which, they contended, freed them from the Master's control. When he demanded the usual fee of £2 a play, Cibber challenged him to produce his authority, "and from that time, neither our plays nor his fees gave either of us any further trouble." The next Master, Charles Henry Lee (1725-44) lived and died in obscurity, content to exercise "such authority as was not opposed," and to receive "such fees, as were willingly paid." By the statute of 1737 the Mastership of the Revels was reduced to the status of a court sinecure, carrying with it the ancient privileges of £10 and a lodging, with no responsibilities.

The Licensing Act of 1737 transferred the dramatic censorship to the Lord Chamberlain, who was given power to prohibit any play "from time to time, and when, and as often as he shall think fit," without reason assigned. His powers were actually exercised by a Licensor of the Stage whom he appointed the following year at a salary of £400, with a Deputy at £200; but the restriction of the metropolitan theatres to two, which the Act had aimed at preserving, was consistently evaded from the beginning, and in 1843 it was at last abolished. By this Act, which is still in force, the authority of the Lord Chamberlain is extended to all theatres in Great Britain, and their managers are required to submit to him a copy of any new play or part of a play (with a fee not to exceed two guineas, as the Lord Chamberlain may determine) seven days before the first performance. The Lord Chamberlain may forbid a play either absolutely, or for such time as he shall think fit, "whenever he shall be of opinion that it is fitting for the Preservation of good Manners, Decorum, or of the public Peace." The Lord Chamberlain has ever since followed the example of his predecessors by nominating an "Examiner of Plays," who is sworn in as a member of the Royal Household, though there is no authority for such an appointment under any statute. While the Lord Chamberlain is a member of the Government and changes with the Ministry, the Examiner is a permanent official, free from parliamentary control, and without responsibility to anyone except the Lord Chamberlain who acts upon his advice—one of the curious surviving anomalies of English administration. In deference to public criticism, two parliamentary committees have been ap-



pointed—the first in 1866, and the second in 1892—and both reported that the system has worked satisfactorily. The Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons appointed last midsummer seems likely to come to the same conclusion, if the struggle between the two houses now pending does not prevent it from reaching any conclusion whatever, though the Lord Chamberlain has stated that at the beginning of the investigation he had under consideration the establishment of a board of representative experts to deal with difficult cases. The inquiry has revealed a curious cleavage of opinion. The dramatic authors condemn the censorship on artistic and intellectual grounds; they say that the present system does not prevent the acting of plays the main purpose of which is to stimulate sensuality, and that it does prevent the performance of serious dramas in which great questions of public and private morality are discussed; on both these points, the evidence of Sir A. W. Pinero, Mr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. J. M. Barrie, and Mr. Hall Caine confirmed the position taken up by Mr. Shaw and Mr. Galsworthy at the beginning of the controversy. On the other hand, the actors and managers—the latter collectively through the West End Theatre Managers Association, and the former by the mouth of Sir Squire Bancroft, Mr. George Alexander, Mr. Forbes Robertson, and Miss Lena Ashwell—defended the existing system. The reasons they gave are fairly represented by Mr. Alexander's plea that the censorship is wanted "in the interests of the State to regulate, and if necessary, to prevent the public performance of plays dealing with political questions, whether at home or abroad; and in the interests of the public, to deal with blasphemous or indecent plays." The real reasons are said to be that the managers do not care to accept the responsibility the authors would thrust upon them of deciding whether a play were fit for public presentation; an adverse decision in the courts after a play had been produced would injure their reputation and their business, for the money spent in putting the play on would be lost: they prefer that the Examiner should give his decision privately and in advance. The actors, it is said, are often under contracts which leave them little choice as to the acceptance of new parts, and they are not enamoured of the heroes and heroines of the problem plays the Examiner bars. The critics were equally divided—Mr. Walkley in favor of the censorship, and Mr. Archer against. The common man as represented by Mr. J. W. Lowther, Speaker of the House of Commons, upheld the institution and urged that it needed "tuning up": more plays should be forbidden, not fewer; and this is the opinion of many people who approach the question at issue from very different points of view.

Mr. G. A. Redford, the present holder of the office under fire, was appointed in 1895, and during his term has allowed

seven thousand plays, and recommended refusal in forty-three cases, of which thirteen or fourteen were reconsidered. Among those rejected were Mr. Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, *The Showing up of Blanco Posnett*, and *Press Cuttings*—the first for moral reasons, the last for political and personal allusions (there is a statesman named Balsquith in it, and a general named Mitchener); Mr. Granville Barker's *Waste*, for open and direct references to sexual intercourse and an illegal operation; Maeterlinck's *Mona Vanna* and some comedies by Brieux, presumably on moral grounds; the Follies burlesque of *An Englishman's Home*, for political reasons. Gilbert and Sullivan's opera, *The Mikado*, after ministering to the innocent delight of a whole generation, was banned recently out of consideration for the tender susceptibilities of England's new found ally, Japan. Before being censor, Mr. Redford was a bank manager, and he said, reasonably enough, that he made no pretence of judging the artistic merits of the plays submitted to him; he was there to carry out the precedents of the office, and not to express a personal opinion. He was under the impression that the phrase used in condemning a play—"immoral or improper for the stage"—came from an act of parliament, but this turned out to be a mistake. What he looked out for was the removal of "passages offensive to religious sentiment or to crowned heads," and of "personalities expressed or understood," it being a well-established rule that no representation of living persons should be permitted.

From first to last the history of the censorship illustrates the tendency of English statesmanship to live from hand to mouth; to devise temporary remedies for immediate needs, and to continue them with modifications, from century to century, without ever facing the situation logically. Mr. Bernard Shaw and his allies have had all the best of the argument, but the censorship will probably be still in existence when they are all forgotten,—and that is a very distant date. Yet the system now in force is substantially that built up by Tilney and Herbert in the first half of the sixteenth century. Herbert's naive declaration that the fees are for reading the play, not for licensing it, and "ought to be brought always with the booke," hardens into a rule, is embodied in a statute, and becomes, no doubt, one of the most revered principles of the office. The censor still regards as forbidden themes "matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweale," banned by Elizabeth in 1559, and consistently disallowed by Tilney and his successors in the Revels Office, when they had wit enough to see the significance of the plays submitted to them. Mr. Redford's setting forth of his rules of procedure—handed down by tradition, for he is evidently

ignorant of the history of the powers he exercises—seems almost an echo from the phrases of Herbert's Office Book. But, on the whole, people are satisfied. They are not dismayed by the anomaly of a man who has been a bank manager sitting in judgment on Mr. Bernard Shaw and forbidding the performance of three plays which he could not understand. Mr. Shaw will get his plays acted somehow,—in Ireland, where they have had no censorship for one hundred and fifty years—or in the United States, where the institution is unknown. The system "has worked satisfactorily," and the British public settles itself comfortably to sleep again with the undisturbed conviction that in these matters it is at any rate superior to its neighbors on the Continent.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

I had finished the above before I read in the London *Times* of November 19th that the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons (Censorship) had agreed upon a report. For the sake of completeness I subjoin a summary of their recommendations as there set forth. In face of the proposed optional system of licensing, my reflections on the conservative opportunism of the British public may seem out of place, and my prophecy as to the continuance of the censorship premature; but it is to be remembered that there is usually a wide gap between the recommendations of a committee and actual legislation. The ten members of the Committee were not agreed, and their report is evidently a compromise between those who were in favor of abolition of the censorship and those who desired its continuance on the old lines. If a law based on their proposals were carried, the censorship would continue to exist, and its voluntary character might prove illusory in face of the effective control of the situation exercised by the theatre managers and their avowed preference for the old system. In view of the risk involved in the performance of an unlicensed play, the author of one likely to be refused a license might find hardly less difficulty in putting it on the boards than at present, as the Committee recommends that "the powers of the authorities which license theatres should remain as they now are."

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.

### THE PROPOSALS.

The Lord Chamberlain should remain the Licensor of Plays.

It should be his duty to license any play submitted to him unless he considers that it may reasonably be held—

- (a) To be indecent.
- (b) To contain offensive personalities.
- (c) To represent on the stage in an invidious manner a living person, or any person recently dead.
- (d) To do violence to the sentiment of religious reverence;
- (e) To be calculated to conduce to crime or vice;
- (f) To be calculated to impair friendly relations with any Foreign Power; or
- (g) To be calculated to cause a breach of the peace.

It should be optional to submit a play for license, and legal to perform an unlicensed play, whether it has been submitted or not.

If the Director of Public Prosecutions is of opinion that any unlicensed play which has been performed is open to objection on the ground of indecency, he should prefer an indictment against the manager of the theatre, where the play has been produced, and against the author of the play. When notice has been given to the manager of the theatre by the Director of public Prosecutions of his intention to take proceedings, it should be illegal for any further performances of the play to take place until the case has been heard and decided.

The Court before which an indictment is preferred should be empowered to make one or more of the following orders according to the merits of the case:—

- (a) Prohibiting the performance of the play for such period as they may think fit, but for not more than ten years.
- (b) Imposing penalties on the manager of the theatre.
- (c) Imposing penalties on the author of the play.
- (d) Endorsing a conviction on the license of the theatre.

A play which has been prohibited by an Order of Court from being performed for a period of ten years, should not be eligible for performance after that period unless it has been licensed by the Licenser of Plays.

The license of a theatre which has been endorsed three times within a period of five years should be liable to forfeiture by the Court which directed the last endorsement, and be incapable of renewal, for a period of five years following, to or for the benefit of the same licensee.

If the Attorney-General considers that an unlicensed play which has been performed is improper for performance on any of the seven grounds specified above, he should be empowered to apply to a Committee of the Privy Council for an Order prohibiting the performance of the play for a period of not more than ten years, and, if he thinks fit, for an endorsement on the license of the theatre. Pending the decision of the Committee, the performance of the play should be suspended as in the case of



pending prosecutions. Similar consequences should follow a prohibition of a play and an endorsement of a theatre license by order of the Committee of the Privy Council as would follow where the order was made by a Court. The Committee of the Privy Council could not be empowered to impose penalties on the manager or author, and penalties beyond such prohibition and endorsement would in such cases be unnecessary. The Committee would have an inherent power of hearing cases, if it wished, *in camera*.

It should be lawful . . . to take proceedings against the producers of a licensed play; but in those cases the performance should not be liable to suspension pending the decision of the proceedings, the manager and author should not in any case be liable to penalties, nor the theatre license be liable to endorsement.

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THE EARLY AMERICAN NOVEL. By Lillie Deming Loshe, Ph. D. New York, Columbia University Press (The Macmillan Co.) \$1.

This book is a review of the course of American novel writing from 1789, the year of Mrs. Morton's *Power of Sympathy*, to 1830, the year of Cooper's *Water Witch*. Its method is mainly that of a critical bibliography. Dr. Loshe apparently starts with Wegelin's list as a basis, improves it by adding new titles and omitting the titles of books not American or not properly called novels, and discusses the main titles of her list in four groups. Into the first three of these groups the novels are sorted according to their nature; "Didactic and Sentimental," "Gothic and Revolutionary," and "Early Historical Novels and Indian Tales." The fourth group is named for Cooper, and includes his contemporaries.

Dr. Loshe has done a very useful piece of work in a most agreeable manner. The book is scholarly in purpose and effect; it must necessarily be in the hands of everyone who studies American literature; it is sure to form a foundation stone in the work of all who pursue the subject. In it we find a serviceable account of many books which are not always at hand when they are wanted. It is a thoroughly good critical bibliography, written with entire freedom from the Dryasdust manner too common in doctors' dissertations. In a word, it would seem that Dr. Loshe had succeeded unusually well in doing what she set out to do.

The real service that this book performs for us is twofold, bibliographical and critical. It is an indispensable supplement

in the one respect to Wegelin's bibliography, and in the other to Tyler's history. More of the same sort in this period of American literature we shall not need until unlisted novels have been turned up in odd corners in sufficient numbers to call for a revision of the list, and, perhaps, of a critical judgment here and there. In other periods of fiction, both English and American, we still need more complete bibliographies, particularly in the formative period of the modern novel, and, based on these, much more minute historical studies than we have had except in a few special instances. *The Early American Novel* opens the way for such studies in the period which it covers. Indeed, it approaches the historical questions in regard to the novel so closely at times that the reader is inclined to forget that it is after all a critical bibliography, and to find fault with it for not being something more. He begins to feel that it has on his mind too much the effect of a catalogue. This is not to say that Dr. Loshe has done worse than her predecessors in the field, but merely that she has not done better. And in order to see wherein she and others have left the work incomplete it may be well to take the merest glance at what might be termed the present state of criticism as regards English prose fiction.

The two books mentioned, Wegelin's and Tyler's, represent in America what a recent reviewer speaks of as "Two rare types of literary history of distinct usefulness and interest—the purely bibliographical and the purely critical." The same reviewer calls attention to the fact that "the first type demands great industry and accuracy," and the second many other rarer qualities. For obvious reasons many literary historians "take a shuffling middle course." That this is particularly true of historians of the English novel, anyone who has studied their work must feel very strongly. There are some, well qualified for what they have undertaken, who have done their work well. In nearly every case, however, these are workers in special fields. Others who work over the whole field with no pretense of finality have done work which no one who understands the nature of the attempt can find serious fault with. Such is the character of Professor Raleigh's book, and Professor Cross's. With a book like Professor Horne's (*The Technique of the Novel*, New York, 1908) one has less sympathy, and the reasons therefor may be phrased (at some length) in the author's own words. In beginning Part II of this book, the part which deals with the development of the modern novel, Professor Horne says of the critics:

"They have gone butterfly hunting through all this region of the modern novel's technique, rambling at pleasure; or they have scooted [*sic*] through it in automobiles, just touching the high spots along the road in order to reach some pleasant grove,

wherein they spread a charming luncheon for any accompanying friend.

"Indeed the most serious objection to thus writing by quotation would be that I should prove too much. The butterfly hunter is by nature an enthusiast, else he would not take up the chase; and the beautiful butterflies he himself has captured, naturally please him more than other people's "stupid bugs." Of the various essentials whose early history we have been tracing, not one but has its advocates, who have earnestly assured us that it is the chief factor not only in the novel's construction but in its success, either artistic or pecuniary. As for the automobiling critics, most of them have doubtless made a careful preliminary exploration of the novel's country before escorting a friend to their pleasant luncheons; but these closer studies they have not mapped out for us. The amateur who ventures into the land has still to stumble through it as best he may, following the devious tracks of the entomologists or seizing eagerly upon such luncheon remnants as have been left behind.

"Be it ours now to plod across the land prosaically and methodically, to examine each field of its technique, and to leave the region roughly charted and measured for future visitors."

Aside from its rhetorical quality, we might applaud this comment as true of most books on the novel, including the one in which we read it. But if the last sentence declares the aim of the book, it does not describe its achievement. However prosaic the book is—and it is by no means so prosaic as it might be—it is not "methodical," and neither does it examine each field; if it leaves them measured and charted the work is in many instances so "roughly" done that future visitors would be better off without the chart. Can we call methodical a history of the novel which has no word on Defoe's masterpiece but this: "Robinson Crusoe is known chiefly through some abridgement for children, one syllabled words in large sized type with highly colored pictures in red and yellow"? Another interesting and important field of which Professor Horne, so far from making a methodical examination, makes scarcely any mention, is the periodical essay. The *Tatler* and the *Spectator* must be reckoned with in following the change from the older fiction to the modern novel. The period between 1700 and 1750 represents the crucible in which fiction takes on the qualities that make the all important difference in form between the De Coverley papers and *Tom Jones*. In *The Technique of the Novel* the change takes place on the blank page between Part I and Part II. In Part I there is no novel; in Part II there is *Pamela*. Here at least is one field to which Professor Horne shows us no chart,—as for the examination of others, that may be largely a question of terms. One

would say that Professor Chandler had examined picaresque literature in his two volumes on the subject. If so what sort of instantaneous glance at the matter shall we call Professor Horne's when he treats the whole history of early fiction from the amoeba to Scott in 102 pages. It is unjust to the author to leave the matter here, for the book has merits, not the least of which is the stimulus provided by the mere titles of the many works of fiction which Professor Horne has read, but as an illustration of certain qualities in recent histories of the novel it has received attention enough. Other books with less assumption of system and thoroughness are more satisfactory, but not completely so. Professor Perry, for example, in *A Study of Prose Fiction* does not pretend to be methodical in his working out of problems, nor exhaustive in historical research. He is doubtless what Professor Horne would call a "butterfly hunter." Butterfly hunting may be an excellent sport to watch if the butterflies are brilliant and the hunter agile. With Professor Perry's hunting this is often the case, and often not. Every thoughtful reader of novels must have given some consideration to the problems of prose fiction, and to the solution of these problems attempted by others. There are few such readers who, without more effort than the laying aside of other occupations, with no more help than an easy chair by the fire, could not go as far with some of these problems as Professor Perry does. Examples of these unsatisfactory discussions are his comments on the difference in temperament between novelist and poet, between verse and prose as differing media, on exposition in the drama and the novel, and the essay quality and personal comment of the author in novels and stories. The merits of the book it is perhaps hardly necessary to mention; it is cited here merely as one example of the critical discussion which is not only helpful but enjoyable,—which is so good that it ought to be better.

It is into this category that Dr. Loshe's book falls. Good as it is, good as are many of our books on the novel, the main problem remains unsolved. Before 1700 there was no novel; by 1750 there was one; and the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* seem to have had much to do with the change. The problem is essentially the same whether the novels under discussion are English or American. American writers echoed most of the prose forms that led to the novel in England. The process takes place perhaps later in America than in England. It is complicated by the presence of full grown English novels along with the undeveloped American ones, and by the fact that in America the periodical essay seems to lead even more directly to the short story than to the novel. Of such lines of inquiry as these we have only hints in Dr. Loshe's thesis. She tells us that Mrs. Rowson wrote a series



of papers modelled on the *Spectator*. On the same page is a reference to something between a novel and a device for obtaining a point of view from which to observe society,—*The Inquisitor, or the Invisible Rambler*, also by Mrs. Rowson. The Rambler becomes invisible by means of a ring, a device which Addison uses in *Tatler* No. 243 to turn himself into a sort of "Diable Boiteux." Here is a connecting link between the novel and the periodical essay that might well repay examination. Mrs. Rowson's work also shows the influence of the more fully developed English novel; the *Inquisitor*, Dr. Loshe tells us, is "professedly in the manner of Sterne." *Charlotte Temple* owes to Richardson, not only the "trick of giving vividness by touches of homely detail," but apparently its plot also.

In the study of the history of the English novel, great importance is justly attached to the vaagbond books and the various studies in roguery which led to the picaresque novel. It may fairly be asked whether we have not in America a similar series of studies in real life, one class of which may have had an important influence on a distinctively American type of novel, the Indian tale. The earliest of these studies are narratives of Indian captivity, such for example as some which have recently been reprinted:<sup>1</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson, The Indian Captive*, and *The Redeemed Captive*. Later we find accounts of seemingly picaresque heroines, of piracy, of captivity in Algiers, and of various combinations of the three. Almost any auction catalogue of books contains such titles as the following:

Narrative. Comprising Account of the strange and wicked life of Phoebe Fielding, showing the Ill Consequences of Bad Company to Young Women and the Bad Tendencies of Parents in Discarding Daughters for Accidental Deviations from the Paths of Virtue. Written by Herself. Bennington, 1786.

The Prodigal Daughter; or a Strange and Wonderful Relation. Boston, 1807.

Narrative of Louisa Baker, a Native of Massachusetts, who in early life having been shamefully seduced, enlisted, in disguise, on board an American frigate as a marine. Boston, 1815.

Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Thomas Nicholson [a native of New Jersey], who has been six years a prisoner among the Algerines; with description of Algiers, particulars of Com. Decatur's late expedition, etc. Boston, 1816.

The Female Mariner, or adventures of Lucy Brewer, a Native of Plymouth County, Mass., who after a residence of three years in a West Boston infamous house, served as a marine in the "Constitution"; her subsequent adventures; advice to the youth of Boston, etc. Boston, 1817.

<sup>1</sup> By H. R. Huntting, Springfield, Massachusetts.

Surprising Adventures of Almira Paul, a young woman who, garbed as a male, served as common sailor on American and English armed vessels, an Algerine corsair, etc. Boston, 1819.

Piratical Barbarity, or the female captive; comprising the particulars of the capture of the "Eliza Ann" . . . the horrid massacre of the crew, and the sufferings of Lucretia Parker. New York, 1820.

These narratives drift through the auction rooms; does any one collect them? If one can judge from the titles they ought to yield much material to the student of early American fiction. *The Extraordinary Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield*, for example, would seem to be material of the sort that appears in these narratives, in a transition stage on its way to the novel. *The Algerine Captive* might be found to have some kinship with them.

The difficulty with most histories of the novel is lack of breadth of outlook over the country to be explored. Cross and Raleigh, unpretentiously enough, have given us a glimpse of its extent and its more prominent features. Most of the others have neglected to ascend a high place for the wide view before descending into cañons and forests for the actual work of surveying. The result is that in dealing with historical difficulties or with points of technique, they come at them from one side or another like explorers sighting a mountain peak from different angles. Each thinks he is the discoverer; he describes the side he sees as if there were no other; he maps the route by which he approaches, and declares that whoso goes otherwise shall fail; each is unconscious of the other's work. Satisfactory and useful work on the history of the novel must consist in accurate exploration of the unknown territories with constant reference to the work already done. We should have a complete map of the country so far as it is known on which the work of each new explorer should be plotted. We have already a study of the Oriental tale in England. Rogue literature has been exhaustively treated, and we shall soon have an equally exhaustive treatment of character writing in England. Thus by degrees the map may be filled in.

It is perhaps praise enough to find fault with Dr. Loshe for not doing better than her predecessors,—that is more than we usually expect of a doctor's dissertation. She has written a book which is not for specialists alone, but one which anyone who cares for prose fiction might read with enjoyment. The text is enlivened by an active sense of humor on the writer's part—the catalogue effect referred to is not caused by dryness, but by the fact that though the records are here they are not so interpreted as to throw light on the obscurer problems of American

prose fiction. The quality of her criticism is such that one wishes the writer might have included volumes of short tales in her discussion—if it were only to match her “sprightly toad” (p. 5) with the “prudent salamander” of *Plumtre’s Tales* (Vol. II, p. 211). Altogether Dr. Loshe has given us a very clear idea of the formative period of American fiction, all but the actual process of formation.

R. P. UTTER.

*Amherst College.*

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BAKER, George Pierce: *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*. New York, 1907. (The Macmillan Company.)

The course of Shakespearean criticism has been for over two centuries one of the most interesting and representative movements in the history of English literature; and its present stage seems likely to be regarded in the future as of special importance. Of books on Shakespeare there is never any end, but it is significant that, among many vagaries and absurdities, the last few years have witnessed so much sane and illuminating criticism; and that, in comparison with nineteenth century criticism, there is now evident a marked change in the point of view and method of approaching Shakespeare’s work. The best of the criticism, it may be noted, has come from the universities and has been based on thorough scholarship. From Oxford came Professor Bradley’s “Shakespearean Tragedy” and Professor Raleigh’s volume in the English Men of Letters Series, and now from Harvard, Professor Baker’s “The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist.” The two English books, brilliant and delightful as they are, can hardly be taken as representative of any new tendencies in criticism. Professor Bradley’s masterly discussion of the tragedies follows in the main the methods of philosophical criticism extending back to Coleridge, and Professor Raleigh makes a notable addition to the impressionistic criticism that dates back to Hazlitt. The historical method, so generally adopted in criticism, has been somewhat tardily applied to Shakespeare, and cannot yet be said to have triumphed. The study of Shakespeare in relation to his own time and environment has, indeed, been extended in many directions, but the results have not yet become determining factors in the critical or popular views of Shakespeare’s genius or accomplishments. Yet, although most teachers and critics prefer to read and ponder over the plays without too much consideration of the Shakespeare of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, no one now altogether neglects the



historical point of view. Professor Raleigh recognizes it, even when he wishes to pass it by. Professor Bradley rarely loses sight of it. Professor Baker's book is a direct contribution to the historical study of Shakespeare, on a very interesting and hitherto strangely neglected side, his development as a playwright.

The first hundred pages of the book are devoted to a summary of our knowledge of the theaters and the stage conditions of Shakespeare's time. On these matters Mr. Baker speaks as an authority, and not only from his knowledge of antiquarian research but also from his experience in various reproductions of Elizabethan plays at Harvard. Yet, one effect of his opening chapter is to suggest how much there remains for research to determine in regard to the Elizabethan theater. The details of the presentation of a play in the Athenian theater are, thanks to an enormous amount of investigation, better known than are those of a London theater in 1600. If the disputed matters of the Greek theater are still numerous enough to stimulate research and debate, our present ignorance of the conditions of Shakespeare's playhouse ought to afford ample opportunity for continued effort on the part of scholars. On the disputed points, Mr. Baker writes suggestively and soundly, but usually prefers to leave his conclusions in the form of questions. He is doubtless right in denying that the Elizabethan stage was altogether ill-equipped, and in insisting on some of the advantages of its conditions, such as the absence of long waits for scene-shifting, and the intimacy which it afforded between actors and audience. But one would hesitate to give the affirmative expected to his final question:—"Is it not evident that for the dramatist, conditions were far better than today, indeed, well-nigh perfect?" (p. 99.) On the contrary, was the play rather than actor or spectacle the thing then more than now? Were there not stars in the days of "Tamburlaine," "Richard III," and "Hamlet"? Does scenery draw off the attention from the play or promote its illusion? Are not moving scenes, women actors, well-lighted theaters, and literate audiences advantages for the dramatist?

The remainder of the book deals with the development of Shakespeare as a dramatist, keeping in view both the ephemeral experimentation in conformity to the conditions of the day, and the permanent principles of dramatic art which his work grew to exemplify. The author's familiarity with both the Elizabethan and the modern theater and drama, is everywhere manifest. His analyses of the plays are shrewd and searching, and his general conclusions well fortified. The tracing of Shakespeare's development must, to be sure, rest upon dubious chronology, and cannot be established with certainty for any phase of his art. Inference



in support of a certain date from the character of the play's technic can hardly be given great weight. Professor Baker, indeed, recognizes that the differences in technic among the early plays are due to the various conditions under which they were written, the nature of their sources, and the progress made by other authors with similar kinds of plays, but he seems inclined at times to base his chronology upon his analysis of plots. One may also occasionally doubt the complete applicability of his dramatic theories. When he says, for example, that "Romeo and Juliet" is, except in one detail, perfect tragedy, (p. 275), he means that the failure of Friar John to get the letter to Romeo is due to sheer accident, and so "That turn in the play is at the will of the dramatist, is melodrama, and it breaks the chain of circumstance necessary for perfect tragedy." Now suppose that the incident of the undelivered message had been integrated in some way with the character of Romeo. For instance, Romeo impatient at his absence might have rashly returned to Verona, and thus have missed the messenger through his own folly,—would this really increase the power of the tragedy? The matter is partly one of personal opinion. For me, the undelivered message is a plausible bit of chance, such as is to be expected in life or tragedy, like the accident which ends "Beauchamp's Career" or the blind chance which prevents Edmund's message from being in time to save Cordelia. If we are to mark melodrama in "Romeo and Juliet" it might be found rather in the unnecessary and unimpressive murder of Paris,—an addition by Shakespeare to Brooke's story, quite in accord with the practice of Elizabethan tragedy. The matter also depends partly on one's theory of dramatic art. For Professor Baker, "Tragedy is a sequence of incidents or episodes so presented as to emphasize with seriousness their causal relationship." While this indicates perhaps the preeminent achievement of Shakespeare's tragedies, the interpretation of incident through character; its strict interpretation would reduce "Hamlet" to an inferior rank, and would slight the use of the fantastic, incongruous, and supernatural, common in Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Tragedy, indeed, may not be restricted to the explanation of incident; it may idealize incident and character in order to carry a wealth of suggestiveness; or it may admit and reveal the contradictions and mysteries that environ suffering and ruin in life. Professor Baker's clear-cut and consistent dramaturgy does not always seem just the right instrument for the measure of dramatic power.

He would not, however, propose his definitions as indicating Shakespeare's theories of art. He is, on the contrary, skeptical of the extent of Shakespeare's conscious theories. In the light of

the increasing knowledge of the Elizabethan dramatists and their methods, Shakespeare, the deliberate and prescient artist has become a fallen idol. Professor Raleigh is very emphatic on this point. "There is not a particle of evidence to show that Shakespeare held any views on the theory of the drama, or that the question was a live one in his mind."<sup>1</sup> Professor Baker is much safer in saying: "Nor does it seem to me likely that Shakespeare ever evolved any detailed theory of tragedy." (p. 280.) Detailed theories have rarely been made by dramatists, at least in England. But the book hardly does justice to the amount of dramatic theory, explicit and implicit, of which Shakespeare must have been conscious. There was by 1600 a good deal of discussion of the drama among writers of plays. Not only from the learned Jonson, but in the induction to a popular domestic tragedy, "A Warning for Fair Women," itself written in deliberate violation of the current conventions of tragedy, we find a sufficiently distinct definition of dramatic species. The work of Marlowe and Kyd had in tragedy produced fairly distinct types and had found many imitators. The plays of Seneca still furnished a model and an incentive. If dramatists could not carry out detailed rules in the public theaters, they at least had definite purposes, which, in respect to tragedy, were different from those in respect to comedy, as Marston's Epilog to "Antonio and Mellida" may witness. If there was not much formal or elaborate criticism, there is abundant evidence that the distinction and definition of dramatic species, the recognition both of the popular tradition and the classical theory, and a critical attitude toward their own work and that of others, were shared by Shakespeare's later contemporaries and doubtless by him. Dramatic types were mixed then as now; rules, theories, and traditions often found themselves in conflict with the public demand, but by 1600 Shakespeare was far more conscious of the theories of art than he had been ten years before, and far more aware of the opportunities of the drama, literary and moral as well as theatrical. To all this, Professor Baker would perhaps assent. But a consideration of Shakespeare's art, especially in its later periods, in relation to contemporary dramatic impulses, types and theories, might have resulted in a more complete presentation both of Shakespeare's departures from current practices and of the purposes which governed his varying methods.

Mooted questions aside, the positive merits of the book are manifest. It is the first book to give us a sane and thorough study of Shakespeare as the maker of plays. It supplies us with a comprehensive view of the Elizabethan theater; it shows the

<sup>1</sup> *William Shakespeare*, p. 133.

advantages which that theater offered to dramatists; it constantly stresses the fact that the primary task for Shakespeare, as for his fellow dramatists, was to put a story before his audience; and it traces the development of his art from haphazard presentation of incident to an integration of plot with character. The notable collection of illustrations, the detailed discussion of theatrical practices, and the analyses of both the ephemeral and permanent technical methods must be welcomed by every student of the drama. But the book is by no means for specialists alone. It ought to exercise an important and salutary influence on the general conception and appreciation of Shakespeare's genius and accomplishment.

A. H. THORNDIKE.

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## NOTES.

Among the many expressions of approval, both from Germany and from this country, which have reached the reviewer of O. F. Walzel's *Hebbelprobleme* (Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil. viii, 445 ff.) is also a communication from the well-known author and critic, Paul Friedrich, of Berlin, calling attention to his pamphlet, *Der Fall Hebbel* (Xenienverlag, Leipzig, 1908). A vigorous protest of the younger generation of German dramatists against the morbid Hebbelcult of recent years, this well written critical essay seems at the same time a hopeful sign of a possible resurrection of German literature from the present lamentable condition into which all sorts of would-be-reformers, aesthetic theorists, and poetasters have gradually dragged it. The following passages from the introduction of the pamphlet will characterize its spirit and purpose.

Die Art, wie man Hebbel gegenwärtig nicht nur zum Object eines immerhin begreiflichen, weil heute an Objecten so armen Genie-Kultus, sondern direkt zum Vorbild für die neue Generation künstlerischer, besonders dramatischer Talente zu machen sucht, ist unrathsam und gefährlich. Denn zu einem Vorbild oder Führer kann ein grosser Mensch nicht taugen, bei dem Absicht und Vollendung in solchem beträchtlichen Missverhältnis steht, wie bei Hebbel. Im Gegenteil, Hebbel selbst ist für die Kunst durch die Einseitigkeit seines überwiegenden Intellectualismus und Rationalismus ein Hemmnis, sobald man ihn für mehr als eine ungeheuer interessante Zeiterscheinung hält. Eigentlich sollte er längst dazu geworden sein, da inzwischen Henrik Ibsen seine Intentionen bis zu ihrer dem modernen Empfinden adäquatesten Ausgestaltung vollendet hat. Aber gerade das Heroisch-Baroke, jenes Hinaufheben ins Übermenschlich-Barbarische ist es, was nach der Familien- und Armeleut-Dramatik die jungen Köpfe berauscht, und die Grösse der Absicht gilt ihnen schon als Vollkommenheit. Rein also im Interesse des Fortschrittes der deutschen, augenblicklich noch keineswegs bedeutenden dramatischen Kunst im Sinne eines Hinaufwachsens aus *Schwulst*, *Preciosität*, und *eklektischer Manier* in die göttliche Natur einer harmonischen, alle Kräfte der Seele bereichernden und erfüllenden *Naivetät*, deren Prototyp als directer Antipode Hebbels *Gæthe* bleiben wird, habe ich die Kunst Hebbels einer scharfen, aber nicht von Hass eingegebenen Kritik unterzogen.

G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, announce that they have made a reprint of E. Sievers' famous article *Zur Rythmik des Germanischen Alliterationsverses*, originally published in Vol. X of Paul and Braunes *Beiträge*. This announcement is all the more welcome since the volume in question is now out of print, and complete sets of the *Beiträge* are very rare. The price of the reprinted article bound in cloth is \$3.



In the article *Wilhelmine von Zengen und Heirich von Kleist* by Paul Hoffmann (Vol. vii, No. 3) several misprints have crept which we beg to correct in the following:

Page 100, four lines from the bottom, read *vorübergehn*.

Page 102, seven lines from the bottom, read *Schwestern, wir*.

Page 107 one line from the bottom, read *verhindern ihn*.

Page 110 ten lines from the bottom omit *sechs Kindern eine zärtliche, sorgsame Mutter und eine*, and read *ihren "Witz und Scharfsinn" zu üben*.

Page 110, seven lines from the bottom read *im mündlichen*.

Page 114, thirteen lines from the bottom omit *aber*.

Page 117, one line from the bottom read *Mutter und eine*.

Page 117, eight lines from the bottom read *dürstete*.

J. G.



## JOHANNA SCHOPENHAUER ALS SCHRIFT- STELLERIN.\*

\*J. & W.=Jugendleben u. Wanderbilder, von der Tochter herausgegeben.

S. W.=Sämmtliche Werke. Sauerländer, Frankfurt, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1834.

Ausflug an den Niederrhein u. nach Belgien. Brockhaus—Leipzig—1831.

Heinrich Düntzer, Abhandlung zu Goethes Leben u. Werken. Bd. I. Goethes Beziehung zu Johanna Schopenhauer u. ihren Kindern. Wartig—Leipzig—1885.

Goethes erste Beziehung zu Johanna Schopenhauer in dem Illustrierten deutschen Monatsheft. Bd. 25.

Knebels Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester. ed. Düntzer. Mauke—Jena—1858.

Karl Ludwig Fernow, Römische Studien. Gessner—Zürich—1806-8.

Weimars Album zur Säkular Feier. Stephan Schütze: Die Abendgesellschaften der Hofrätin Schopenhauer in Weimar 1806-30.

Weimar—1840.

Sulpiz-Boisserée, Leben u. Briefe. Cotta—Stuttgart—1862.

Goethe—Ausgabe letzter Hand. Stuttgart—1827-30.

Journal des Luxus u. der Moden. Herausgeber Bertuch. Jahr 1809-10.

### I. VERHÄLTNIS ZUR BILDENDEN KUNST.

Schon als Kind zeigte Johanna Schopenhauer die lebhafteste Liebe für die Kunst. Die meisten Kinder haben immer Vergnügen an schönen Gemälden u. Zeichnungen, aber Johannas Interesse war viel lebendiger, denn sie wollte alles was sie sah nachmachen, nachahmen. Ihre ersten Versuche in diesem Gebiete, wie sie sie in dem "Jugendleben" erzählt, haben etwas Rührendes, denn die Liebe für das Schöne war in dieser Seele so stark u. so früh erwacht. "Alles," sagte sie, "gestaltete sich meinem Auge zum Bilde,"<sup>1</sup> u. doch stand das, was sie leisten

<sup>1</sup> J. & W. 158.

konnte, so weit hinter dem erwünschten Ziele. Als Kind besass sie auch den kritischen Sinn,<sup>2</sup> sie wusste, dass das Lob gar nicht verdient war, mit dem Freunde u. Bekannte ihre "Kunststückchen" überhäuften, u. sie war davon nicht befriedigt. Dieses kritische Gefühl u. der Sinn für das wahrhaft Schöne blieben bei ihr durch das ganze Leben, u. waren, wie ich zu beweisen hoffe, im allgemeinen unabhängig u. selbständig. Ich möchte damit nicht sagen, dass sie gar nicht beeinflusst wurde; das wäre nicht wahr, denn sie war sehr empfänglich, u. Fernow, Goethe, Boisserée u. andere haben auf sie stark gewirkt. Im ganzen aber blieb sie sich selbst treu—was sie von andern nahm, machte sie sich innerlich zu eigen, ehe sie es benutzte.

"Ich darf wohl sagen, dass vor diesem Bilde das erste Gefühl für die Kunst in meiner Seele erwachte,"<sup>3</sup> das schrieb sie 1822 in Bezug auf das berühmte Danziger Bild, das Jüngste Gericht von Memling. In dem "Jugendleben" aber verknüpft sich der erste nachhaltige Eindruck bildender Kunst mit einem Besuche des Künstlers Chodowiecki<sup>4</sup> in Danzig, als Johanna drei Jahre alt war. Obwohl noch so jung, wurde sie zu dieser Zeit in eine Kinderschule geschickt, deren Vorsteherinnen die beiden Schwestern des Künstlers waren. Während Chodowieckis Besuch bei der Mutter u. den Schwestern, liess er sich in die Schule führen,<sup>5</sup> um die Stube u. die kleinen Schüler zu zeichnen. Die beiden Lehrerinnen versprachen den Kindern "Pfefferkuchen, Rosinen u. Mandeln, die Hülle u. Fülle," wenn sie sich nur ein kleines Stündchen ruhig halten wollten. Inzwischen setzte sich der Künstler an seinen Tisch, "sah aufmerksam umher, schrieb etwas, sah wieder auf, schrieb wieder, ich hielt mich nicht länger. Ich vergass Rosinen, Mandeln, u. Pfefferkuchen u. Alles; leise, leise wie ein Kätzchen, schlich ich zwischen u. unter Tischen u. Stühlen bis zu ihm hin, u. sah so bittend ihm ins Gesicht, dass er es nicht übers Herz

<sup>2</sup> J. & W. 159, 160, 162.

<sup>3</sup> S. W. IV, 91. Vgl. auch S. W. III, 149.

<sup>4</sup> J. & W. I, 46.

<sup>5</sup> J. & W. I, 46.



bringen konnte, mich zu verschrecken. Freundlich nickte er die Erlaubnis mir zu, neben ihm stehen zu bleiben. Und nun sah ich auf dem kleinen Blättchen die ganze Schulstube vor meinen Augen entstehen; das hatte ich mir nie als möglich gedacht! Der Athem verging mir darüber; ich dachte u. empfand nichts als das Glück, dergleichen schaffen zu können. Von diesem Augenblick an ging all mein Wünschen u. Trachten auf Zeichnen u. Malen aus. . . . . In jener Stunde war die in meiner noch so unentwickelten Kinderseele tief schlummernde Neigung zur bildenden Kunst zum ersten Male erwacht, die mein ganzes, langes Leben hindurch mein Trost u. meine Freude blieb, u. nur mit diesem erlöschen wird.”<sup>6</sup>

Von jetzt an wurde diese Neigung in dem Kinde immer stärker. Johanna erzählt,<sup>7</sup> wie sie einst „höchst mühselig“ versucht hatte die Kupferstiche aus Raffs Naturgeschichte nachzuzeichnen; diese, mit Chodowieckis Illustrationen im Gothaer Kalender u. einzelnen in Büchern zerstreuten Bildchen, waren fast alles was sie damals an Kunstwerken gesehen hatte. Als sie zehn Jahre alt war, erkrankte sie an einem starken Nervenfieber. Um ihr während der langsamen Genesung die Zeit vertreiben zu helfen, brachte ihr der gute Kandidat Kuschel, ihr Lehrer, Lavaters Physiognomische Fragmente.<sup>8</sup> Obwohl sie das Buch las, u. „einiges verstand, vieles missverstand,” waren es doch die Kupferstiche an denen sie ihre grösste Freude fand, u. derentwegen es ihr gegeben worden. „Jetzt stürmte aus Lavaters Fragmenten eine Welt, zwar immer geahnter aber nie gesehener Erscheinungen auf mich ein. \* \* \* Wochen vergingen, ehe ich dazu gelangte, mit dem allen mich zu befreunden; dann aber entzündete der Funke, den Chodowieckis Besuch in der Schule vor einigen Jahren in meine kindische Seele geworfen, sich zu brennender Sehnsucht, u. liess mir Tag u. Nacht keine Ruhe. Zeichnen lernen, malen lernen war mein höchster, einziger Wunsch, der aber unerfüllt bleiben musste, so gern

<sup>6</sup> J. & W. I, 46.

<sup>7</sup> J. & W. I, 156.

<sup>8</sup> J. & W. I, 154.

meine Eltern ihn mir gewährt hätten; denn in der ganzen grossen Stadt war kein Lehrer, wie ich ihn bedurft hätte, aufzufinden."

Sie versuchte es zunächst mit Schattenrissen die sie aus Lavater kennen gelernt hatte.<sup>9</sup> Ein Onkel war dabei sehr behülflich, jeder Bekannte musste sich hinsetzen, Johanna zeichnete den auf einen Bogen Papier fallenden Schatten nach, während der Assistant den Kopf des Opfers festhielt. Eine Zeit lang war sie von dem neuen Spiel erfüllt, bald aber empfand sie dessen Wertlosigkeit, u. strebte etwas Befriedigenderes aufzufinden. Ihr nächster Versuch war Silhouettenschneiden. Es war damals eine sehr beliebte Kunst u. die kleine Johanna machte nur die Mode mit, indem sie Profile von Verwandten u. Freunden ausschchnitt. Später hört man wieder von diesem Silhouettenschneiden, das ihre Tochter Adele zum höchsten Grade der Feinheit u. Zierlichkeit ausbildete.

Der nächste für Johanna bedeutende Vorfall auf der Bahn der Kunstübung war ein Geschenk, ein Kupferstich von Angelika Kaufmann, das Jameson, ihr Freund u. Lehrer, ihr machte. "Wer war Angelika Kaufmann? Sie ist eine noch in Italien lebende, allbewunderte Malerin, erhielt ich zur Antwort. Eine Malerin, also kann es Malerinnen geben? ich hatte noch nie von einer gehört. Und von neuem überfiel mich die innere ängstliche Unruhe, bei dem blossen Gedanken; immer flüsterte eine leise Stimme mir zu: Was Andere können warum solltest du es nicht auch?"<sup>10</sup> Der Vater war eben im Begriff eine Reise nach Leipzig zu machen, u. die kleine, damals kaum elfjährige Tochter bat ihn,<sup>11</sup> er sollte sie nach Berlin mitnehmen, u. sie dort bei Chodowiecki förmlich in die Lehre geben. Das arme Kind hatte die Idee gefasst, dass eine Malerschule in etwas einer danziger Zunft ähnlich sei u. dass sie nur auf diese Weise eine wirkliche Malerin werden könnte. Der Vater antwortete ihr mit Hohn u. Spott,<sup>12</sup> und alle Verwandten waren

<sup>9</sup> J. & W. 160.

<sup>10</sup> J. & W. I, 161.

<sup>11</sup> J. & W. I, 162.

<sup>12</sup> J & W. I, 164.

empört, dass ein Mitglied ihrer Familie auf den erniedrigenden Gedanken kommen könnte, ein Handwerk treiben zu wollen. So musste sie sich in ihr Schicksal ergeben. "Doch der tief in meinem ganzen Wesen eingewurzelte Trieb, das, was sichtlich mich umgab oder auch nur bildlich mir vorschwebte, zu fassen, zu halten, u. schaffend nachzubilden, liess sich nicht ausrotten; dreissig Jahre später führte es mich an den Schreibtisch, um mit der Feder auszuführen, was der Geist der Zeit in der ich geboren ward, mit dem Griffel u. dem Pinsel zu können mir verweigert hatte."<sup>13</sup> Trotzdem war sie nicht nur mit der Feder tätig, denn in der Weimarer Zeit hat sie versucht den Bleistift u. den Pinsel, wenn nicht den "Griffel" zu führen.

Endlich aber bekam sie einen Zeichenlehrer. Doch wirkte er wenig zu ihrer Befriedigung,<sup>14</sup> denn alles was sie von ihm lernen konnte, Silhouettenschneiden u. "winzige Landschaften" kopieren, war ihr zuwider. Sie zog einen Vorteil aus diesem Lehrer;<sup>15</sup> er liess ihr Preislers soeben in Nürnberg herausgegebene Anleitung zum Zeichnen, u. ohne Hülfe u. ganz aus eigenem Antriebe zeichnete sie danach Augen, Ohren, u. Nasen, so gut es gehen wollte. Bald nach diesem erfolglosen Versuch weiter in die Kunst zu dringen, gewann sie eine Lehrerin ganz anderer Art,<sup>16</sup> eine gebildete Engländerin, die mit ihrem Manne, der die Stelle des russischen Minister-Residenten einnahm, in Danzig angelangt war. Diese Dame war eine sehr "talentvolle, eifrige u. fleissige Dilettantin" u. Johannas Kunstliebe oder wie sie sagt, Kunstsehnucht, wurde von ihr besser befriedigt. Die neue Lehrerin gab ihr Studien nach der Antike, die sie zu Hause kopierte u. dann zurückbrachte, um kritische Bemerkungen darüber zu hören. "Ich erinnere mich eines Kopfes der Tochter der Niobe, den ich fünfmal zeichnete, ehe ich nur einigermaßen ihr genügen konnte, u. verdanke es ihr noch jetzt in meinem Herzen."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> J. & W. I, 165.

<sup>14</sup> J. & W. I, 189.

<sup>15</sup> J. & W. I, 190.

<sup>16</sup> J. & W. I, 204.

<sup>17</sup> J. & W. I, 205.

Diese Erinnerungen wurden am Schlusse eines langen u. tätigen Lebens niedergeschrieben, u. doch steht jeder Schritt, jede Stufe ganz klar u. deutlich vor uns. Die Versuche des Kindes u. des jungen Mädchens haben etwas Rührendes, etwas Reizendes, denn sie sind ja so kindlich, u. doch besitzen sie zugleich eine Selbständigkeit u. Selbstbewusstheit, die man besser fühlt als versteht. Man könnte zwar sagen, dieses Streben nach Hohem u. Schöнем habe sie nur später hineingedichtet. Die verschiedenen Begebenheiten aber sind so naiv, so kindlich, dass sie ihre Wahrhaftigkeit in sich tragen; und dies liess sich nicht erfinden, wir müssen an ihre Echtheit glauben.

Von nun an schweigt das *Jugendleben* über Kunst-Eindrücke und Bemühungen. Ihre Verheiratung stellte sie in einen neuen Pflichtenkreis, in dem andere Interessen die Oberhand gewannen, vor allem die Sorge um Gatten und Kinder. Sie hat die ersten Jahre ihres verehelichten Standes, die in Oliva bei Danzig verlebt wurden, anmutig beschrieben,<sup>18</sup> die langen in ländlicher Ruhe u. Stille zugebrachten Tage, die aber für sie nie lang genug waren.

Im Winter 1803 den sie in Paris zubrachte, beschäftigte sie sich mit Miniaturmalerei unter Anleitung des Künstlers Augustin u. die Tochter schreibt in Bezug auf Fernow:<sup>19</sup> er gab "ihrem durch den Maler Augustin längst entwickelten Talent zur Malerei, die Basis der Kenntnisse" etc. Dass sie diese Kunst in technischer Hinsicht sehr gut verstand, beweisen viele Hinweisungen darauf in dem "Johann van Eyck"<sup>20</sup> und in den Reisebüchern.<sup>21</sup>

In Weimar aber fing ihr eigentliches "Kunstleben" zuerst an, wenn man es so nennen darf. Es ist wirklich merkwürdig, wie sie da alles an sich gezogen hat, allem Anschein nach, ohne sich viel darum zu bemühen. Es war natürlich etwas Glück dabei, aber die Persönlichkeit der Frau selbst wirkte dahin, alle diese

<sup>18</sup> J. & W. I, 273.

<sup>19</sup> J. & W. II, 258.

<sup>20</sup> S. W. IV, 37, 39, 177, 188, 192.

<sup>21</sup> S. W. III, 150, 151, 169. J. & W. II, 69, 67.



interessanten Menschen für sich einzunehmen. Die reichste Quelle für diese Zeit sind ihre Briefe an ihren Sohn, die Düntzer<sup>22</sup> völlig ausgenützt hat; dort kann man ihre eigene Schilderung der ersten paar Jahre in Weimar lesen. Stephan Schütze<sup>23</sup> hat auch etwas über sie u. ihre berühmten Abendgesellschaften mitgeteilt. Nach ihm suchte sie nie sich zum Mittelpunkt des Kreises zu machen, sie sass vielmehr an ihrem kleinen Tische, von wo aus sie Tee u. Butterbrot verteilte, u. überliess den Anderen die Verantwortung für die allgemeine Unterhaltung. Doch wirkte die Gesellschaft nach u. nach auch auf sie, wie Schütze bemerkt. Das fühlte er besonders, als er ein Bild von ihr aus früherer Zeit sah: "Wie hatte das einfach-jugendliche Gesicht von 1806 sich mit Gedankenzügen bereichert."

Mit Meyers Hülfe zeichnete u. malte sie wieder, das Silhouettenschneiden wurde in den Abendgesellschaften auch aufgenommen, u. von Allen, sogar von Goethe, mit Eifer getrieben. Man hört viel von einem gewissen Ofenschirm, für den Goethe Pläne zeichnete, u. der mit dieser papierenen Kunst ausgeschmückt werden sollte. Alle nahmen Teil daran, wer nicht geschickt genug war, Blumen, Vögel, etc., auszuschneiden, konnte doch ihre Anordnung besprechen, u. so wurde der Schirm mit Lust u. Liebe endlich fertig.

Johanna Schopenhauer machte aber zuweilen viel anspruchsvollere Versuche. Knebel<sup>24</sup> erzählt wie sie einmal unternahm, seinen Kopf im Profil zu zeichnen; das ging ziemlich gut, u. er spricht ihr "Sinn u. Geschicklichkeit" zu, aber als sie ihn später in "Wachs bossiren" wollte, gelang es ihr nicht besonders. Obwohl Goethe ihn sehr lobte, war Knebel kaum damit zufrieden. Er schrieb: "Ich will nicht tadeln, obgleich Mund,

<sup>22</sup> Düntzer: Abhandlung zu Goethes Leben u. Werken. Bd. I Goethes Beziehung zu Johanna Schopenhauer u. ihren Kindern. Illustriertes Deutsches Monatsheft. Bd. 25. Düntzer: Goethes erste Beziehung zu Johanna Schopenhauer.

<sup>23</sup> Weimars Album zur Säkular Feier.

<sup>24</sup> Knebel: Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester. 1.12.1809, 13.4.1810, 1.6.1810.

Ohr u. Augen nicht recht in Ordnung sind, u. der Hals viel zu dick." Man möchte fragen, was für Vorzüge Goethe darin gefunden hat.

Von allen Weimarer Freunden stand Karl Ludwig Fernow ihr am nächsten. Die Tochter erwähnt<sup>25</sup> besonders seinen Einfluss in dem neuen Leben, das die beiden in Weimar führten, ihrer Mutter zweitem Geistesfrühling, wie sie es nennt. Er war Lehrer und Freund zugleich; er gab ihr ihr erstes Verständnis für die Antike u. ordnete u. ergänzte ihre Kenntnisse, die ungerichtet u. oft mangelhaft waren. "Ich möchte sagen, es sei von ihm aus jeder Halt u. jeder Schmuck ihres späteren Lebens ausgegangen, u. sein Geist habe in jeder bedeutenden Stunde desselben, auf sie rückgewirkt." Fernow stand natürlich ganz auf Seiten Winckelmanns u. der Klassiker; die Antike war für ihn das allerhöchste, u. die Modernen, Raphael ausgenommen, kaum damit zu vergleichen. Spuren dieser Lehren<sup>26</sup> sind bei Johanna Schopenhauer noch spät zu spüren; in ihrem anspruchvollsten Werk über die Kunst, "Johann van Eyck," ist sie allerdings von diesem Standpunkt ganz abgekommen. "Fernows Leben," ihr erstes bedeutendes Werk, besteht meistens aus seinen Tagebüchern u. Briefen, so dass ihre eigenen Ansichten sehr wenig darin zum Vorschein kommen. Weder hier noch anderswo lässt sie sich auf kunsttheoretische Erörterungen ein, sondern behält ihre Kunstanschauungen für sich, so klar u. bestimmt sie auch waren.<sup>27</sup>

Doch lange ehe sie Fernow kennen lernte, nahm sie bereits warmen Anteil an der Kunst der Alten, wie ihre Beschreibungen der römischen Altertümer im südlichen Frankreich beweisen. Diese alten Ruinen in Nîmes, Vienne u. Lyon hat sie während ihrer Reise 1803-4 gesehen. Mit Ungeduld erwartete sie die Gelegenheit die "Überreste jenes Volkes zu erblicken, das einst mit mächtigen Szepter die Welt beherrschte". Dann beschreibt sie mit der grössten Genauigkeit halb verfallene

<sup>25</sup> J. & W. II, 257-8.

<sup>26</sup> J. & W. II, 275; S.W. III, 145; 188-9; S.W. IV, 37-8; 66.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. J. & W. II, 272.

Tempel, antike Brunnen, alte Inschriften, Grabmäler, Basreliefs, Mosaiken etc.<sup>28</sup> Sie hat das alte Amphitheater u. einen uralten Aquädukt in Nîmes besonders bewundert. Wie zu erwarten, zeigt sie kein gelehrtes Verständnis für diese Altertümer, aber eine wahrhafte Liebe u. lebendiges Interesse sind in ihren Schilderungen nicht zu verkennen. Ihre eigenen Worte geben den Standpunkt, von dem sie diese alte Herrlichkeit erschaute: "Hier erfüllte uns die reinste Freude, welche nur der Anblick eines vollendeten Kunstwerks gewähren kann,—u. doch sind alle Regeln, die hier vorwalteten, uns völlig unbekannt.—Wie die Sonne erfreut, erwärmt, beglückt es ohne Ausnahme alle, die es nur recht betrachten".<sup>29</sup>

Goethe war in den ersten Jahren die Hauptfigur in Johanna Schopenhauers Abendgesellschaften. Er gab immer die Stimmung für die Anderen an, u. man war stets bereit seinen Wünschen Gehorsam zu leisten. Bei diesen Abenden war er freilich kein Gelehrter, nur seine rein menschliche Seite kam dort zum Vorschein, aber allerdings keine gewöhnlich menschliche. Die allerandächtigste Verehrerin war vielleicht die Wirtin selber, ihr Gefühl für ihn war Bewunderung u. tiefe Ehrfurcht, aber eben deshalb ist sein Einfluss auf sie schwer zu bestimmen. In der Einleitung zu dem "Johann van Eyck", um einen zeitlichen Standpunkt<sup>30</sup> zu gewinnen, benutzte sie häufig sein "Kunst u. Altertum" u. zwar in seinen eigenen Worten.<sup>31</sup> Auch früher schon hatte sie sich damit beholfen, bei der Beschreibung der Boisseréeschen Gemäldesammlung in Heidelberg,<sup>32</sup> die sie erst 1816 sah. Man könnte Goethe eben so gut wie Fernow ihr Verständnis der Antike zuschreiben, wenn wir nicht ihr eigenes<sup>33</sup> Bekenntnis u. das ihrer Tochter<sup>34</sup> dafür hätten, dass dieser, als Freund u. Lehrer, ihr viel näher stand.

<sup>28</sup> S.W. XVIII, 6ff; 25; 168 ff; 180; 198.

<sup>29</sup> S.W. XVIII, 12-3.

<sup>30</sup> S.W. IV, 12 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Ausgabe I. Hand Vol. 43, S. 398 ff.

<sup>32</sup> S.W. III, 151 ff.

<sup>33</sup> S.W. III, 145. S.W. I; II.

<sup>34</sup> J. & W. II, 258.

Sulpiz Boisserée ist viel später in ihr Leben getreten, aber sein Einfluss nahm dann sicher das Übergewicht. Die Wirkung davon ist zuerst in der "Ausflucht an den Rhein"<sup>35</sup> zu sehen. Sie hatte während dieser Reise im Jahre 1816 die Boisseréesche Gemäldesammlung in Heidelberg besichtigt u. wurde mit Begeisterung dafür erfüllt, obwohl alle ihre Meinungen u. Ideen über die Kunst in ein Chaos gerieten aus dem sie sich eine neue Basis für ihr Kunstgefühl entwickeln musste.<sup>36</sup> Sie hatte bis jetzt die Antike als den einzigen Weg zur Vollkommenheit betrachtet; "Neben diesen noch immer Verehrten erblicke ich jetzt noch eine zweite Führerin zum Heiligthum der Kunst, die Natur."<sup>37</sup> Dann verherrlicht sie die altdeutschen Meister, ihre Einfachheit, die Farbenpracht u. zugleich die Naturwahrheit ihrer Gemälde, die "Schönheit der Formen u. den ächt menschlich frommen Sinn ohne Streben darnach."<sup>38</sup>

Die eigentliche Quelle der Liebe zu dieser alten Kunst ist nur in der Frau selber zu suchen,<sup>39</sup> u. ihre Anlehnung an Boisserée ist keine sklavische; er hat dem ursprünglich in ihr liegenden Interesse nur eine bestimmte Richtung gegeben. Sein erster Aufenthalt in Weimar, vor welcher Zeit sie ihn kaum hätte kennen lernen können, fiel in den Mai 1811. Schon 1810 hatte sie geschrieben: "Bei aller der technischen Vollendung, die Gerhard von Kügelgen seinen Gemälden zu geben gewohnt ist, nähert er sich in der Darstellungsweise der hohen Einfalt der alten deutschen Meister, u. spricht wie sie gerade zum Herzen."<sup>40</sup> Auch in ihrer Beschreibung der früheren Reisen in den Jahren 1803-4, reiht sie die Namen Dürer, Holbein, Van Dyck, de Hoog, Teniers, Wouwermaun, etc., an die von Raphael, Tizian, da Vinci, u. Correggio.<sup>41</sup> Mit vielleicht einer Ausnahme<sup>42</sup> macht sie keinen Versuch die flämischen, niederländ-

<sup>35</sup>S.W. III.

<sup>36</sup>S.W. III, 145, 149, 150.

<sup>37</sup>S.W. III, 150-1.

<sup>38</sup>S.W. III, 150.

<sup>39</sup>Vgl. S.W. III, 145.

<sup>40</sup>Journal des Luxus u. der Moden. Nov. 1810.

<sup>41</sup>J. & W. II, 46. S.W. XV, 13-4; 36-7; 38-9.

<sup>42</sup>S.W. III, 145.



ischen, u. kölnischen Schulen von einander zu scheiden, alles war für sie die "altdeutsche Kunst."

"Johann Van Eyck u. eine Nachfolger" erschien 1822, es ist das Denkmal das sie, ihren Kräften gemäss, ihrer vaterländischen Kunst setzte. Das zu jener Zeit so mächtige nationale Gefühl war auch in ihr wach, u. sie wollte ihr Scherflein dazu beitragen, um deutsche Literatur u. Kunst aus der Dunkelheit zu ziehen, in der sie so lange geruht hatten. Die Boisseréesche Gemäldesammlung hat sie am tiefsten gerührt u. erfreut,<sup>45</sup> u. den Wunsch in ihr hervorgebracht, die alten deutschen Meister, ihr einfaches Leben u. ernstes Streben, näher kennen zu lernen. Es gab wohl manche Andere, die dasselbe Verlangen haben konnten, u. daher versuchte sie schlicht u. treu, das aufzuzeichnen, was sie darüber erforscht hatte.<sup>46</sup> Ohne Zweifel kannte sie Wackenroders<sup>47</sup> Schriften. Die Verherrlichung dieser alten Kunst war daher nicht als ganz neue Idee in ihr erwachsen, doch war die Art u. Weise wie sie an dieser Bewegung teilnahm, ganz ihre eigene. Wenn keine hohe künstlerische Form das Werk beherrscht, so ist es trotz alledem durchaus lesbar u. unterhaltend, denn sie besass ein nicht gewöhnliches Erzählertalent. Sie gibt in einem Vorwort ihre Quellen<sup>48</sup> an, Fuesli, Descampes, Murrs Kunst-Journal, das Morgenblatt, aber vor allen Karl von Mander, u. es ist recht interessant zu sehen, wie sie ihn zu benutzen wusste, in dem sie treffende, auffallende, oder lächerliche Anekdoten auswählte, sie etwas aufputzte, u. dann das ganze geschickt zusammenfügte.

In demselben Vorwort erwähnt sie Boisserée als einen, der ihr sehr behülflich war, u. ihre Briefe an ihn bestätigen dies. Am 14. Jan. 1821 schreibt sie,<sup>49</sup> sie schicke ihm ihr Manuskript, um ihm zu zeigen wie sie seine mitgeteilten Notizen benutzt habe u. bittet um sein Urteil u. ferneren Beistand. "Schönen

<sup>45</sup> S.W. IV, 10. III, 144 ff.

<sup>46</sup> S.W. IV, 11.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. Citat am Anfang von "Johann van Eyck."

<sup>48</sup> S.W. IV, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Sulpiz Boisserée, Leben u. Briefe. Bd. I.

sie mich nicht, sehen Sie meine Arbeit durch, u. verbessern Sie oder streichen Sie weg nach Ihrer Überzeugung." Am 29. März desselben Jahres dankt<sup>48</sup> sie ihm für die Güte mit der er ihr Manuskript durchgesehen u. verbessert habe, sie habe alles so geändert, wie er geraten, u. sie bedauert nur, dass sie ihm den Rest ihrer Arbeit nicht zeigen könne. Wenn man das Werk selber vornimmt, wird Boisserées Einfluss ohne Zweifel klar. Drei Punkte sind von ihr vor allen andern hervorgehoben: die Einfachheit u. kindliche Naivetät der niederländischen Maler, ihre Farbenpracht, u. die täuschende Wahrheit, mit der sie die Natur wiedergaben; hierdurch erreichten sie einen so hohen Grad der Vollendung. Dieselben Eigenschaften, sogar manchmal in denselben Worten ausgedrückt, sind von Boisserée in seinen Briefen<sup>49</sup> an seinen Bruder u. Bertram hervorgehoben. Fernows Einfluss ist hier ganz ausgeschlossen, denn er ist 1808 gestorben u. was er über niederländische Kunst geschrieben hat,<sup>50</sup> ist nicht nur sehr wenig, sondern auch ganz unfreundlich.

Das Originelle in dem "Johann van Eyck" ist Johanna Schopenhauers Schilderung der verschiedenen Gemälde. Die Art u. Weise wie sie das Bild vor ihre Leser zu bringen versucht, ist ganz eigen, u. darin ist sie wirklich schöpferisch. Sie malt mit Worten statt mit dem Pinsel. Die Darstellung des Künstlers ist für sie keine gemalte Leinwand sondern etwas Lebendiges. Sie denkt sich in das Bild hinein u. sieht alles klar vor ihren Augen.<sup>51</sup> Ihre Methode ist, jede kleinste Einzelheit zu schildern, um einen Begriff von dem Ganzen zu geben. Obwohl sie Farben, Hintergrund, Gruppierung, etc. sehr genau beschreibt, ist es doch immer das psychologische Moment, das sie hervorhebt, u. das für sie das grösste Interesse hat. Diese

<sup>48</sup> Boisserée, Leben u. Briefe. Bd. I.

<sup>49</sup> Boisserée, Leben & Briefe. besonders 6.12.1815; 27.7.1833; 26.6.1837; Jan. 1814; 28.12.1825; 23.6.1817; 20.10.1812.

<sup>50</sup> Fernow: Römische Studien II, 82-3-4; auch S.W. I, 270; II, 41 ff. 232 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. S.W. III, 183, 184.

Beschreibungsart kann sehr leicht übertrieben wirken, aber man fühlt nie bei ihr, dass sie zu weit geht.<sup>52</sup>

Naturgefühl ist in ihren Schilderungen nicht besonders bemerkbar, obwohl sie nicht versäumt, Landschafts-Hintergründe ziemlich genau zu beschreiben. Sie sind für sie lebendig u. ein wesentlicher Teil des ganzen Bildes.

Johanna Schopenhauer beschreibt nur die, meistens aus der Boisseréeschen Sammlung stammenden Gemälde, die sie selber gesehen hat, u. ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf Details beweist wie sorgfältig u. genau ihre Untersuchungen waren. Das Kölner Dombild<sup>53</sup> betrachtete sie sogar von einem Gerüst, auf dem ein junger Künstler sass, um ein Flügelbild davon zu kopieren. Es war für sie ein Vorteil dass sie selbst malte u. zeichnete, denn dadurch hatte sie Verständnis für den technischen Teil der Kunst, von dem der ästhetische Eindruck so sehr abhängt,<sup>54</sup> wie Fernow behauptet hatte. Für die genauere Untersuchung eines Bildes benutzte sie manchmal ein Vergrößerungsglas.<sup>55</sup> Sie bespricht häufig die Art u. Weise wie die Farben aufgelegt sind, die Konturen der Figuren, ob sie scharf u. hart, oder weich sind, Perspektive, Komposition, alles zeigt gutes Verständnis.

Sie stellt Johann van Eyck, Memling u. Schoreel am höchsten; was sie von ihnen zu berichten hat, klingt mehr wie Verherrlichung denn wie Kritik ihrer Werke. Mit den übrigen aber verfährt sie ganz anders, denn sie fällt Urteile, nicht nur in Bezug auf einzelne Gemälde, sondern auch auf die Arbeit des Künstlers im allgemeinen.<sup>56</sup> Ob sie mehr oder weniger darin von Boisserée beeinflusst wurde, ist nicht festzustellen; in einigen Fällen jedoch stimmt sie mit ihm genau überein.<sup>57</sup> In

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. S.W. V, 228; IV, 45-6; 216-7; 188-9; III, 159.

<sup>53</sup> S.W. IV, 24.

<sup>54</sup> S.W. II, 34.

<sup>55</sup> S.W. IV, 37.

<sup>56</sup> S.W. V. 192; 205-6; 232; 240; 254.

<sup>57</sup> Boisserée, *Leben & Briefe*: 10.5.1811; 17.6.1810; 3.9.1814. L. W. III, 146; V, 47; V, 222.

allen ihren Urteilen aber ist sie sehr bescheiden, sie macht keinen Anspruch auf Kenntnisse die sie nicht besitzt, sie behauptet oft, sie schreibe für keine Kunstkenner, sie wolle nicht endgiltig entscheiden, sondern nur das beschreiben, was sie vor sich sehe.<sup>58</sup> Sie vermeidet technische Ausdrücke beinahe gänzlich; die wenigen Ausnahmen sind kaum Ausnahmen zu nennen, denn Worte wie Perspektive, Verkürzung, Helldunkel etc. versteht jedermann.

Ihre Anschauung der Kunst ist durchaus keine historische. Wie oben gesagt, nimmt sie alles was sie an geschichtlicher Orientierung besitzt, aus Goethes "Kunst u. Altertum." Übrigens rechnet sie alle diese Meister, von Stephan Lochner bis zu Karl von Mander zur altdeutschen Schule. Obwohl sie sehr gewissenhaft versucht den Einfluss früherer Meister auf sie klarzurlegen u. auch ihren Einfluss auf spätere, so empfindet man doch, die Schriftstellerin interessiert sich mehr für sie als Individuen u. Menschen denn als Vertreter einer bestimmten Richtung.

Sie hatte schon lange vor dem "Johann van Eyck" über die Kunst geschrieben, doch sehr bescheidene Schriften waren es, die 1809-10 in Bertuchs "Journal des Luxus u. der Moden" erschienen. Alle waren in die Form von Briefen an einen Freund gefasst. Als Gerhardt von Kügelgen im Winter 1808-9 in Weimar war, hatte er Portraits von Goethe, Schiller, Herder u. Wieland angefangen, die er später vollendete u. nach Weimar zurückschickte, wo sie bei Johanna Schopenhauer ausgestellt waren. Der erste Brief ist eine Beschreibung dieser vier Gemälde.<sup>59</sup> Man sieht hier ganz klar die Kennzeichen ihres späteren Stils, ihr Gefühl für Farbe u. Naturwahrheit, ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf Details u. ihre Fähigkeit das Psychologische im Bilde zu erfassen: "Goethe spricht nicht, aber er hat eben gesprochen u. ist im Begriff zu antworten, was er hört, freut ihn, er hat den Sprecher lieb, aber er ist nicht ganz seiner Meinung."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> J. & W. II, 272. S.W. III, 40; IV, II; 87, 104, 122; V. 98.

<sup>59</sup> Journal des Luxus u. der Moden. 1809.

<sup>60</sup> Journal des Luxus u. der Moden.



Die beiden andern, wahrscheinlich aus Dresden geschriebenen Briefe erschienen Nov. 1810 in derselben Zeitschrift u. beschreiben einige Gemälde von Kügelgen u. dem Landschaftler Friedrich.

Auf der Reise versäumte sie nie die bedeutenderen Kunstsammlungen, besonders Gemäldegallerieen aufzusuchen. Die alten Schlösser in England, von denen sie mit ihrem Manne viele besuchte, hatten alle ihre Privatsammlungen, u. sie war eine zu gewissenhafte Reisende um irgend eine davon zu übergehen. Diese ersten Schilderungen<sup>61</sup> aber sind sehr flüchtig u. oberflächlich; mit Ausnahme der beiden obenerwähnten kleinen Beiträge in Bertuchs Zeitschrift, versucht sie erst bei der Boisseréeschen Sammlung, die sie 1816 gesehen hat, die Gemälde eingehend u. kritisch zu behandeln.<sup>62</sup> Ihre letzte grössere Reise, im Jahre 1822,<sup>63</sup> galt Belgien u. auch hier konzentrierte sich ohne Zweifel ihr Hauptinteresse auf Baukunst und Malerei. In Köln, Aachen, Brügge, Gent, wo sie auch war, immer suchte sie die alten Kirchen auf u. weilte gerne in ihnen. Die Malerei aber war hauptsächlich ihr Ziel, u. besonders, die alt-deutsche u. niederländische. Ihre Gemäldebeschreibungen sind ganz im Stil des "Johann van Eyck" u. sie verweist den Leser oft auf dieses Werk, besonders auf die neue Ausgabe<sup>64</sup> davon, die sie bald veröffentlichen wollte.

Über Kunst wird in allen ihren Romanen<sup>65</sup> häufig gesprochen. Ihre Hauptcharaktere sind gewöhnlich Kunstkenner. u. alle ihre Frauen müssen zeichnen u. malen lernen, was sie dann mit mehr oder weniger Eifer u. Geschick treiben. Ihre Gespräche darüber sind gar nicht eingehend, denn die Schriftstellerin konnte ihren Schöpfungen keine Kenntnisse geben, die sie selber nicht besass. Eine Novelle, "Anton Solario," hat einen Künstler als Helden. Das Interesse der Erzählung aber liegt

<sup>61</sup> S.W. XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII.

<sup>62</sup> S.W. III, 144 bis 187.

<sup>63</sup> Ausflug an den Niederrhein u. nach Belgien.

<sup>64</sup> S.W. IV, V.

<sup>65</sup> Gabriele; Die Tante; Sidonia; Richard Wood.

hauptsächlich bei der Liebesgeschichte u. die Kunst spielt darin nur in so weit eine Rolle, wie sie für seine Liebe förderlich ist.

Dass die Kunst eine Verschönerung des alltäglichen Lebens sein sollte, war für Johanna Schopenhauer etwas Feststehendes. Sie behauptete "der schöne Zweck der heiligen Kunst sei nicht, eigentliche Kunstrichter zu befriedigen, sondern vielmehr stille, einfache Gemüther zu beseligen, die sich ohne Krittellei ihrem Zauber hingeben."<sup>66</sup> Mit dieser Idee stimmte überein ihre Abneigung gegen alle unangenehmen u. schrecklichen Dinge. Sie gab zu, dass viel daran liege, wie der Maler sie behandelte, u. sie konnte die verständnisinnige Darstellung eines Kindermordes oder einer Kreuzigung verstehen u. bewundern. Aber ihre grösste Begeisterung u. ihr höchster Genuss kamen von einer ganz andern Art Gemälden. Johann van Eyck mit seiner Ruhe u. Einfachheit, mit seinen Figuren, die "immer schön u. immer edel," stand ihr am allerhöchsten.

## II. DIE REISEBÜCHER.

Die Reisebücher wurden mit wenig Ausnahmen ganz am Anfang von Johanna Schopenhauers schriftstellerischer Laufbahn geschrieben. Sie enthalten Schildernugen der Reisen die sie mit ihrem Manne u. Sohne gemacht hat. Die Tagebücher, die sie u. der Sohn geführt haben, waren später die Quelle für die beiden umfangreichsten Bücher, die Reise durch England u. Schottland, u. die von Paris aus in das südliche Frankreich. Die "Ausflucht an den Rhein" wurde im Jahre 1818 veröffentlicht, u. beschreibt einen Ausflug, den sie 1816 gemacht hat. Darauf kommt eine lange Zwischenzeit, die mit Novellen u. Romanen ausgefüllt ist, u. dann erschien im Jahre 1831 der "Ausflug an den Niederrhein," Erinnerungen an eine Reise, die sie kurz vorher mit der Tochter gemacht hatte. Die skizzenhaften Schilderungen, die 1831 u. 1833 im Taschenbuch Minerva erschienen, beschreiben Wanderungen in den letzten Jahren vor dem Tod ihres Mannes.

<sup>66</sup> J. & W. II, 272.

In den ersten beiden Werken, der Reise durch England u. Schottland u. ins südlichen Frankreich, ist Johanna Schopenhauer scheinbar genau ihrem Tagebuch gefolgt. Ihre Einteilung in Kapitel ist streng geographisch geregelt u. wirkt manchmal ziemlich eintönig. Diese Kapitel sind besonders im ersten Werke kurz u. abgerissen, u. die Beschreibungen sind oft so trocken u. einförmig, dass man unwillkürlich an ein Reisehandbuch erinnert wird. Allem Anschein nach bekamen sie u. ihr Mann fast alle grossen englischen Landsitze zu sehen, u. ihre langen Berichte über Gebäude, Gärten, Parks, u. Gemälde-oder Büchersammlungen, falls solche vorhanden waren, sind schliesslich etwas ermüdend.

Ihre Naturbeschreibungen zeigen im allgemeinen kein inniges, intimes Vertrautsein mit der Natur, sie sind gewöhnlich, oberflächlich u. schablonenhaft. Schottland aber bildet in dieser Hinsicht eine Ausnahme, denn sie scheint von seinen öden, zackigen Gebirgen, von seinen lieblichen Tälern u. Seen wirklich begeistert worden zu sein. Auch ist ihre Beschreibung der Schweizer Gebirgswelt viel weniger trocken, als es gewöhnlich bei ihr der Fall ist. Ihre Grösse u. Erhabenheit haben ihr sehr imponiert, u. sie hat die herrlichen Aussichten auf die mächtigen Gebirgsriesen u. die breiten Eisfelder mit wahren Gefühl geschildert.

Man kann aber sagen, ihr Interesse ist zu dieser Zeit hauptsächlich auf die Stadt u. das Leben u. Treiben in ihr gerichtet. Theater, öffentliche Gebäude, Vernügnungsorte aller Art, Hotels, Schulen, Läden, Strassen, Promenaden, Kirchen, Fabriken—alles hat sie ausführlich u. lebhaft beschrieben. Ihr Mann hatte als Kaufmann u. auch durch frühere Reisen ausgedehnte Beziehungen in Frankreich, Holland, u. England, u. dadurch war es möglich, dass Johanna viel von dem geselligen Leben des Volkes sehen konnte. Es war natürlich der Mittelstand u. besonders der Kaufmannsstand, den sie kennen lernte, u. ihre Milieuschilderungen gelten hauptsächlich diesem. Ihre Häuser, ihre Kleidung, ihre Gewohnheiten, die Kosten ihrer Lebensmittel, ihre Lebensweise, wie sie sich amüsierten, etc.,

alles hat sie so lebhaft geschildert, dass man ihr waches Interesse für diese Dinge fühlt. Ein grosses Diner in London, zu dem sie eingeladen worden, hat sie umständlich beschrieben—Servietten, Tischtuch, "finger bowls," die ihr ganz neu waren, die verschiedenen Gerichte, wie sie gekocht u. serviert wurden, die Unterhaltung, oder vielmehr Mangel an Unterhaltung bei Tisch, keine Einzelheit des Bildes fehlt.

Der Grund für die eingehenden Besichtigungen der grossen Fabriken in England u. Frankreich ist natürlich auf das Interesse ihres Mannes für industrielle Unternehmungen zurückzuführen. Die Herstellung von Knöpfen, Messing u. Blechgeschirr, Glass, Eisen, Teppichen, etc., sahen sie sich in England an, die von Seife, Seide, u. Sammet in Marseille u. Lyon. Ihre Beschreibung einer Dampfmaschine in Soho, England, wahrscheinlich die erste die sie gesehen, ist sehr naiv u. amüsant: "Das Wasser muss das ganze Jahr im Kochen erhalten werden, damit die Maschine nie stocke." Die grossen Schiffe, Kanäle u. Quais in Amsterdam u. Bordeaux haben ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen u. sie hat das geschäftige Leben auf ihnen bewundert. Man spürt auch hier den Anteil ihres Mannes, denn allein hätte sie wahrscheinlich viel weniger Interesse dafür gehabt. Handel u. Industrie waren nicht ihre Liebhaberei.

Sie hat in allen grossen Städten die Theater besucht u. ihre Meinung über Stück u. Spiel geäussert. Ihr Urteil ist nicht ohne Wert, denn sie war auf diesem Gebiet wirklich sachkundig. Sie hatte nicht nur die Theater vieler Länder gesehen, es kam auch noch die Erziehung in der Weimarer Schule unter Goethe hinzu. Von Anfang an besuchte sie eifrig das Hoftheater dort, u. wir wissen dass das Gespräch bei ihren Abendgesellschaften häufig Drama u. Theater berührten. Ihre Besprechung der Londoner Theater, die am allerausführlichsten ist, zeigt wieder ihre Liebe für Einzelheiten. Wir hören um wie viel Uhr die Aufführung anfängt, wie die Plätze angeordnet sind, was sie kosten, ob sie bequem sind oder nicht, wie man sich ankleiden soll, wie die Bühne eingerichtet ist, Dekoration, Vorhang, Kullissen, u.s.w. Sie beschreibt einzelne Stücke die sie gesehen,



erwähnt Mrs. Siddons, Kemble, Cook, u. viele andere Schauspieler, u. urteilt ganz frei u. ungeniert über ihre Leistungen.

Sie äussert in diesem Zusammenhang Ansichten über Theater im allgemeinen, vergleicht die deutsche Bühne mit der französischen u. englischen, u. weist auf die verschiedenen Vortheile u. Eigentümlichkeiten jeder Nation hin. Gewöhnlich aber vermeidet sie alle Verallgemeinerung u. alle tiefere Kritik. Ihr Absicht in den Reisebüchern ist ein wahres Bild von dem zu geben, was sie selber gesehen oder erfahren hat, u. man kann sagen sie bleibt im allgemeinen dieser Absicht treu.

Wie zu erwarten, haben die englischen Bade- u. Kurorte sie besonders angezogen. Sie schreibt: "Es wimmelt in England von Badeörtern aller Art," u. sie hat eine gute Anzahl davon persönlich kennen lernen. Von allen hat Bath ihr am besten gefallen, nach ihrer Beschreibung zu schliessen. Mit ihrer gewöhnlichen Genauigkeit schildert sie die Stadt u. das Leben dort, dann geht sie weiter in die Geschichte des Ortes zurück, die sich "ins graueste Alterthum verliert." Richard Nash u. sein Regime interessierte sie sehr, u. sie gibt ein ganz lebendiges Bild davon; sie fügt sogar eine Kopie der Gesetze hinzu, die Nash für die Regierung seines kleinen Königthums gemacht hatte.

Sie beschreibt verschiedene Schulen: Eine in Amsterdam für Kinder die zum Dienst in der Marine bestimmt waren, eine in Liverpool für Blinde, Eaton College, u. englische Mädchen- u. Knaben- Pensionen im allgemeinen, über die sie ziemlich viel zu sagen hat. Sie kannte Lancasters Schule in Wimbleton, wo ihr Sohn ein paar Monate zubrachte, sehr gut, u. ihre Bemerkungen darüber sind gar nicht schmeichelhaft: "Jeder fühlt welchen Vorzug... in dieser Rücksicht wir Deutsche vor jenen stolzen Insulanern haben."

Viele Gemäldesammlungen in Holland u. England sind erwähnt, gewöhnlich aber gibt sie nur die Namen der bedeutendsten Maler kurz an; die anschaulichen u. ausführlichen Beschreibungen der Bilder, die in "Johann van Eyck," vorkommen, fehlen fast gänzlich. Sie vermeidet auch irgend eine eingehende

Kritik der Gemälde oder der Künstler, jene aber charakterisiert sie oft als "vorzüglich, wunderschön u. naturtreu" oder "geschmacklos u. verzeichnet."

Thümmels Reise im südlichen Frankreich<sup>69</sup> war ihr bekannt, aber sie hat seinen Stil mit seinem Gewebe von Dichtung u. Wahrheit nicht nachgeahmt; das Bild, das sie von Land u. Volk malt, ist naturtreu u. ohne phantastische Zusätze. Jegliche Spur einer Beeinflussung durch Sterne fehlt.

Dennoch hat sie an einer Stelle verschiedene Sagen einer romantischen Gegend in Südfrankreich aufgenommen, u. in der Reise durch England u. Schottland eine kleine Novelle eingeschaltet, "Das schöne Mädchen von Winandermere," die traurige Geschichte eines jungen Mädchens, das sie in Westmoreland gesehen hatte.

Die Beschreibung der Römerruinen in Nîmes, Vienne u. Lyon bildet einen sehr interessanten Teil der Reise im südlichen Frankreich.<sup>70</sup> Ohne irgend einen Versuch technisch oder gelehrt zu sein schildert sie diese alten Türme, Tempel u. Amphitheater, u. die ganze Art u. Weise der Beschreibung bekundet ihr lebhaftes Interesse. Sie versucht die alten Zeiten in ihre Phantasie zurückzurufen u. vergleicht sie mit der jetzigen, wo alles zerfallen ist oder missbraucht wird. Historische Hinweise aller Art kommen in den Reisen häufig vor, manchmal trocken u. nach Art eines Führers, aber oft aus wahren Interesse u. Gefühl.

"Die Ausflucht an den Rhein," das dritte Reisebuch, ist in die Form von Briefen an einen Freund gefasst. Es fehlen gänzlich Über- u. Unterschriften, aber Datum u. Ort sind regelmässig angegeben.

Natur u. Kunst spielen hier die Hauptrollen. Die romantische Rheingegend mit ihren alten Schlössern u. interessanten kleinen Dörfern hat sie sehr angezogen, besonders Heidelberg u. seine Umgebung. Hier hat sie die längste Zeit zugebracht.

<sup>69</sup> Mor. Aug. von Thümmel: Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich im Jahre 1785 bis 1786. S.W. XVII, 222. XVIII, 84. S.W. XVII, 248ff. S.W. XVI, 103-124.

<sup>70</sup> S.W. XVIII, 6-198.

Sie interessierte sich sehr für die alten germanischen Sagen, für Siegfried u. die Nibelungen, u. trotz allem Widerspruch wollte sie gern glauben, dass sie an dem Orte weile, wo Siegfried einst aus dem Brunnen trank u. Hagen ihn ermordete. "Es ist hier das Land alter Sagen! \* \* \* Sie wissen wie ich diese liebe, wie sie mir alles um mich her beleben." Sie hielt sich längere Zeit in Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Mainz u. Koblenz auf, doch bekommt man verhältnismässig wenig davon zu hören. Der Rhein mit seinen reizenden kleinen Inseln u. rebenbedeckten Ufern, den alten Schlössern, die die Hügel krönen, u. mit den schönen Aussichten, steht immer im Vordergrund der Erzählung.

Ein Hauptanziehungspunkt in Heidelberg war die Boisserée'sche Gemäldesammlung, die Johanna da zum erstenmal gesehen hat. Der Einfluss, den die Bilder auf sie machten, war entscheidend, ihre Ideen u. Meinungen über die bildende Kunst erhielten einen "Stoss" von dem sie sich nicht sofort erholen konnte. Der Besprechung dieser Bilder, die ihr eine völlig neue Kunstwelt eröffneten, widmet sie viele Seiten, u. ihre Beschreibung ist umständlich u. genau wie nie vorher. Später, in "Johann van Eyck," hat sie dasselbe Material aufgenommen u. diesen Stil weiter entwickelt. Bei der Betrachtung der Kunstsammlungen die sie in Frankfurt<sup>71</sup>, Darmstadt<sup>72</sup> u. Mainz<sup>73</sup> gesehen, erscheint ihr Interesse viel reifer u. kritischer als in der früheren Zeit, obwohl sie lange nicht so umständlich beschreibt wie bei den Boisserée'schen Bildern.

Sie vergisst nicht über die verschiedenen Bade- u. Kurorte der Rheingegend u. ihr Leben u. Treiben zu berichten; dafür hat sie sich immer interessiert. "Welt-Kind" wie sie war, wurde sie auch von einer Herrnhuter-Kolonie in Neuwied am Rhein besonders angezogen; sie brachte dort einen Tag u. eine Nacht zu, u. beschreibt mit Genauigkeit die seltsamen Gewohnheiten u. das eintönige Leben dieser Sekte.

<sup>71</sup> S.W. III, 34.

<sup>72</sup> S.W. III, 88.

<sup>73</sup> S.W. III, 201.

Ein Zeitraum von dreizehn Jahren liegt zwischen diesem u. dem nächsten Reisebuch, dem "Ausflug an den Niederrhein u. nach Belgien,"<sup>24</sup> das 1831 erschien. Sie beginnt ihre Beschreibung mit einem Rückblick. Als der Wagen durch die holperigen Strassen von Erfurt rumpelte, versetzte ihre Phantasie sie plötzlich in eine längst vergangene Zeit, in das Jahr 1808, wo Napoleon seinen glänzenden Hof in dieser Stadt hielt, u. Herzöge, Fürsten, Könige, ja sogar einen Kaiser zu sich entbot. Johanna Schopenhauer wohnte einer der berühmten Theateraufführungen dieser Zeit bei, u. ihre Schilderungen von der Mühe u. Not die Billets zu erhalten, der Reise dahin, u. endlich dem grossen Abend selbst, ist wirklich im hohem Grade wirkungsvoll u. dramatisch. Man liest die kleine Stelle bis zu Ende u. wünscht, es wäre noch mehr davon.

Ihr Hauptinteresse bei dieser Reise nach Belgien war ohne Zweifel die bildende Kunst, Baukunst und Malerei, obwohl letztere das Übergewicht hat. Sie weilt mit besonderer Liebe bei Kölns alten Kirchen; sie wagt den damals natürlich noch unvollendeten Dom nicht zu beschreiben, sie sieht ihn nur mit Ehrfurcht u. Staunen an. Sie interessiert sich besonders für den Aachener Dom mit seinen Erinnerungen an Karl den Grossen, u. in allen Städten, wo sie sich aufhielt, in Brüssel, Gent, Brügge, Antwerpen etc., versäumte sie nie die alten Kirchen aufzusuchen, deren Alter u. Stil sie mächtig anzogen. Ihre Beschreibungen davon sind durchaus nicht technisch zu nennen, obwohl sie auf Einzelheiten eingeht.

Die Malerei aber war ihr hauptsächliches Augenmerk bei dieser Reise, besonders die altdeutsche u. die niederländische. Diesem Ziel blieb sie ganz treu. In den vielen meistens privaten Gemäldesammlungen, die sie gesehen, suchte sie sofort die Meister dieser Schulen heraus, u. weilte gerne bei ihnen, so lange die Zeit es ihr erlaubte. Ihre Beschreibungen sind ganz im Stil des "Johann van Eyck", u. sie verweist den Leser oft auf dieses Werk, besonders auf die neue Ausgabe davon, die sie bald veröffentlichen wollte. Vermutlich war der Hauptzweck

<sup>24</sup> Ausflug I, 1-18.



der Reise, Material für diese neue Auflage zusammenzubringen, obwohl es nicht gesagt wird. Sie hebt den Wert der Gemäldesammlungen in Köln,<sup>75</sup> Gent,<sup>76</sup> Brügge,<sup>77</sup> u. Brüssel<sup>78</sup> hervor, besonders den des Wallraf-Museums<sup>79</sup> in Köln, dessen Entstehung sie beschreibt. Sie hat das Jabach'sche Familienbild<sup>80</sup> auch da gesehen, u. knüpft ihre Schilderung davon an die bekannte Stelle aus Goethes "Wahrheit u. Dichtung" an. Brügge besuchte sie hauptsächlich um Memlings berühmte Gemälde u. den von ihm bemalten Reliquienschrein im Ursulinerkloster zu sehen, aber ihre Beschreibungen, obwohl hier auch nicht kurz, sind im "Johann van Eyck" viel ausführlicher.

Wie gewöhnlich versäumt sie gar selten das Theater zu besuchen, wenn die Gelegenheit sich bietet. Bei der Schilderung einer Aufführung in Aachen, fügt sie eine kurze Besprechung des Dramas u. Theaters im allgemeinen, des damaligen Übergewichtes der Oper etc. hinzu.<sup>81</sup>

Mit Ausnahme ihrer Beschreibung der Rhein-u. Maastäler,<sup>82</sup> tritt ihr Interesse für die Natur ganz in den Hintergrund. Man findet aber im Zusammenhang mit der Reise durch diese beiden Täler viele reizende Stellen eines lebendigen Natursinns, immer kurz, doch mit wahrhafter Liebe u. Begeisterung geschrieben. Auf dem Rhein reiste sie zum ersten Mal mit einem Dampfschiff. Sie hatte sich lange davor gefürchtet u. gezögert, aber endlich wurde ihre Furcht von ihren Freunden ganz lächerlich gemacht, u. die gefährliche Reise von Mainz nach Godesberg verlief in Sicherheit u. ohne Unfall.

Ihre Abneigung gegen die reisenden Engländer u. Engländerinnen, die sie trifft, ist besonders auffallend, da wir in den früheren Reisebüchern nichts davon vernehmen. Hier aber

<sup>75</sup> Ausfl. I, 206ff.

<sup>76</sup> Ausfl. II, 201ff.

<sup>77</sup> Ausfl. 225ff.

<sup>78</sup> Ausfl. 131ff.

<sup>79</sup> Ausfl. I, 222-74.

<sup>80</sup> Ausfl. 206-11.

<sup>81</sup> Aus. II, 34-41.

<sup>82</sup> Aus. I, 52ff; II, 51-95.

verliert sie nie eine Gelegenheit, sie lächerlich zu machen, gewöhnlich wegen der grossen Ansprüche, die sie an den Wirt in Bezug auf Zimmer, Bedienung etc., stellen, oder wegen der Verachtung, mit der sie andere Reisenden betrachteten.

Die "Reise-Erinnerungen aus früherer Zeit," die 1831 u. 1833 in der *Minerva* erschienen, sind nur dem alten Tagebuch entnommene Fragmente.<sup>83</sup> In dem Taschenbuche für 1831 beschreibt sie das Ende der grossen Reise von 1803-4, ihren Aufenthalt in Wien u. Pressburg, u. die Rückreise durch Böhmen u. Schlesien nach Breslau. Das Thema des zweiten Fragmentes ist der Winter von 1803, den sie mit Mann u. Sohn in Paris zubrachte. Diese beiden Bruchstücke mit einem dritten, "München vor 36 Jahren," wurden von der Tochter in "Jugendleben u. Wanderbilder" nochmals herausgegeben.

Wenn man Johanna Schopenhauers Reisebeschreibungen als Ganzes zusammenfasst, staunt man wirklich über den Umfang ihrer Interessen, denn sie hatte Augen u. Ohren für alles was um sie herum in der Welt vorging. Ebenso erstaunlich ist ihre Sachlichkeit; frei von Vorurteil betrachtete u. kritisierte sie alles. Keine Spur von Engherzigkeit lässt sich irgendwo bemerken. Ihre eigenen Meinungen bleiben nicht verborgen, u. doch sind die Reisebücher im allgemeinen rein objektiv zu nennen, einfach u. ausspruchslos erzählt sie was sie um sich her wahrnimmt, u. versucht gar selten zu moralisieren oder zu verallgemeinern. Der führerartige, manchmal trockene Stil des ersten Reisebuches entwickelt sich allmählich zu einem angenehmen, der sich leichter lesen lässt. Beseichnend für ihre eigene Entwicklung ist die ununterbrochene Entfaltung ihrer Kunstinteressen, oder vielmehr ihrer Kunstkenntnisse, wie sie in den Reisebeschreibungen zum Vorschein kommen. Auf diesem Gebiet spricht sie manchmal mit fast einer Art Sachkunde.

Sie hat es selber ausgesprochen, dass Unterhaltung der Zweck dieser Schriften sei,<sup>84</sup> u. sie versucht auf keine Weise bloss zu belehren. Dass die Reisebücher damals populär waren, be-

<sup>83</sup> Taschenbuch *Minerva* 1833. 242.

<sup>84</sup> S.W. XV, 6.

weisen die vielen Auflagen die sie erlebten. Interessant müssen sie immer für denjenigen bleiben, der ein Bild dieser längst vergangenen Zeit gewinnen will.

### III. DIE NOVELLEN.

Johanna Schopenhauers erster Versuch auf diesem Gebiete waren ihre im Jahre 1816 erschienenen "Novellen fremd u. eigen."<sup>55</sup> Sie benutzte als Quellen Madame de Teucins "*Malheurs de L'Amour*"<sup>56</sup> u. zwei Novellen von Bandello.<sup>57</sup> In "Pauline" u. der "Nonne Eugenia" ist sie der französischen Schriftstellerin ziemlich genau gefolgt, u. stellenweise hat sie sogar ganze Sätze wörtlich übernommen. Änderungen sind aber vorhanden. Bei Madame de Teucin ist alles nur eine Erzählung; Johanna Schopenhauer hat zwei daraus gemacht u. das ganze etwas kürzer gefasst. Eine Stelle, die in der Quelle sehr frei gestaltet ist, hat sie umgeformt. Sie behält mit zwei unbedeutenden Ausnahmen die Personennamen bei. Die Gespräche, die bei der Französin sehr steif sind, hat sie natürlicher u. dramatischer gemacht. Die beiden Novellen wurden nochmal herausgegeben, aber unter andern Titeln: "Pauline" ist "Mathilda" geworden, u. "Die Nonne Eugenia" "Claire," Grössere Änderungen sind in beiden durchgeführt, besonders in "Claire."

"Die Herzogin von Malfi" u. "Gerardo u. die schöne Helena" sind aus Bandello genommen. Sie sind keine genauen Übersetzungen u. in der ersten hat sie mehrere Episoden eingefügt, die gar nicht in der Quelle zu finden sind. Belleforet<sup>58</sup> war vielleicht hierfür massgebend, jedenfalls stimmt sie in ihren Abweichungen ganz mit ihm überein, u. er war damals allgemein bekannt. In der zweiten Novelle ist sie Bandello genauer gefolgt. Diese ist später unter dem Titel, "Der Balkon," erschienen, kürzer gefasst, aber ohne grössere Änderungen.

<sup>55</sup> Novellen f. & e. Rudolstadt, Hofbuchhandlung, 1816.

<sup>56</sup> *Malheurs* Amsterdam, 1747.

<sup>57</sup> *Bandello* Venedig, 1566.

<sup>58</sup> Belleforet: *Histoires Tragiques*. Vgl. J.S. Nov. f. & e. 189, 202, 212. Belle. Vol. II, 17, 64, 83.

Das Titelblatt der "Novellen fremd u. eigen" enthält den Zusatz "Erster Band," doch kam sie nie dazu weitere folgen zu lassen.

Sie versuchte auch historische Novellen, oder vielmehr Novellen mit einem historischen Hintergrund. Sie wählte die Zeit Ludwigs XIV. zweimal. In dem Günstling hat sie sogar den Hof des grossen Königs zum Schauplatz gemacht, u. er selber, Mazarin u. Frau von Montespan spielen Hauptrollen. Eine französische Königin, Margarethe von Valois, die Gemahlin Karls IX, steht im Vordergrund einer dritten Erzählung, u. an ihrem Hofe spielt eine unglückliche Liebesgeschichte. Margaretha von Schottland, James I. Tochter, ist die Hauptfigur einer anderen Novelle. Im Alter von 14 Jahren wurde sie mit dem französischen Königssohn, dem späteren Ludwig XI. vermählt, u. ihr trauriges Schicksal u. früher Tod sind rührend beschrieben. Die italienische Geschichte liefert den Hintergrund für die schon erwähnte "Herzogin von Malfi;" auch "Anton Solario" muss hier genannt werden.<sup>89</sup> Dieser, ein junger Italiener, dessen Vater Klempner war, wuchs im elterlichen Geschäft auf. Später wurde er Maler aus Liebe zur Tochter des Künstlers Colantonio del Fiore, u. hiess in seinem Vaterland *il Zingaro*, der Klempner. Eine dritte Margarita, die Königin-Mutter von Neapel zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, erscheint in dieser Erzählung. Wilhelm von Nassau, Prinz von Oranien, u. seine vergebliche Belagerung der Stadt Amsterdam geben Stoff für eine Novelle, deren Hauptinteresse aber in der Liebe eines tapferen Soldaten für eine junge Frau liegt.

Hat Johanna Schopenhauer in diesen historischen Erzählungen nirgend aus der deutschen Geschichte geschöpft, so wählt sie in den anderen Novellen ihr Vaterland als Ort der Handlung. Wenn Italien oder Frankreich dazu dienen, dann sind es mit wenig Ausnahmen deutsche Charaktere, die sie dort schildert. Frankreich kannte sie aus eigener Erfahrung, u. ihre Beschreibungen von Marseille, Bordeaux, Paris, etc. sind in den Reisebildern wieder zu finden. Auch ihr war Italien das "Land

<sup>89</sup> Anton Solario, der Klempner. Eine Malergeschichte.



der Sehnsucht," u. obwohl sie selber nie da gewesen, ist es leicht verständlich, warum sie ihre Helden so oft dort weilen lässt.

Ein Cyclus von Novellen, wie sie sie genannt hat, die zuerst einzeln herausgekommen, aber später in den sämtlichen Werken zusammengestellt worden sind, gleicht viel mehr einem Roman. Dieselben Personen erscheinen in allen vier Teilen, u. das Interesse für einen Helden hält das Ganze zusammen. Sie zeigt dabei ihre Neigung, eine Vorhandlung einzuführen, denn die "Herbstliebe" geht weit in die Vergangenheit zurück, u. behandelt eine viel frühere Zeit. Zwei andere Novellen, die zusammen ein Ganzes bilden, wurden später in den sämtlichen Werken in eine zusammengefasst. Mit diesen Ausnahmen aber ist jede Erzählung in sich abgeschlossen, u. keine greift in das Gebiet einer anderen über.

Obwohl die bildende Kunst in beinahe allen ziemlich häufig gesprächsweise berührt wird, hat sie doch nur zweimal einen Künstler zum Helden ihrer Geschichten gemacht, im schon erwähnten "Anton Solario" u. im "Schnee." Letztere enthält auch ein Paar, das an Goethes Harfner u. Mignon sehr lebhaft erinnert: einen alten Maler, Meister Hubert, mit seinem Pflegekind Lili. Das Dunkel ihrer Herkunft, das nie ganz aufgehellet wird, ihre Ergebenheit für den alten Maler, ihre Liebe zur Musik, u. ihr eigentümliches Wesen, alles das weist auf Mignon als das Muster hin, nach dem sie gebildet wurde.

Eine Novelle, "Des Adlers Horst" spielt in Schottland. In den Briefen an Karl von Holtei<sup>90</sup> gibt sie als Quelle dafür, einen Artikel im "London & Paris Observer" an, der etwa fünfzig Zeilen lang u. ungefähr 1822 erschienen ist. Sie hatte ihn als einen gewöhnlichen Zeitungsbericht aufgefasst u. ihre Erzählung darauf aufgebaut. Ein Engländer, Lord Spiker, hat sie später eines literarischen Diebstahls geziehen, indem er sagte, dass sie ihr Material aus einer schon existierenden englischen Novelle genommen hätte. Meyerbeer, der Komponist,

<sup>90</sup> *Briefe an Holtei*, 12.12.1832, 27.10.1832. London & Paris Observer, in Paris von Galignani hrsgb.

erkannte die dramatischen Möglichkeiten der Erzählung, u. bat Holtei<sup>91</sup> er möchte einen Operntext für ihn daraus machen. Die Skizze, die Holtei damals—1827—in Paris entwarf, wurde erst drei Jahre später in Berlin vollendet, u. Franz Gläser, nicht Meyerbeer, komponierte die Musik dazu.<sup>92</sup> Die Handlung des Stückes ist nach Schlesien verlegt, u. Johanna Schopenhauers Novelle bildet nur den dritten Akt darin, der erste u. der zweite gehören ganz Holtei selber. Das Singspiel war damals sehr beliebt, wurde überall gegeben, u. Frau Schopenhauer schrieb:<sup>93</sup> “Unser Adlershorst macht auch in Köln Furore. Alle Welt will jetzt meine Erzählung lesen. Es ist, als kämen die Leute erst jetzt dahinter, dass ich etwas geschrieben habe, was sich lesen lässt.” Sie selber hat eine “kümmerliche Darstellung” davon in Bonn gesehen, die von einer Köln-Aachener Truppe gegeben wurde.

Die “Englische Kriminalgeschichte” steht einzig da, im Thema sowohl wie im Stil. Es ist die Darstellung eines so schlau ausgeführten Verbrechens, dass die Entdeckung unmöglich gewesen wäre, hätte der Verbrecher sich nicht selbst verurteilt. Die Szene im Gerichtshof ist so trocken erzählt, in den Einzelheiten so klipp u. klar dargelegt, dass man fast zweifeln muss, ob sie von derselben Schriftstellerin sei, die uns bis jetzt bekannt ist, mit ihrer Neigung zur Beschreibung romantischer Gegenden oder vornehmer Gesellschaftskreise, u. mit ihrem Interesse für unglücklich Liebende. Diese Novelle war ihre letzte u. wurde im Jahre vor ihrem Tode veröffentlicht.

Die Entsagungsidee kommt in der Erzählungen oft vor, obwohl man nicht behaupten kann, dass sie überwiegt, wie es in den Romanen der Fall ist. Naturbeschreibungen sind bei ihr selten, u. dann nur gelegentlich u. gewöhnlich kurz. Ihre Belesenheit, ihre Kenntnis von Sprachen u. Ländern zeigt sich häufig genug, wenn auch nicht in so hohem Grade wie in den Romanen.

<sup>91</sup> Holtei: Theater S. 53-4. Briefe an Holtei: 25.8.1829.

<sup>92</sup> Riemann: Opernhandbuch.

<sup>93</sup> Briefe an Holtei, 24.1.1834.

Viel Persönliches ist aus den Novellen herauszulesen. So zum Beispiel aus ihrer Kindheit,<sup>84</sup> u. sogar aus der Zeit der ersten Liebe,<sup>85</sup> die sie in dem "Jugendleben" angedeutet hat.<sup>86</sup> Auch ist zu vermuten, dass ihre eigene Ehe, wenn sie nicht direkt als Muster diente, ihr jedenfalls Motive<sup>87</sup> gegeben hat, u. man erkennt ohne Zweifel den Sohn in dem pessimistischen Alfred<sup>88</sup> der "Genialen." Sie hat ihre gute Kenntnis von Bade- u. Kurorten häufig benutzt; eine Erzählung heisst sogar "Die Brunnengäste" u. spielt in Wiesbaden u. seiner Umgebung. Ihre Reisen blieben ihr auch lebhaft im Sinn; Beweis dafür sind die zahlreichen Erwähnungen davon, zufällige Beschreibungen von Landschaften, Postfahrten, u. Pferdewechsel, Unannehmlichkeiten unterwegs u. während des Aufenthaltes in Wirtshäusern etc. Alles sind an sich nur Kleinigkeiten, aber daraus ist manches bunte Bild entstanden, das dem persönlichen Erlebnis sein Entstehen verdankt.

Auch die Weimarer Zeit hat den Novellen ihren Stempel aufgeprägt.<sup>89</sup> Die schweren ersten Tage, kurz nach der Schlacht bei Jena mit ihrem Grauen u. Schrecken, sind nicht vergessen, auch nicht die spätere Zeit, wo sie wegen Geldverluste ein so viel beschränkteres Leben führen musste. In Weimar trat sie zum ersten Mal in eine nähere u. beständige Beziehung zu einem Hofe, u. es ist anzunehmen, dass dieser das Muster für die so gern geschilderten Bälle u. Feste u. für das Hofleben im allgemeinen geliefert hat. In dieser Hinsicht waren ihre Abendgesellschaften sehr bedeutungsvoll, u. man erkennt oft den Weimarer Kreis unter den vornehmen Leuten, deren Leben, Tun, u. Gespräche sie mit solcher Vorliebe beschrieben hat.

Die Weltanschauung der Romane ist auch die der Novellen, wenn sie auch nicht so umständlich dargelegt wird. Die Frauen

<sup>84</sup> S.W. XXIV, 120; VI, 22, 356.

<sup>85</sup> S.W. VI, 290-1.

<sup>86</sup> J. & W. (Cosack) 3, 112-3. Auch Gwinner, S. 10.

<sup>87</sup> Der Schnee, Pauline, Mathilde, Liebesheirat.

<sup>88</sup> Novellen, Frankfurt 1830, I, 41-2, 91-2. Vgl. auch, XIX, 269-70.

<sup>89</sup> S.W. VI, 42-3, 45.

sind mit wenig Ausnahmen Salondamen, die die geselligen u. häuslichen Tugenden in hohem Grade besitzen, die Männer gehören auch den höheren Kreisen der Gesellschaft an, u. sind gewöhnlich Gesandte, Diplomaten, Offiziere etc., oder haben überhaupt keine Beschäftigung. Nie hat sie einen Kaufmann zum Mittelpunkt einer Erzählung gemacht, u. nur selten steht einer unter den wirklich handelnden Nebenpersonen. Wie in den Romanen betont sie die festen Grenzen, die die verschiedenen Klassen der Gesellschaft trennen, u. die nicht zu überschreiten sind. Eine Heirat zwischen Bürgerlichen u. Adelligen kommt bei ihr nicht vor, u. nur dreimal sind Personen die Sprösslinge solcher Ehen.

Wie oben erwähnt war die Rückschau ein sehr beliebtes Mittel bei Johanna Schopenhauer. Der Leser wird sofort mitten in die Handlung versetzt, sein Interesse wird erweckt, u. erst dann kommt die Erzählung früherer Begebnisse, die ohne diese Einleitung vielleicht etwas langweilig wären. Nicht nur am Anfang, sondern fortwährend im Laufe der Novellen hat sie dieses Mittel angewendet. "Der Schnee" ist eine Erzählung in einer Erzählung. Das Interesse wird hauptsächlich durch eine Geschichte gefesselt, die von einem der Charaktere erzählt wird. Ähnlich ist auch "Meine Grosstante." Wie in den Romanen, wenn auch nicht in dem Masse, wird die Handlung oft durch Briefe weiter geführt. Acht Novellen, ungefähr ein Viertel der ganzen Anzahl, sind in der ersten Person erzählt.

Die Neigung zum romantischen Stil ist in fast allen zu finden, u. in dreien besonders stark.<sup>108</sup> In "Hass u. Liebe" wird der Leser mit dem Helden durch schaurige Gegenden u. dunkle Wälder geführt u. in einem grauen u. finstern Schlosse eingesperrt, bis es ihm schliesslich etwas unheimlich zu Mut ist. "Die Anne Margareth" ist märchenhaften Stils, u. die Bedeutung des Ganzen bleibt bis zum Ende ziemlich unklar.

Die Motive des Abenteuerromans sind auch vorhanden: die Verkleidung, gewöhnlich einer Frau als Mann, geheime Flucht,

<sup>108</sup> Hass u. Liebe, Anne Marg., Blumenstrauß.



plötzlicher Überfall, Kindervertauschung u. Duelle. Der Krieg ist ein Lieblingsmotiv bei ihr u. wenigstens einmal ist in jeder der Novellen die Rede davon. Sie gibt keine umständlichen Beschreibungen, Zeit u. Ort sind gewöhnlich unbestimmt, aber der Idealheld muss auf einem berühmten Schlachtfeld gekämpft u. ein paar Narben davongetragen haben, um ihre Ansprüche ganz zu erfüllen.

Erzählungstalent besass sie wirklich in hohem Grade. Sie verstand das Interesse des Lesers für ihre Schöpfungen zu wecken, u. es bis zum Ende zu fesseln. Die Erzählungen sind gewöhnlich sentimental u. übertrieben, man möchte sie manchmal fast albern nennen, u. doch trotz alledem ist ein gewisses Etwas da, das ihnen noch heute Lebendigkeit u. Reiz verleiht. Es ist leicht zu verstehen, dass sie damals den Beifall des Publikums fanden, für welches sie geschrieben wurden.

ESTHER HARMON.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

AUS DEN SCHÄTZEN DER HERZOGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU WOLFENBÜTTEL.

II.

Erschröckliche Warhafftige  
 Neue zeitung / die sich mit  
 grausamen erbidem vnd  
 feur in Sicilia / an vnd  
 vmb den perg Ethna begeben ha=  
 ben / aus der Welschen sprach  
 verteutscht.

x. Julij. M. V. xxxvj.

Wfb. Qu. 190.10.4°.

Gnediger Herr welcher gestalt ich inn die Stadt Catania genant, in Sicilia ankommen, vnd mir meiner geschafft halben glucklichen von den gnaden Gottes zu gstanden, das hab ich eurn gnaden hievor in meinem schreiben vnd brifen angezeygt. Füg aber eurn gnaden ferner zu wissen, das den xxj. Marcij negst verschinen, ein Kauffman von hinnenn ist auszogen, in mainung auff Missina vnd ferner in die Jnseln von einer stadt in die andern, seiner hantirung nach, zu reyszen, Ist also die erst nacht in ein stadt Tauormia genant, ein tagreysz von Catonia, pliben, vnnd ist gegen dem tag gantz früe, nach des lands geprauch, auffgestanden, vnd seinen weg den nechsten auff Missinia zügenommen, do er nun also reyset, vnnd der tag anbrochen, seyen jme zehen wanderer begegnet, hat jnen be= deucht wie sie alle wehr trügen, in massen wie mans daselbst vnnd durch gantz Duscana im landt nach gewonheytt tregt, Lampardi genant, die selben zehen wanderer wurden von jme gefragt, wo hinn sie willens weren zu reysen, darauff sie jme geantwort, Sie weren von jrer herren einem, auff den perck Ethna oder Mongibollo genant, geschickt, da selbt solten sie ein geschafft volbringen, das wolt jr herr von jnen haben. Also ist

er ferner gereyset vnd palde sind jme abermals zehen andere bekommen, die trugen mit jnen werckzeug von eysen, wie es die Steinmetzen vnd mauerer prauchen, die hat er in maszen wie ersten bespracht, die jme widerumb geantwort. Sie wurden (aij) von jrer herrn eynem ausz den vorgeannten pergk geschickt aldo ein werck zûuolbringen, hat er sie ferner gefragt, wer doch der selbig jr herr sey, haben sie jme geantwort, er werd nit weyt reysen er werde jhn sehen, mit solchen Worten sindt sie von einander gescheyden. Pald hernach ist jme dem kauffman begegnet, ein grosser vnnd anzusehen ein tapfferer langer, gantz schwartzer man in einem part. Als pald der selb grosz man zu dem kauffman kumen ist, hat er jn vngegrüst angesprochen, vnnd gefragt, Ob jme seine knecht, vor jm nicht begegnet weren, hat er jm geantwort, Jm weren wol etlich begegnet von denen er vernomen, sie wolten auff den pergk Ethna, etlich werck daselbst zu pawen, nicht wûst er ob sie sein knecht wern oder nit, vnd so er dann jhr herr were, so solt er im doch sagen was sie vnnd er für ein werck wolten verpringen, dann wie jnen bedeucht (sprach der kauffman) wer es ein vnbequem ort daselbst zu pawen, wie er von vilen gehôrt, gleichwol aber were er dero ortenn nicht sunders wol bekant, môch seinen halben wol hin zieen vnd pawen. Darauff jme ein grosz werck zûuolbringen. Er (den kauffman mainendt) würde pald sehen, was er machen kônt.

Nach solchen Worten ist den kauffman ein solcher grosser schreck vnd forcht ankommen, das er in ângsten schir vergangen wer, doch, als er sich nun erholet hat, vnd zu sich selbs kommen, ist er in solchem schrecken vnd zittern, mit mühe vnd arbhyt, widerumb in die stadt vnd an das ort, dauon er desselben tâgs ausgereyst, zogen, vnd hat solchs yderman gesagt vnd anzeygt, wie es jme ergangen sey. darnach ist er palde mit tode verschieden.

Also ist auff den selben tag, nemlich den xxij. Marcij, wie der mehr benant kauffman mit tod abgangen, vmb ein vr gegen nachts, komen ein grosz erschrocklich wetter mit einem grausamen erdbidem, vnd vnmenschlichen prinnenden fewr, zu oberst

aus dem perg Ethna, gegen auffgang der Sonnen, der gestalt, dz sich alles volck, aus grossem erschrecken vnd forcht, zu den geystlichen in der Stadt (die man die heyligsten nennet) gethan, haben sich mit ynen einer walfart, zû S. Agatha, nahen daselbst vmb gelegen vereynigt, die auch mit hertzlicher andacht, gebet, flehenn, vnd parfusz volbracht, alle glocken geleut, vnd in gemeyner procession, Gott trewlich angeruffen vnd gebeten, solch vnerhört vnd erschröcklich prennen vnd erbidem, genediglich abzuwenden, vnd als solch bitten vnd hertzlich flehen geschehen, hat man können abnemen vnd prüffen, das sich das feur zum teyls geminnert vnd gelegt hat.

Darnach des volgenden tags frw, haben sie wider ein procession mit der geystligkeit vnd allem volck barfusz, volbracht, in ein closter vor der Stadt S. Lucia genant, vnd hat sich das volck alles lassen Communiciren, mit grosser andacht ainer dem andern seiner missethat, so er wider jn gehabt, verziegen, vnd in summa, ein solche andacht vnnd (aiij) freuntschafft erzeygt das sich die natur gleich entsatzt. Anch ist dergleichen vast in der gantzen insel da selbt geschehen. Auff bemelten sonntag den .xxvj. tag Marcij vngeferlich vmb ein stundt in die nacht, ist ein vil graüsam erbidem komen, dann vor ye, darzu auch ein grausam erschröcklich fewr, gegen mittag wartz, vnd hat das selb fewr vmfangen gehabt, bey sechs welsch meyln weyt, gerings vmb den perg bisz zu einem Münchscloster, der Gnaden perg genant, Sant Lyo, von gemelter Statt vngeferlich .xvj. welsch oder .iiij. teutsch meill wechs, vnd hat sich in grosser eyl erzeygt gegen der Stadt zu die am perg herabligt, die gnaden Stadt genant, darinnen sich dann meniglich seins lebens ver- wegen<sup>1</sup> gehabt.

Auff solchs, haben sich die in der stat mit sampt den priestern (jren heiligsten auch den adel, jung vnd alt, einer procession vnd walfart, alle parfusz, vereynigt gen S. Maria de Jesu, die auszerhalb der Stadt vngeferlich ein halbe meyl wegs ligt, do haben sie Got den almechtigen vmb genaden angeruffen vnd gebeten, vnd sich die gantze menge der mossen gewilligt, do selbst in die kirchen, dahin sie gewalt, vbernachten, beysammen,



lebendig vnd tod zupleyben. Aber Gott hat sie gnediglichen erhalten, wie er dann ein trewer helffer ist, allen denen, die jne in nöten anruffen.

Den. xxvij. Marcij morgens frue, haben die selbenn aus der Stadt ein potschafft zu dem bemelten Closter zu sanct Lyo geschickt, zu erfahren was das erschrocklich feur bey dem selben Closter gethan hett, da hat sichs befunden das das selbig Closter von dem feur gantz vnd gar, sampt allen den so darinnen gewont, verprent vnd verzert sindt also, das man auch auff disen tag nit sehen noch spüren kan, ob eyinig Closter oder gebew dasselbst gewesen sey oder nit.

Also ist der merer teyl aus der stadt hinausz gangen, das erschrocklich wunder zu sehen, in solchem bin ich auch selbst mit gangen, vnd hab auch mit fleisz die löcher besehen daraus das feur ist kommen, das sind grosse grausame löcher, vnd würfft für vnd für fliegendt feur heraus, mit einer gestalt vnd form gleich einer hübschen erdenklotz, bey zehen spannen hoch, vnd mainet ainer man möchte sicher darauff vmbgeen, aber darunter erzeygt sich das leyffent feur, mit sampt einem grossen rauch. Doch erlernern sich die bemelten feurlöcher, eins bisz zweyer elen weyt, gegen einem flecken Paterno genant, der ligt vngeferlich bey .iiij. meyl wegs van Catania. Aber das feur das auff Catania zu get, dz bey .xiiij welsch meyl wegs raicht, das laufft vnnd prent gewonlich alle .xxiiij. stundt, das ist tag vnd nacht, einer dritteyl meyl wegs, vnd hat sich bemelt feur, von den gnaden gottes, bisz auff dise stundt, mehr nit den .iiij. meyl wegs nahen zu der stadt Catania genahet, vnd ist ein grose forcht vnter dem volck, die bitten vnd flehen stettigs, zu Gott dem almechtigen, seinen woluerschulten zorn abzuwenden, vnd sie zuerretten, dann es ist zu besorgen es werde weyter reysen.

Was dann fremdes volcks ist gewesen, das ist vast alles aus der gemelten Stadt anheymz zogen zuerrettung jrer vnd der selben güter.

Solchs hab ich eurn gnaden für ein gantze warhafftige neue zeittung geschreiben vnd anzeygen wollen, vnd ich glaub, das

<sup>1</sup> *Verwegen* stv. mit gen. d. s. worauf verzichten.

man auff der gantzen welt des gleichen andechtig vnd gotforchtig volck nit finde, als an disem ort, wie ich gemelt hab, vnd wiewol ich erstlich auch willens, mich dannen zu thun, so ich aber jren glauben vnd bestendigkeyt gesehen, hab ich mich bey jnen ergeben, zepleyben, vnd zu gewarten, was doch aus solchem feur wil werden, trostlicher hoffnung Gott der almechtig werde vnser berewt hertz, vnd demütig gebet ansehen, vnd vns gnediglich erhalten Amen. Dat. aus der Stadt Catania in Sicilia den zehenden tag Aprilis Anno. M. V. xxxvj.

*University of Wisconsin.*

ERNST VOSS.

## AUS EINER FESTREDE AUF SCHILLER.

Nun glühte seine Wange rot und röter  
Von jener Jugend, die uns nie entfliegt.

Wie zu der Feier seines hundertjährigen Geburtstages vor 50 Jahren, so haben wir Deutsche in allen Weltgegenden auch diesmal uns lange schon gerüstet, um heute den Tag festlich zu begehen, der unserem Volke den Lieblingsdichter, einen seiner grössten Profeten und Herzenskündiger, schenkte. Aber wenn wir uns heute auch, wie damals, seines Besitzes neu versichern und des Grossen uns treu erinnern wollen, das er uns brachte, so klingt durch unsere Feier doch ein ganz neuer Ton. In den Reden der Besten, die Schiller im Jahre 1859 verherrlichten, in den Worten eines Jakob Grimm, eines Uhland und Vischer zittert die Enttäuschung nach, die das Jahr 1848 dem nationalen Hoffen bedeutete. Und um so fester klammerte sich darum das heisse Sehnen nach einem geeinten Vaterland an den Dichter, der diesen Männern im Kampfe vorangeleuchtet hatte.

Was ist es, das uns heute den Dichter so einmütig feiern heisst, wo der Ruf nach einem einigen, grossen Deutschland längst erhört ist?

Deute ich recht, was die deutsche Seele in dieser Feststunde bewegt, dann möchte ich es wohl mit dem Gefühle vergleichen, mit dem wir warm, ergriffen und begeistert unserer Jugendzeit gedenken. Wir sind innerlich nicht mehr dieselben, wie unsere Väter und Grossväter, die Schiller im Jahre 1859 feierten. Zwischen jener Zeit und heute liegen innere und äussere Erlebnisse unseres Volkes, die uns vielleicht reifer und erfahrener, aber auch älter und nüchterner machten. Aber wie uns im Mannesalter zuweilen ein längst entwöhntes Sehnen nach unserem Kinderlande ergreift, wo wir reicher und glücklicher waren, so scheint mir heute das Angedenken an Schiller zu

wirken. Und in dieser Stimmung, wie unter dem Anhauch von Jugendkraft, die von unserem Dichter ausgeht, lassen Sie mich versuchen, auszusprechen, was die Feier in uns aufrührt.

Nur Wenigen ist es, wie Schiller, beschieden gewesen, von ewiger Jugend umweht im Andenken der Nachwelt weiter zu leben. Nicht darum, weil er als Jüngling in der Blüte der Jahre hinweggerafft wurde, ehe er seine grossen Pläne verwirklichen konnte. Früh genug, ach! allzufrüh hat er hinweggemusst, so dass wir die wehmütige Frage nicht los werden, was er seinem Volke nicht Alles noch geschenkt haben würde. Und doch, wie hat er vorher, nach Goethes Zeugnis, den Kreis des Wollens, des Vollbringens nicht durchmessen! Eine Lyrik, der sich wenig von ihrer Art in unserer Sprache an die Seite stellen darf, Geschichtswerke, die bis auf unsere Tage wirken, philosophische Schriften, die nach Fichtes Kennerwort das Höchste erwarten liessen, und schliesslich jene stolze Reihe von Tragödien, die unseren Dichter neben die grössten Dramatiker aller Zeiten rückt!

Aber nicht in der Fülle dieser Leistungen, die seine sieghafte Energie zum grössten Teile einem totkranken Körper abringen musste, suchen wir das ewig Jugendliehe von Schillers Erscheinung. Wir finden es vor Allem in der stillen, steten Glut seines Herzens, in der frommen, heiligen Begeisterung, dem stolzen männlichen Pathos, die ihn bis zu seinem Tode nicht verliessen. Ich weiss recht wohl, dass es während der letzten Jahrzehnte Mode wurde, jede tiefere Empfindung zu befeuern, und dass es fast schien, als drücke das Mephistophelische Hohnwort: "Mein Pathos brächte dich gewiss zum Lachen" das Endziel aus unserer gerühmten deutschen Bildung. Man hat uns eine Afterkunst schreiend angepriesen, die die Wirklichkeit genau darstelle und die Zuckungen überreizter Nerven in zierlich gedrechselten Versen beschreibe. Aber keine Phrase von neuer Kunst, neuer Sittlichkeit und neuem Leben, kein Renommieren von Kraft und Originalität kann uns darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass man uns matte Stimmung vorgaukelte, wo wir nach gesundem, tiefem Menschengefühl verlangten, und



dass man uns mit seichter Sentimentalität abspeiste, wo wir erschüttert und erhoben sein wollten.

Da will es uns denn an unsere eigene Jugendzeit gemahnen, wo wir für Grosses und Schönes noch zu erglühn vermochten, wenn uns vor Schillers Bild ein Hauch seiner männlichen Begeisterung in's Herz weht. Und vor diesem Bilde, diesem Leben, das einem grossen Opfer für die Ideale der Menschenbrust gleicht, können wir lernen, dass echtes Menschengefühl nicht weichliche Sentimentalität, nicht dumpfer Duse! der Empfindung, nicht leere Schwärmerei, sondern Kraft ist, die, vereint mit kühler Besinnung und frischem Wirklichkeitssinn, Welt und Schicksal überwindet. Denn nicht den nüchternen Berechnern, die vom Schacher und Macher leben, nicht den Feiglingen und Vertuschern, nicht den falschen, um Beifall buhlenden Kunstprofeten ist der Fortschritt eines Volkes, ja der Menschheit anvertraut, wohl aber den Geistern, die am Urquell des Menschenwesens schöpfen. Und wie unsere Grossen alle, wie Lessing, Herder und Goethe, hat Schiller die höchste Aufgabe seiner Zeit—auch unserer Zeit—erkannt und gelöst: das wahre Leben des Menschen aus dem Kopfe ins Herz, ins Gemüt, in die "Natur" zu verlegen.

In diesem Sinne hat er vor Allem seinen Dichterberuf aufgefasst. Wie tief der wahre Dichter ins innerste Menschenleben lenkend und bestimmend eingreifen darf, hat Schiller oft ausgesprochen. Er ist der Vertraute der Götter, verbündet mit den furchtbaren Wesen, die still des Lebens Faden drehen, und so beherrscht er mit dem Stab des Götterboten das bewegte Herz. Denn hier, in unserer Brust, sind unseres Schicksals Sterne. Der Dichter, der die Poesie als den Jungbrunnen der Menschheit pries, jauchzt darüber, dass sie uns zu unserer Jugend Hütten, zu unserer Unschuld reinem Glück zurückführe. Und jubelnd singt er von der deutschen Muse, die, vom Herzen kommend, uns unserer eigenen, deutschen Natur zurückgibt:

Darum steigt in höhern Bogen,  
Darum strömt in vollern Wogen  
Deutscher Barden Hochgesang.



begnügen, "a u f d e r W a h r h e i t s e l b s t, auf dem festen und tiefen Grunde d e r N a t u r errichtet sie ihr ideales Gebäude."

Dieser Wahrheit als Profet zu dienen, sie "in die einfachen Gefühle der Natur aufzulösen" und "ihre Geheimnisse in leicht zu entziffernder Bildersprache dem Kindersinn zu erraten geben," hat Schiller als den höchsten Beruf des Dichters gefühlt. Das deutsche Ideal des wahren Volksdichters, das Herder und Bürger zuerst geahnt hatten, steigt damit zugleich glänzend vor seiner Seele herauf. So konnte ihm denn das Schöne, die sichtbare Offenbarung des Wahren und Guten, als das Mittel erscheinen, den Menschen zu seiner höchsten Vollendung zu führen. In einer seiner tiefsinnigsten Dichtungen, dem Gedicht "Das Ideal und das Leben," hat er wie mit religiöser Weihe das Reich der idealen Schönheit besungen, in dem die Gegensätze und Kämpfe, die Leiden und Gebrechen des wirklichen Lebens aufgehoben und überwunden sind. Nie hat die Sehnsucht der Menchenbrust nach einem höheren, vollendeteren Dasein ergreifenderen Ausdruck gefunden, nie der Glaube an die siegende und verklärende Kraft des Wahren, Guten und Schönen im tiefen Leid des Lebens freudigeres Zeugniß abgelegt, als in diesen Versen. Ja, zu welcher Höhe der Vollendung muss der Dichter sich selbst hinaufgeläutert und gekämpft haben, der, vom Tode bereits gezeichnet, im Bewusstsein, dass er in voller Manneskraft von Weib und Kind, von Freunden und Volk scheiden müsse, die ergreifenden Strophen singt:

Wenn der Menschheit Leiden euch umfängen,  
Wenn Laokoon der Schlangen  
Sich erwehrt mit namenlosem Schmerz,  
Da empöre sich der Mensch! Es schlage  
An des Himmels Wölbung seine Klage  
Und zerreisse euer fühlend Herz!  
Der Natur furchtbare Stimme siege,  
Und der Freude Wange werde bleich,  
Nur der heil'gen Sympathie erliege  
Das Unsterbliche in euch!

Aber in den heiter'n Regionen,  
Wo die reinen Formen wohnen,

Rauscht des Jammers trüber Sturm nicht mehr.  
 Hier darf Schmerz die Seele nicht durchschneiden,  
 Keine Träne fliesst hier mehr dem Leiden,  
 Nur des Geistes tapfrer Gegenwehr.  
 Lieblich, wie der Iris Farbenfeuer  
 Auf der Donnerwolke duft'gem Thau,  
 Schimmert durch der Wehmut düstern Schleier  
 Hier der Ruhe heitres Blau.

Nur wer in der Tiefe seines Herzens eines unerschütterlichen, seligen Glaubens an die Wahrheit seiner Ideale, an die ewigen Werte des Menschenwesens lebt, vermag sich zu der göttlichen Milde und Ruhe zu erheben, die alle Näherstehenden an Schiller priesen. Wir haben uns heute gewöhnt, den Menschen einseitig als Naturwesen, als Produkt der Verhältnisse und Umstände aufzufassen, und eine gewisse Richtung der Gegenwart ist emsig an der Arbeit, die alten, ewigen Werte der Menschenbrust zu zernagen.

Da soll uns denn Schiller, allen philosophischen Nörglern und Haarspaltern zum Trotz, in dieser Feststunde an das "Majestätsrecht unserer Person," an unseren Willen gemahnen. Auf der Ueberzeugung von der Freiheit und Macht des Willens, der Unabhängigkeit des Ich von der Natur, beruht im letzten Grunde das Geheimnis von Schillers sittlicher Grösse, seiner unbesiegbaren Jugendkraft, wie der Wirkung seiner Poesie. Zu dieser Ueberzeugung bedurfte er keiner grübelnden Spekulation, sie war ihm unmittelbar gegeben, wie die Ueberzeugung von den ewigen Werten des Menschenwesens, die sein lauterer Gefühl ihm offenbarte. Der feste, männliche, dem Guten zugerichtete Wille seiner Persönlichkeit ist es denn auch, der seiner Poesie den ferndringenden Stahl- und Glockenklang verleiht. Nur da, wo ein mannhafter Wille herrscht, der sich mit dem ewigen Willen *eins* weiss, kann von Verantwortung, von Schuld und Sühne die Rede sein. Auf dem Grunde dieser Weltanschauung, deren Mittelpunkt der sittliche Wille ist, wurde Schiller zum grössten tragischen Dichter seit Shakespeare. Nicht zufällig hat er im Ringen gewaltiger Naturen um Herrschaft und um Freiheit den inner-



sten Lebensnerv der Geschichte, wie die Wurzel der Tragik erblickt. Hat er in der Entfaltung und im Kampf gleichberechtigter Willen die Offenbarung des *einen*, ewigen Willens geschaut und den göttlichen Menschenberuf, Schöpfer zu sein und Gestalter unserer eigenen Welt.

So hat Schiller uns Goethes Welt, die reiche und doch zu einseitig naturhaft bedingte, ergänzt, indem er uns in seinen Dramen die Wunderfülle der *sittlichen* Welt, der Menschenwelt, als einer Menge gleichberechtigter Willensmittelpunkte erschloss. Denn Goethe kennt im letzten Grunde doch nur *einen* Mittelpunkt d.h. sich selbst; Schiller dagegen hat eine Unendlichkeit von solchen Mittelpunkten, die er zu *einem* zusammenzuschliessen trachtete. Nicht mit Zwang, sondern durch Verbrüderung der Geister; nicht um sie, nach der Weise phantastischer Philosophen, etwa untergehen zu lassen in einem abstracten "Allwillen," sondern um der Individualität, ohne die der wahre Dichter nicht auskommen kann, erst recht die unabhängige Stellung im Ganzen zu sichern:

"Einig sollst du zwar sein, doch *eines* nicht mit dem Ganzen.  
Durch die Vernunft bist du *e i n s*, enig mit ihm durch das Herz.  
Stimme des Ganzen ist deine Vernunft, dein Herz bist du selber:  
Wohl dir, wenn die Vernunft immer im Herzen  
dir wohnt."

Wo hätte die schmerzlich gesuchte Einheit von Kopf und Herz, wo das ersehnte letzte Zusammenklingen des Einzelnen, Aller Einzelnen, mit dem Ganzen je tieferen Ausdruck und glücklicher abschliessende Lösung gefunden? Das ist ja das Grosse, Einzige in Schillers Geisteswelt, dass darin der Einzelne in sich zugleich das Ganze darstellt, das er braucht und dem er mit freiem Entschluss zustrebt.

Und aus dieser Weltanschauung ist schliesslich Schillers Poesie der Freiheit erblüht. Denn nur wo Freiheit ist, da kann von Wille die Rede sein. Jene innere Freiheit, die herrschen lernt über die Aussenwelt und Kraft gibt zum Kampfe, wie im Leid. Darum ist sie kein aesthetisches Phantasiespiel, kein flüchtiger Traum abstracter Speculation, am

wenigsten zuchtlos romantische Willkür; sondern die höchste sittliche Lebenskraft unseres Gemütes selbst. Diese Lebenskraft, in der Ziel und Wesen des Menschengemüthes keimhaft beschlossen liegen, als dessen innersten Trieb zu erwecken, zu üben und auszubilden, ist die letzte Aufgabe der Kunst, der Schiller als Profet und Priester diente: "Die wahre Kunst hat es nicht bloss auf ein vorübergehendes Spiel abgesehen; es ist ihr Ernst damit, den Menschen nicht bloss in einen vorübergehenden Traum von Freiheit zu versetzen, sondern ihn wirklich und in der That frei zu machen, und dieses dadurch, dass sie eine Kraft in ihm erweckt, übt und ausbildet, die sinnliche Welt, die sonst nur als roher Stoff auf uns lastet, als eine blinde Macht auf uns drückt, in eine objective Ferne zu rücken, in ein freies Werk unseres Geistes zu verwandeln und das Materielle durch Ideen zu beherrschen."

Aus den ewigen Wundergärten des Wahren, Guten und Schönen, dahin Schiller wie Keiner gewaltig vorgedrungen war, hat er das Evangelium der Freiheit als goldene Frucht seinem Volke und, durch uns, der Menschheit dargebracht. Jahrhunderte mögen vergehen, ehe der Welt aus der Himmelstiefe deutschen Geistes eine gleich herrliche Botschaft erklingen wird.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

## THE SCOPE OF THE POST-POSITIVE ARTICLE IN *OLAFS SAGA HINS HELGA*.

The post-positive definite article is undoubtedly the most striking distinguishing feature of the Scandinavian branch of the Germanic languages. Its source, as has long ago been pointed out, is the old adjectival definite article *enn* (fem. *en*, neut. *et*),<sup>1</sup> the coalition of the noun and the article as a suffixal element being made possible by the Old Scandinavian order of words, according to which the article and adjective quite generally followed the noun; e. g., *konongr enn goðe, fjall et stora*. The writing of *konongrenn* and *fjallet* was merely representing graphically that joining of noun and article, which already existed in the spoken language,<sup>2</sup> the two being easily combined because of the unstressed nature of the article, but especially because the initial sound of the latter was a vowel. In Icelandic the suffixed article came into general use in the twelfth century, although the written literature seems to show but four instances for that century, and only one single certain example as early as 1100.<sup>2</sup> Even for the thirteenth century only a dozen occurrences have been recorded<sup>2</sup>; consequently it can hardly have been fully established in the spoken language of Iceland before the last half of the twelfth century. For Old Norwegian, however, the date must have been considerably earlier, as clearly evidenced by its extent and its function in the literature of the first half of the thirteenth century. Old Norwegian was probably a good century in advance of Old Icelandic in the development of the post-positive article. Old Swedish, again, was rather conservative with respect to the new

<sup>1</sup> Or *inn*, *in*, *it* and *hinn*, *hin*, *hit*; see Noreen's *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*, 138., 461-462.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the suffixed pronoun in modern speech: *han slo'n, jeg har'n ikke*.

\* Finnur Jónsson, *Det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog*, p. 80.

grammatical device, it would seem, although its limited presence in the older West Gothic law<sup>3</sup> is of but little value as a test of the condition in the language of the people at the time.<sup>4</sup>

In the following pages I shall try to show the extent to which the post-positive article has developed and to illustrate the circumstances of its use in an Old Norwegian monument from the middle of the thirteenth century. Departures from Old Icelandic and Old Swedish conditions will be noted only in significant cases.<sup>4</sup>

1. The general function of the suffixed article in *Olafs saga hins helga* will be indicated in the following passages of our text:<sup>5</sup>

*Son Harallz hins harfagra var Biorn kaupmaðr faðer Gud-roðar faður Harallz hins grænska faður Olafs hins hælga. Móðer Olafs hins hælga var Asta dotter Guðbranz kulu. Systir hæn-nar var Ulvilldr móðer hins hælga Hallvarðz oc Istrið móðer Steigarþores. Haralldr hinn grænске var mikill höfðingi ivir ríki sinu. I þann tíma reð firir Gautlande Sigrið en storraða. Ða bar sva at æinn sinni at Haralldr konongr kom or hærnaðe oc kæmr við Gautland. Sigrið gerir menn imot hanum oc byðr hanum til væizlu. Oc er buin var væizlan þa sækir hann til væizlunnar oc er drotningen en blidazta við hann. (Chapter 1).*

*Nu la Knutr konongr við Lunduna bryggiur oc læitaðe ser raða at vinna borgena, oc la æigi laust firir. Hann tok þat rað at vita ef hann mætte koma anne Tæms a bryggiurnar oc i*

<sup>3</sup> See the selection in Noreen's *Altschwedisches Lesebuch*, pp. 1-8.

<sup>4</sup> In Danish the post-positive article was even later in its development.

<sup>5</sup> For Old Icelandic we have the excellent survey in Nygaard's *Norrøn Syntax*, 1908, pp. 30-47; for late Old Swedish Ottelin's article on the "Codex Bureanus" in *Nordiska Studier tilegnade Adolf Noreen*, 1907, pp. 435-449. Cf. also Falk and Torp's *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, 1900, pp. 61-73.

<sup>6</sup> The spelling of the original is retained except that where *u* appears for *u*, as in *nv*, I have written *u*, and *þ* is written *Ð*.



*borgena oc matte sva hvartvæggia unnit værða,.....*  
*En hann kvaz æigi rað i sia at vinna ef konongr sæ æigi firir*  
*þui at þu konongr oc marger aðrer menn er her ero hava miklu*  
*mæira vitrlæik til mikilla raða en ek mindi hava, en þo man*  
*ec gera koste a at læita við með þinn afle oc læggia til nokcor*  
*rað. Hvat læggr þu a sagðe konongrenn. (Chapter 10.)*

*Guðbrandr er maðr næmðr er kallaðr var Dalaguðbrandr;*  
*hann var rikaztr manna i Dalunum i þann tima. Ðat er sact at*  
*Guðbrandr atte sun æinn. En þa er Guðbrandr fra þessor tið-*  
*ændi at Olafr konongr var komenn a Loar oc nauðgaðe menn til*  
*at hværva aftr til kristni þeirrar er þeir hafðu niðr kastat,*  
*þa er sact at Guðbrandr let skæra upp hæror oc staemdi allum*  
*Dælom til bæar þesser Hunzþorp hætir a fund við sic. Oc þar*  
*komo þeir aller, oc var þar orgrynni liðs a stundu æini, firir*  
*þui at þar liggr vatn æitt nær þat er Logr hætir, en bygðen*  
*mikil allum mægin at vatneno; matte þar bæðe fara a skipum*  
*oc a lande til þingsens. (Chapter 33.)*

2. Thus we find that already at this time the post-positive article is fully established as the symbol of particularization; it occurs in the above selections eleven times as an essential element of Old Norwegian syntax with a very definite semasiological content, namely, that of designating something as already having been presented to consciousness by a previous mention or suggestion, or it is for other reasons regarded as present in the situation. In the former case the article, therefore, is equivalent to "the said," "just mentioned," "spoken of already," while in the latter case it will most commonly be reducible to a possessive pronoun, a demonstrative, or some adverbial phrase. The latter will be illustrated below. In our first selection the article individualizes an object or person because previously mentioned in the case of *væizlan* and *drotningin*; these are both present in the consciousness of the reader because the queen has already been spoken of as inviting the king to a feast. In the second selection there is a similar case in *bryggiurnar* and in the third one in *vatneno*, both of which definite forms follow previous mentions. And further in the

case of *borgena*, the antecedent of which is the name of the city, *Lundun*, already named in line one. In the compound epithet *Dalaguðbrandr* the first element of the compound introduces the idea of the valley district where Guðbrandr lived. The idea 'valley' is therefore already present in the situation, and so indicated by the definite form *Dalunum* in the next mention.

Slightly more complex is the case in *þingsens*. Here the word *þing* has not been used, nor has a synonym of it, but the idea of an assembly has nevertheless been completely drawn into the consciousness of the reader by the sentence, *Guðbrandr. . . . . stæmdi allum Dælom a fund við sic*. In further illustration I shall cite the following passage from Chapter 7, 1-4: *Oc æitt sinni ber sva at drotnungen lykr upp kistu sina, en svæinnenn Olafr var hia staddr, ser hvar upp kæmr nokcot biart oc fagrt. Hon vill hann æigi sia lata. Hann fær til oc gripr um sværzhiolltena, hann brigðr sværðinu oc lysir halega. Hann spyr hværr þat æigi. Hon sægir at þat sværð bar Haralldr faðer hans*. Here the antecedent of *sværzhiolltena* is the indefinite *nokcot biart oc fagrt*. In so far as the latter contains no mention of an object, and is in itself capable of suggesting a number of things to us, we should expect perhaps some mention of the fact that the 'bright' object proved to be a sword before 'sword' can be regarded as already individualized and so designated in the definite form in a subsequent mention as in *sværzhiolltena*. However, the use of the latter form in this first mention of the sword is prompted by the vivid suggestion of a sword which is already contained in the words *nokcot biart oc fagrt* in this particular context, that is after the characterization of Olaf of the preceding chapter, which has shown him to be a remarkable child and most promising material for kingship and the royal pursuit of warfare and conquest.

3. The selections that have been cited, however, indicate certain departures from the practice in present day speech. So in Chapter 10 *konongr* appears in the indefinite form once, and once in the definite, both being cases which today would require the definite article. Also the modern dialectal descendant

of *riki sinu* would put *riki* in the definite form when the possessive follows (*riget sit*). Other examples will appear in the following passages:<sup>a</sup> (*Sigrið*) *stæmnir nu þing við folcet, sægir at þær villdu girndast a rikit oc sægir at hon villdi ægi at folket læge undir þeirra alagum. Nu kæmr hon ser sva i traust við lanzfolc.* (Ch. 5); *Oc sialfr hellt hann* (Olafr Trygvason) *namna sina undir skirn.*<sup>1</sup> (Ch. 6); \* \* \* *hængia hann nu upp saclausan firir log fram.*<sup>2</sup> (Ch. 111). *Hvat er nu Æinar, eða brast boge þinn?* *Æinar svarar: ægi brast boge, hælldr allr Noregr or hændi þer.* (Ch. 27); *Ec stændr a kniom oc liggia uti iðren* (Ch. 95); *Siðan foro sændimenn aftr oc sagðo Olave orð iarlens* (Ch. 26).

4. While therefore the article has developed to a point where it is an indispensable syntactical device, it is yet clearly in a developing state; its use has not spread to a considerable number of instances where it came to be fixed in the later growth of the language. On the other hand, its absence is in a large number of cases in harmony with modern practice, while in certain instances where the definite article occurs, the modern language does not exhibit it. As will become clear from the following discussion, much that is old appears along with that which is new in the use of the definite article in our text. There is a progressive tendency, but there is also evidence of a conservative practice and the influence of the fixed forms of an earlier time, which prevents the employment of the external mark of definiteness even where individualization exists. That is, in a very large number of instances the person or object mentioned is already present in the consciousness of the speaker or writer and included in the particular situation of the narrative and therefore definitely individualized, and yet is left indefinite in form.

The choice of the defining modifier is of course governed

<sup>a</sup> The references are to chapters in Unger's edition, Christiania, 1849.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Norwegian *under daaben*.

<sup>2</sup> Modern *saglös for loven*, 'innocent before the law.'

by the degree of individualization desired. Therefore the investigation of the use of the post-positive article becomes a part of the larger problem of the semasiology of the demonstrative pronoun, the two definite articles, and the indefinite article.\* The demonstrative pronoun represents the highest degree of individualization, while the pre-positive definite article expresses a more emphatic particularization than does the post-positive article; finally, the use of the indefinite article or some indefinite pronoun leaves the object or person named more completely in the domain of the undefined than the simple noun would. However, because the post-positive definite article seems to fill a particular function, a function which in the linguistic consciousness of the time is rapidly coming to be set aside for it to perform, it becomes possible to investigate apart from the remaining defining qualifiers the conditions which governed the use of this article at the time.

#### A. LIMITATIONS IN THE USE OF THE POST-POSITIVE ARTICLE.

A consistent use of the article would require complete harmony between content and form,—always to employ the required defining modifier where psychological definiteness exists. Such harmony, however, nowhere exists here any more than elsewhere in the domain of language. However strong the tendencies of a language to logical correctness be, a healthy growing language which portrays the conflicting tendencies of living speech will always exhibit in larger or smaller measure formal grammatical elements, words, groups of words or phrases, in which the thought content seems to fail of complete expression. Such phrases and word-groups become fixed, petrified in a particular order and form, which is thereby made to serve new uses and to change its meaning-content.<sup>10</sup> The single word, on the other hand, may more easily adapt itself to the growing tendencies of the language.

\* And indeed also that of the total absence of article.

<sup>10</sup> There is of course, therefore, always complete expression of thought after such phrases and groups have become definitely fixed with the new meaning content.



5. The post-positive article is not used in cases where the person or object named is unique and therefore always definite anyway. These are, of course, principally proper names of persons and locality. Names of persons are regularly used without a defining modifier, although the modern dialects of all parts of Norway suffix the article to surnames to indicate familiarity. With the same function the third personal pronoun is put before the given name in dialectal speech, and this is a feature that was fully developed in Old Norwegian in the plural and in the singular both (see below § 32). The Olafs saga offers two occurrences, both in the same sentence, in Ch. 49: *oc i því kæmr hann Osbiorn i stovona snarazk þegar at hanum Þore en hann stoð rett fyrir konongenom*. The pronoun in these two cases serve very nearly the same function as the article in *konongenom*.

6. Names of localities, geographical divisions, or clan districts are used without the article. Some examples occurring with one reference for each are: *Væstfold*, 2, *Gautland*, 2, *Sviðþioð*, 4, *Suðrvic*, 9, *Norvasund*, 16, *Læira*, 16, *Haðaland*, 39, *Ringariki*, 39, *Hæiðmork*, 39, *Hjaltland*, 48, *Jaðar*, 51; *Gaulardal*, 59, *Finmork*, 69; and in plural forms: *Soleyar*, 39, *af Orknæyum*, 48, (*Guðbrandr af*) *Dalum*, 6, *i Garðum austr*, 46, *i Austrvegum*, 12, *a Norðrlandum*, 43, *Jorsalir*, 70, *Silvellir*, 24, or *Fjarðum* 36. The name *Viken* forms a notable exception in that the definite form is here as common as the indefinite, occurring in 2 (twice), 26 (twice), 31, 66; the indefinite *Vik* appears five times (8, 23, 69, and 109).<sup>11</sup> *Dalir* (*Guðbrandsdalir*) has the definite form in *Dalunum* (Ch. 33), which has already been discussed above. The definite form which occurs three times more in the remainder of the narrative concerning "Dale-Gudbrand" is in part due to the character of the name, which seems not yet to have become crystalized as a proper name; and of course as long as that was the case,

<sup>11</sup> In modern speech, the practice leans toward the definite form, e. g.: *Telemarken*, *Hedemarken*, *Sætersdalen*, *Jæderen*, *Guðbrandsdalen*, *Österdalen*, *Finmarken*; *Östlandet*, but *Numedal*, *Hallingdal*; *Hadeland*, *Solör*, *Nordland*.

the use of *dalir* for the particular valley region under discussion would necessitate the use of the definite form to show that individualization is actually present.

7. Names of ethnic groups, peoples and nationalities always appear in the indefinite form. Examples: *Atto orrostu hafðe Olafr við Kantaraborg*; *barðezt við Dane oc Vindi*, 12; *Olafr var æigi i saclæysi við Syia*, 15; *þat havum ver oc spurt at Uplændingar hafa kastat niðr kristni sinni*, 73; *Nu frago Raumar at Olafr konongr biozc upp þangat*, 39; \* \* \* *oc gera nokcot ilict því Gyðingar gerðo við drotten varn*, 50; *þar la Olafr þann vætr með liði sinu oc toko Syiar hann æigi handum sem þeir ætlaðu*, 15; (Olafr) *spyr nu at Þrændr ero i svicræðum við hann*, 71.<sup>12</sup> No instances occur of the definite form.<sup>13</sup>

8. Common nouns representing unique objects or abstract ideas, though definite in function, are written in the indefinite form. Here belongs first of all the word *guð*, 'the christian god'; other words of this class are: words for paradise, hell, the world, earth, the sun, et al. Examples: \* \* \* *þæim er guð styrkir*, 16; *ef þer vilið mitt rað hava þa hæitum nu aller a almatkan guð*, 17; *nu stæig sva Olafr konongr or þesso riki oc i himinrikis dyrð*, 93; *sal þin man fyrr vera i hælvti en bloð þitt se kallt a iarðunni*, 90; *en sa stigr standa til himna*, 89; *oc ognir ero miklir oc æigi nar sol at skina*, 91; *oc trua nu a æinn guð þann er skop himin oc iorð*, 35; *oc tækr nu sol upp at koma*, 67.

9. While these examples illustrate the usual practice, there are a number of exceptions; especially do the words *verold*, *sol*, and *hæimr* often appear in the definite form; e. g., *æftir því sem þa var er sialfr skaparenn for af veroldenne*, 93; *þa litu menn til solarennar*, 38; *þa varð sva mikil ogn at solen fal gæisla sinn oc gerðe myrct*, 93; *allr hæimrenn var mer nu firir augum*, 81; *Skapare* (see example cited above) and *andskota*

<sup>12</sup> In: *Nu kæmr mote konongenom boanda hærrenn Þrændr oc Halæygir, Naumdæler oc Mærer*, 89, the clan names are indefinite and would be so written in the language today.

<sup>13</sup> Others occurring: *Egðir, Finnar, Gautar, Girkir, Hjaltlendingar, Irar, Nor<sup>^</sup>menn, Skanungar, Sviar, Verdælir, Væringiar*.

both have the definite form (*er hann fenge fastlegra bundit sic i andskotans villu oc farunæyti*, 122), while *fiandi* is always so written; e. g., *sva aumlega hafðe fiandenn hann blindaðan at*, etc., 122, and further in 122: *hann gafsc i fiandans valldi, siðan fylgði hann fiannðans raðom*.<sup>13</sup> There is clearly a growing tendency to individualize the universe and large parts of it, as *haf*, *sær* (*sior*), *land*, *fiall*, *tungl*, *sky*, *lopt*, etc., e. g.; *en et skip Olafs varo buin þa hellt hann tvæim knarrum væstan af Ænglande oc fengo mickit veðr i haveno oc sio storan*.<sup>14</sup>

10. In the same general category belong names of holydays and festal periods, as also the names of the days of the week. These appear about in equal proportion with indefinite and definite forms. Examples of the former: *hann fær norðan annat sinni um fastu með ii skip*, 49; *frettr um at Olafur konongr skal taka væizlu i æyna i paskaviku*, 49; *en paskadag geck hann til tals við konongenn*, 56; *þetta var firir iol Tomasmessodag er hann*, etc., 69; *hann hafðe fastat ix drotensdaga, en matazk iamnan fastudaga*, 83; *en at iolom skilldi boande hværr fa*, etc., 77; *gaðe æigi at drottensdagur var*, 110; *en þat var a miðvikudægi*, 93. With the article: *um paskavikuna*, 26; *fastudagrenn*, *fastudagenn*, 50, *paskahælgina*, 50, *messodagenn*, 123, *a drottensdaginum*, 110, *drottensdagenn*, 50, *þvattdagenn*, 51, *miðvikudagenn* 83. See also B. 35.

11. So far we have noted only the condition for the nominative, dative and accusative cases. A noun in the genitive is ordinarily employed in the indefinite form; the genitive being itself a defining modifier, its presence continued for a long time to exclude the definite article. The material may be considered under three heads, as follows: (1) the genitive that precedes the independent noun; (2) the genitive that follows the independent noun; (3) the genitive and following noun

<sup>13</sup> See below, 24.

<sup>14</sup> In: *oc þegar er fæsti skipet þa gecc upp aftr en framme stæyp-tizt svá at sior fell inn um soxen*, 21, *sior* is not definite, does not stand for 'the sea,' but means 'a quantity of water,' while in: *um haustet er hann for væstan þa tyndizk i Ænglanz have*, 77, *have* is quite unstressed, *Ænglanz have* being an inchoate compound.

are in the nature of a compound. In the last case the genitive is, as we should expect, always indefinite, a usage which accords with that of the modern Scandinavian languages also. Examples: *konongsnamn*, 6, *lænnzmannznamn*, 6, *konongs bunaðe*, 14, *boanda söner*, 24, *Angulseyar sund*, 28, *hæraðs konongar*, 35, *Dana hofðingiar*, 35, *konongs hirð*, 43, *i Ænglands have*, 77, *konongs havuð*, 26, *Sauðungs sund*, 21, *konongs sund*, 16, *lauzlagum*, 40; *lannzmenn*, 18, *agiatesmann*, 55; and (*hvert*) *manz barn*, 28. As these examples indicate the second noun is also regularly indefinite in form, to which rule there are, however, the following exceptions: *lanzhærrenn*, 58, *boandahærrenn*, 89, *Syia hærrenn*, 66, *boanda liðinn*, 41 and 70, *boanda sunen*, 82, *æinseto mannzens*, 19; and *konongs homnenne*, 58.<sup>15</sup> In some of these cases the definite form is perhaps prompted by the desire for vivid narrative.

Where the two nouns do not actually form a compound, we should expect an increasing use of the definite form; yet here also the indefinite is normal; e. g., *nu var iarlenn upp læiddr a konongs skip*,<sup>16</sup> 22; *en iarlenn var af have dregenn at konongs raðe*, 21; *þa for Þorkiell at hæmna broðor sins er raðet hafðe fyrir þingmanna liði*, 9. Definite form of the second noun occurs in *drotens svikaran*, 70, (twice). The definite genitive appears in the following cases: *a konongsens valld*, 91; *i konongsens bloðe*, 95; *konongsens vilia*, 49.<sup>17</sup>

If the genitive follows it is regularly definite, while the governing noun is always indefinite. Examples: *Nú var mikill gnyr boandanna*, 38; *scip jarlsens*, 27; *oc brann lutr boandanna við oc rukcu bænnðr undan*, 39; *oc þa hæyrðu þeir gnyenn af liði boandanna*, 89; *nu ser konongr lið boandanna*, 89; *oc kæmr við æy þa er Þorer sel, armaðr konongsens reð fyrir*, 49; *en þat var vænia konongsens*, 50; *nu dvælsk dauði mannzens*, 50; *en fíorar dyrr varo a husi æinseto mannzens*, 19;

<sup>15</sup> It is possible that some of these cases are not compounds, but merely juxtaposition of genitive and noun; see (1) above.

<sup>16</sup> This may be regarded as a compound perhaps.

<sup>17</sup> Differing therefore from late Old Swedish. See *Nordiska Studier*, p. 437.



*eftir þessa spa æinseto mannzens for Olafir braut*, etc., 19; *kraptr guðanna*, 41. There is no occurrence of the indefinite form of the genitive nor of definite form of the independent noun.<sup>18</sup>

12. Our discussion has now brought us to the possessive pronoun group. It was observed above that the genitive case, being itself defining in function, usually excluded the post-positive article. The combination of noun and possessive pronoun is absolute, the possessive and the definite article being in our text mutually exclusive. The reason is of course that the possessive pronoun is itself both particularizing and possessive in function, which therefore precluded the need of labelling the noun with the suffixal symbol of particularization. And the practice is equally consistent when the possessive follows the noun as when it precedes.<sup>19</sup> Examples of the former: *mæð liði sinu*, 13; *lið yðat*, 13; *kistu sina*, 7; *lið hans*, 8; *sunr hænnar*, 15; *Olafir hælldr skipum sinum*, 21; *tok til boga sins*, 27; *kænni ek sunu mina*, 91.

13. It is well-known that in Old Norse as in Old East Scandinavian there was no fixed order in the possessive groups, the possessive, as the genitive noun, might either precede or follow the independent noun, contrary therefore to the practice in the modern Norwegian dialects, where the possessive pronoun regularly follows. An enumeration of the occurrences of the two orders with several possessives in the first sixty pages of the Olafs saga discloses some difference in the relative frequency of the two orders for the different possessives, as will be seen in the following table. The per cent. is for the post-position of the pronoun:

<sup>18</sup> The condition in late Old Swedish, as represented in the *Codex Bureanus*, seems to be the opposite, in that here the noun that precedes a genitive is put in the definite form, as *skiänkaren konongs*. See *Nordiska Studier*, 437-438.

<sup>19</sup> In the modern language the noun remains indefinite if preceded by the possessive, but becomes definite if it itself precedes the possessive: *sin haand*, but *haanden sin*.

	<i>Sin</i>	<i>þeirra</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>hænnar</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>hans</i>	<i>yðar</i>	<i>þin</i>
Number	184	22	21	8	24	104	27	33
	82%	73%	71%	63%	62%	58%	55%	50%

Thus the position of *sin* is post-positive in eighty-two per cent of the total occurrences, while the preponderance is also very considerable in the case of *þeirra*, *min* and *var*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly striking is the fact that in the possessive pronouns of the second person the ratio is about the same for the two positions. The reason for the general suffixal position of *sin* lies, no doubt, in its wholly unstressed nature, a consideration which will also account for the preponderance of *min* in this position, both being very frequently replaceable by the post-positive article. For example in: *þa er Olafr svænske var ifra fallen þa tok Onundr Sviðpioð oc allt hans ríki æftir faður sin*; here *faður sin* might with equal clearness and correctness be changed to *faðurinn*, while *hans* (the dead kings) retains a little more stress (as it regularly does), not being reflexive but referring to some one else. The unstressed nature of the reflexive possessive *sin*, then, led to its use after the noun and its great preponderance over other possessives brought about post-position of the possessive as the regular order in the later progress of the language.

14. Passing now to the combination of demonstrative pronoun and noun, we find, as we should expect, that only in the rarest exceptions does the definite form of the noun occur in conjunction with a demonstrative. The demonstrative is functionally the symbol of emphatic individualization, hence further individualization of the noun by means of the weaker post-positive article is in itself superfluous. The expansion of the post-positive article also to those nouns which already have a pre-positive article is a rather striking and unusual feature which modern Norwegian and Swedish have in common, but sporadic instances of it are to be found as far back as the fourteenth century, occurring here and there also in our text. Examples of the regular use: *þann vætr, i þvísá lande, þænna sama vætr, i þesse for, lannz þessa, þenna kost, a þæssom dægi, i þann*

<sup>1</sup> So also with *hænnar* but the occurrences here are limited.

*tíma, sa maðr, a þema bæ, þann dag*, etc. Therefore also then, the noun which is followed by a relative (that is the demonstrative in relative function) is also regularly written in the indefinite form, e. g., *Olafr sætti log þau er hæita Sefslog*, 32; *oc stæmdi allum Dælom til bæar þess er Hunzþorp hæitir*, 33; *ver havum horvet aftr til siðar þess er varer forælldrar hava haft*, 33; . . . *þat var mer þa i hug er hann brændi knor þann firir mer er bæztr mindi vera*, etc., 91; *læggr þar til goðar æignir af iarðum þeim sem hann atte*, 38.

In the following cases demonstrative and definite nouns are associated: *þa syndizt hanum sa maðrenn er hanum bar i draumenn*, 4; . . . . *oc lat hann æigi sia gripina þessa*,<sup>20</sup> and preceding a relative in: *sægir hann mikinn agiætesmann oc olican aðrum mannum, oc hvesso mikit er skil þann siðenn er hann hævir eða konongr*, 55; *oc tok hændi sinni i munn hanum oc togaðe til sin þann litla stubben er æftir var tungunnar*, 107; *oc þa sa þeir at tungan bloðraðe, þa reðo þæil til þess stuðsens er æftir var oc drogo til sin*, etc., 109; *oc sva synezt mer sem minna se nu karp þitt eða hyrningsens þess er þer kalleð biscup yðat*, 37.

15. The indefinite pronouns *sumr* and *allr* are used with the indefinite form of the noun when the objects are named in a general statement, and not conceived of as present or otherwise individualized, as: *sva er sact fra Knuti kononge at hann sætte tíðir hatíðardaga alla til kirkiu þeirrar er biscup song tíðir at*,<sup>21</sup> 11; or even where definite if followed by a relative clause, see § 16, as. . . *oc toko alla vikingaseto þa er þar varo*, 12. In: *en nu for sva at þeir Olafr hafðu klæðe þeirra oc allt fe, en þeir varo drepner oc hafðe Olav sigr*, 12, *allt fe*, though present in the situation, has the indefinite form because qualified by a possessive pronoun (*klæðe þeirra oc allt fe*=*klæðe oc allt fe þeirra*). See § 12. For discussion of the use of these and other pronouns with definite noun, see below B. 30-32.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the dual article in: *hinir hærtæknu mennener varo i tjalldunum*, 53; *hinn fyrra dagenn*, 37; *hinn fyrra fastudagenn*, 50; *þatt land hitt sama*, 68.

<sup>21</sup> In such a case a *þa litu aller bæendr til solarennar* the principle discussed in §26 below is also to be noted.

16. Coordinated nouns regularly have the indefinite form. Examples: . . . . . *fullizt skipet oc þa næst hvalfði, en iarlenn var af have dregenn, af konongs raðe oc aller hans menn, þær sem nast var, en sumir letozc bæðe firir griote oc scotom* (lost their lives before the stones and shots), 21; *hvat er þat kvað iarl, þat quað Olafr at yðat riki hævir mikit veret i lande pesso, en heðan ifra man þæt ækci værða oc munu konongar þær er til ero borner giæta lanz oc rikis oc sinnar sæmdor sem vera a,* 22; *gersc mikil briostaðr sem kononge somer oc hans tign hæver, hygg af harme, glæðsk af þægnom en þegnar af yðr,* 46; *siðan foro þær oc komo a fund konongs oc baro upp sin ærende, oc sagðu at bændr villdu æiga þing við hann oc sætia grið þæirra amillum konongs oc boanda,* 35; *oc (þær) trua nu a æinn guð þann er skop himin oc iorð,* 35.<sup>22</sup> *Oc var Olafr en digri með þriu skip æin þar amillum læiðangrs oc landhærs,* 15. *Olafr spyrr hann hvart hann mindi værða konongr at Norege oc oðrlazt land oc riki oc þa sæmd sem minir frændr hafðu,* 19.

17. A noun modified by an adjective stands without the article, the weak inflexion of the adjective marking the definiteness that is present. Examples: *hallda retta tru eða þola dauða,* 32; *miskunn guðs almategs,* 123; *ef þer vilið mitt rað hava þa hætum nu aller a almatkan guð,* 17; *nu fara þær austan um æystra riki,* 80, *helldo siðan retta tru;* 38.<sup>1</sup>

18. Fixed phrases and word-groups in which the noun is psychologically definite remain inflexionally indefinite because here the noun forms a syntactical unit with the governing preposition or verb with which it occurs. There is evidenced in these constructions a struggle between two opposing principles. The noun, indefinite formally and originally probably usually was so in the particular group, has come to have definite meaning. That the idea is definite can, however, be clear only in cases where the noun in the particular group now always has definite

<sup>22</sup> This may also be accounted for according to §8, and the preceding two examples according to §§ 25-26.

<sup>1</sup> However these cases are all subject to the rule discussed in §§ 8 and 24.



meaning, otherwise the context alone gives the key. In cases therefore where the word group may still and often is general in signification, a progressive tendency sometimes finds illustration in that the noun is made definite, especially where emphasis is intended, as for the purpose of giving greater vividness to the narrative. Most numerous are phrasal combinations of preposition and noun to express locality, destination, time, manner, or the means of an act. The phrase is adverbial in function and survives in a great many petrified phrases today.<sup>23</sup>

In treating these phrases it is necessary to guard against confusing those that are actually indefinite with those that are not. In the following passage for example *scog* is of course indefinite: *En af lande ofan kom Olafur hinn Svænse með sva mikinn herra at sva var at sia um allar strander a landet upp sem i scog sæ.*<sup>24</sup> The material may be grouped under two heads: (1) phrases of locality and destination, etc.; (2) temporal phrases; (3) miscellaneous phrases. The prepositions most commonly used are *a*, *i*, *or*, *at* and *til*. Examples:

(1) Phrases of locality and destination:

*Ðar hafðe Olafur hinn svænse sialfr fylking sina firir a lande,* 15; *skip þeirra stóðo i læiru en ovigr herra alla vega a lande upp ifra,* 17; *hverr maðr er a haf rere skilldi gera kononge landvarðu hvaðan sem hann rere,* 77; *oc rann þa sol upp a fjall,* 38; *þar i naand,* 120; *þar i lande,* 56; *nu geresc Haralldr grænske or lande,* 5; *en ii c manna hafðe hanum austan or lande fylct,* 86; *en þat undrumk ek at þu agnar oss guði yðru, þat er bæðe er blint oc dauft oc ma hvarke biarga ser ne aðrum oc kæmsk all-drigi or stað,* 38; *maðr hverr er af lande fære skilldi giællða landaura,* 77; *en þat sægia menn æftir anlat Svæins tiuguskægs, at Olafur Harallzson hafðe komet Aðalrað kononge eptr i land*

<sup>23</sup> For a representative list see my edition of Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, note 6, page 8 and note 3, page 20; or Falk and Torp cit. pp. 41-42. Seidel's *Phraseologie der Englischen Sprache*, 1905, offers considerable material for English and German.

<sup>24</sup> 'But Olaf the Swede came down to the sea with such a large army that all along the coast of the country northward it was as if one were looking at a forest.'

með miklum raðom...., 9; en i þann tíma kæmr Olaf Trygvason i land oc boðar þegar truna, 6; þa man ek fara með ykr at sinni oc með ængu of ræfli ef þit ero þa lausir er konongr ser mik,...þeir raðazc nu til færðar, 55;...oc sætti hann iarl innar hirðar með ser, 22; nu for Svæinn iarl suðr með lande, 26; oc sigldi Olaf Harallzson þar þrim skipum igiægunum neset oc ut til hafs með mikilli frægðarfærð, 16. Olaf konongr for austan at fiarum til hafsens, 80; en þeir sagðu at hann var ægi æinn at þeim, hælldr var þar mikil fioldi riddara i for með hanum, 13.

(2) Temporal phrases: The phrases occurring are *i dag*, *i nott*, *i* (or *a*) *morgon*, *i sumar*, *i vætr*, *i fystu*, *a manaðe* (in or during the month), *at kveldi*, *um rið*, *at sinni*, *i senn*, *silla dax* (15, late in the day), *of sið dax*, 19,—*þriðia sinni*.<sup>25</sup> Most of these phrases survive in the same form in the modern language; e. g., *inat* 'to-night,' *idag* 'today,' *i morgen* 'tomorrow,' *i sommer* 'this summer,' *i vinter* 'this winter,' *i fysto* (literary language *i förstningen*) 'in the beginning,' *om kvelden* 'during the evening,' *i senn* 'at the time' (cf. Dan. *ad gangen*). Further also *at undurni* and *at dagurðarmale* in, e. g., *Olaf konongr var nu komenn til haugs nokcors um morgonenn at undurni*, 87; *en Olaf hafðe mæssu aðr oc allt lið hans oc allar tiðir oc aller mættir at dagurðarmale aðr en þeir færre til bordagans*, 26. The preposition *um* almost without exception governs a definite noun (see below 34), but there would seem to be an exception in:.....*en sva lauk at flester aller toko við kristni*<sup>26</sup> *oc fengo kononge sunu sina oc heto þui at þeir skilldu alldrigin oftarganga af kristni. Sæner þeirra varo væl halldner við konongenom oc gerðozc væl siðaðer. Ðat er sact at kononge var þar um nott sem Bæar hæita*, 74. We must, however, recognize in all these phrases the factor of relative definiteness as indicated in the context. *Um* (Fritzner *um*, 11) is regularly

<sup>25</sup> Indefinite are: *um siðir*, (after a time), *um rið*, (for or after a while), *um stund*, (after a while). *Um siðir*=modern *omsider*; *um stund*=*om en stund*.

<sup>26</sup> The discussion is about Olaf's visit at Lesje.

followed by the definite because the time indicated is specific, the meaning being 'during,' *um nottena* meaning that night, during the night.<sup>27</sup> So in the immediately preceding part of this same account we are told: *þa for Olafr konongr oc kom fram i æinbua oc var þar um nottena oc um morgonen a Læsiar* (=and stopped there that night and the next morning he was at Lesje). But *um nott* in the later passage Ch. 74 is rather to be translated 'over night' in which the noun is less definite, *vera um nott* (stop over night) approaching more a formal word-group.<sup>28</sup> In Chapter 73: *oc ma þar ængi maðr væra um nætr* (stay there by night) *firir trollagange*, *nætr* is quite indefinite.

(3). Other phrases of this kind are: *i fylgd með, i liking* (*æftir Þor*, 36), *a sundi, a hægri hand, a aðra hond, i fange* (*Þormoðr mæter kono æinni oc hafðe við i fange*, 97), *i atgangu* ('in the attack,' 92), *i kaf* ('in the deep,' 21), *af kafe*, *i for* (*i for varo með Svæini hinir mesto hofðingiar i landeno*, 26)<sup>29</sup> *a læið, af livi, a vegom, a fotom, við iarðu* (*þa lagðe hann við iarðu konongenn*, 104)<sup>30</sup>; *i jorð*, and finally *a braut*, which, however, is already a pure adverb, and hence often written in one word: *ibrott, abraut, braut, brot* (modern *bort*).

19. The feeling that these phrases are, however, no longer fully adequate to express that degree of individualization which the context sometimes required led to the employment of defining adverbs, as in the following: *þar við land*, 17, 18; *hæim i land*, 54; *a land upp ifra*, 17; *þar a land*, 20; *þar var i for með*, etc., 20; *maðr kom af lande ovan þar sem*, etc., 20; *her i land*, 90. Finally, under the influence of the progressive tendency, the fixed word group is broken up entirely and the noun

<sup>27</sup> *um*, in the meaning 'for' or 'after' is, however, followed by the indefinite noun because of the indefiniteness inherent in the noun.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also: *Skialgr kom a Jaðar um nott* (by night) and *um vætr*, ch.

<sup>29</sup> *I for* is indefinite in: . . . . . *oc sagðe at Olafr, var i for væstan til Ænglanz a skipum*, 17.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *þegar iamskiot er hann lyptizt af iarðunni þa*, etc., 111.

is given the definite form that its function in the particular case requires, as: *Síðan let hann vera strængi i kaveno milla skipanna oc la þar síðan með tialldaðum skipum i sundinu*, 21. *Logr hætit en bygden mikil allum mægin at vatneno; matte þar bæðe fara a skipum oc a lande til þingsens. Oc nu er þeir komo til þings þa stændr Guðbrandr upp*, etc., 33; *oc ma þar ængi maðr vera um nætr firir trollagange oc mæinvetto er þar ero a sætreno*, 73; *sigldu suðr firir Fjarðune*, 20; *Olafr konongr for austan at fiarum til hafsens*, 80; \* \* \* *ef þeir reðe Olaf konong or landeno*, 68.

20. Such supplementary specification is prompted by the desire to express that particularization which psychologically is present, but which the phrase does not formally contain. This method of definition becomes regular usage with words designating parts of the body, but with this difference that the defining word is here the person's name, the name of the object, the dative reflexive *ser* or the dative of the personal pronoun (with or without the preposition *a*), the phrasal form or course being the later in point of time. Examples: *konongr lovar queðet oc tæk af hofði ser hatt æinum girðzkan buinn gulli*, etc., 60; *hon sætr Olafr son sinn i kne ser oc spurði*, 6; *oc var Þostæinn þegar fælldr a fætr konongenom*, 93; *þu segir þat sem þer byr i brioste*, 89; *oc tok i hærðar hanum*, 52; *síðan stæig hann a bak heste æinshværium*, 73; *konongrenn stak æxarhyrnunni a kinn Ærlingi*, 70; *aðrum manne bätte hann þeim er Vindir hafðu tækit oc tungu or hofði skoret*, 114; \* \* \* *er skera let tungu or hofði manne þeim er Kolbæinn het*, 119.

21. It will be observed that in some of these cases the dative defines possessive relation, is functionally possessive, and may be replaced by the possessive pronoun. In the following sentence we have the dative and the possessive employed side by side in the same degree of possessive function: *þvi næst stræuk hann hændi sinni um augu hanum oc um læggi oc um alla limi hans þa sem sarer varo*, 109; also cf.: *Ða toko þeir prestenn ovaranda oc brutu bæða fatlæggina a hanum oc skaro af tungu hans, oc ut stungu þeir augu hans bæðe*, 109. And



yet, semasiologically the kind of possessive which in the above examples is expressed by the dative or the phrase is a different one from the one which is designated by the possessive pronoun or the genitive case. As there are degrees of definiteness, so we must recognize kinds and degrees of possessive relation; thus, in *hon sætr Olaf son sinn i kne ser*, *sinn* is a possessive of origin or descent, while *ser* denotes a partitive possession. Neither are pure possessives. In the last passage quoted, the phrasal *a hanum* is used with *fotlæggina*, while the possessive pronoun *hans* is used later with *skaru ut* and *stungu*, the reason for the change to the possessive in these two cases being that the severing of the tongue and the eyes from the body proper makes impossible the use of the phrase *a hanum* or *i hanum*, which always expresses the idea of being attached to, i. e., physically a part of the person or object named. For the purpose of this investigation it is not necessary to enter more fully into the various degrees of possessive relation contained in these constructions.

The next step from the pronominal phrase or pronoun with possessive function, is to the definite form of the noun and first where the object named is severed from the body, as: *hæggr af hænne hondena*,<sup>31</sup> 56; *en siðan þa hogg af hanum havuðet*, 3; *hæggr af hanum fotenn*, 113; further, *yðr man skiota skiælk i briostet*, 35; *gott er þessom karle um hiartat*, 97; *en honnden a þeim hælga manne mate æigi brænna*, 110; *Kimbi retter til hondena*, 96.<sup>32</sup> In the last example the construction has arrived at the briefest form commensurate with perfect clearness, a construction which is today characteristic of all the Scandinavian languages and of German,<sup>33</sup> while English retains the construction with the often less clear<sup>34</sup> possessive pronoun. The definite

<sup>31</sup> But indefinite in: *sumir mann sægja at hann hægge haund af hænne ag skyti hana siðin*, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also *fotlæggina a hanum* above.

<sup>33</sup> Including even names of wearing apparel as well as parts of the body.

<sup>34</sup> Less clear in so far as here the post-positive article in Norse is ordinarily reflexive, thus defining the antecedent, or if it be not absolutely clear Norse adds the reflexive pronoun *sín* and there can be no ambiguity.

article came, further, to be used of the whole as well as the part as in the two sentences: *hestrenn læypr i iarðfall æitt undir hanum oc brotna fætrner aller a hestenom*, 84; *nu vænta ek at ek skilize æigi við konongenn, oc braut af skaftet af orenne oc sættiz niðr*, 95.

22. In idiomatic combinations of verb and noun, we finally have an indivisible group in which the noun is formally indefinite, though particularization may exist. Examples from our text are such expressions as: *hava sigr, fa sigr, sættia grið, gefa grið, raða land, sækia land, taka riki eftir, telja tru, taka tru, taka skirn, boða kristin dom, boða kristni, væita ansvor, væita lið, meta kaup, stefna þing, taka rað*, or with prepositions: *taka við kristni, fara i rækiu, blasa til moz, raðazk i færð* (or *til færðar*), *skiota a þingum, leggja við land, læypa i kaf, læggja ar a stræng, taka til konongs*.<sup>35</sup> The tendency from a group of words to form units of this sort expressive of a single idea becomes of course a very fruitful source for the growth of idioms and combinations which may run counter to logic and the grammar of the language. All that falls within the scope of this article, however, is to note their presence in Old Norwegian as a factor bearing upon the scope of the post-positive article. It is not always possible of course to ascertain whether a case is an actual (verbal or phrasal) formula and sometimes it cannot with absolute certainty be said whether or not a given case is actually intended to be definite; but usually the definiteness of the noun concept is clear and a very large number of these combinations have their lineal descendants in the modern dialects and find their parallels everywhere in Scandinavian speech.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Under the influence of the principle of expressing in definite form that which is present in the situation the nouns in these cases also are beginning to assume definite form, e. g.: *Biorn ræzk i ferðena*, 42.

<sup>36</sup> It is of course in the phraseology and formal word groups that the modern languages exhibit some of their most striking and fundamental differences.

## B. THE SCOPE OF THE POST-POSITIVE ARTICLE.

23. In the beginning of our discussion we defined the psychological basis of the post-positive article; we found the article to be the external inflexional symbol by which something is designated as familiar, already present in the situation and in the consciousness of the speaker. This result may have been brought about in various ways. The person or object may have been mentioned before, in the same word, in a synonym, in a compound, in a proper name, in a verb or in a group of words. We thereafter outlined the limitations in this general principle and found that certain formal factors, themselves having a definite idea-basis, operated to prevent the appearance of the definite article in a large number of cases where the individualization that it represented was nevertheless present. In some cases it was found that that individualization was expressed in other ways, as by a pronoun or an adverb; in still other cases that definiteness was already embodied in the nature of the word itself. In some cases there was evidenced a living growing principle according to which the language strives to express the definiteness which exists in the corresponding symbol of definiteness.

24. Among the classes of words discussed above as appearing in the indefinite form were certain terms for abstract ideas and names of unique objects (A, 8). We found there, however, that certain of these nouns regularly appear in the definite form, as *skapare*, *andskote* and *fande*, 'the devil'. For examples see § 9 above. There was also noted a growing tendency to individualize the universe (*veroldrinn*, *hæimrinn*) or large parts of it (*haf*, *sky*, *tungl*). Some names of this general class have in our text already come to be regularly used in the definite form. These are: *tru*, 'the Christian faith', *log* 'the law', and *kristni*, 'christianity'. Examples: *aigi atlomk ec at taka truna*, 55; *biðr nu Valgerð taka truna*, 55; *i þann tíma Olaf Trygvason i land oc boðar þegar truna*, 87; *hann mindi nu bjoða kristnina*, 87; *firir því at kristnin var mjok af ser komenn*, 31; *þar er mestra umbota var apr avant um kristnina*,

37; *oc bauð þeim kristnina*, 34; *hann vil her allan sinn matt imote læggia at firirkveða kristnina*, 54; *þa bæðizk hann nu at taka truna*, 55; *æigi mantu herra vilja briota logen*, 50.<sup>37</sup> However the indefinite is still used in: *þeir sem kristnir varo aðr hurvu after til kristni*, 38; *þeir skildi alldrigin oftar ganga af kristni*, ; *siðan for Olafur konongr a Hæðmork oc snere þar margum mannum til truar*, 39.

25. Common nouns which approach the function of proper names as 'king, queen, earl, bishop,' vary between the definite and the indefinite form, but with a considerable preponderance of the definite. The occurrences without the article are: *en er Knutr konongr spurði þat er biskup hafðe mælt við Olaf*, 11; *nu talar Knutr konongr við ærkibiskup*, 11; *biskup svarar*, 11; *konongr værðer nu ræðr*, 11; *konongr sat i þjallðeno oc tælgði spiotskapt*, 20; *hvat er þat, hvað iarl*, 22; *Knutr konongr tækr við hanum forkunlega væl oc sætti hann iarl innan hirðar með ser*, 22; *siðan for konongr<sup>38</sup> ivir oc kom niðr a Sil*, 34; *þa spurði biskup hui hann var sva okatr*, 81;.....*sagðe ærkibiscupi oc korsbræðrom<sup>39</sup> fra andværðu hvesso faret hafðe með þeim*, 111; *hvat er þat hvað iarl*, 22.<sup>40</sup>

Examples of the definite form are: *þa com margygren upp oc græip þegar æitt skipet oc firir for þeirri skipsocn allre firir konongenom*, 14; *oc er buin var væizlan þa sækir hann till væizlunnar, oc er drotningen en bliðazta við hann*, 1; *þicki konongenom hann gott*, 42; *en drotningen hværfr i brott ræð mioc*, 1; *þa kæmr at konongrenn svarar ængu*, 18; *læypr at konongenom, konongrenn brægðr sværði*, 18; *konongrenn lo oc mællte*, 20;<sup>41</sup> *oc sigldi iarlenn snækciunni milli knarrana*

<sup>37</sup> Log 'custom', and *sið*, 'manners, usage' also appear with the definite form, as: *æigi er þat loget at þer langfæðr eroð friðare en aðrer men*, 22; *hvesso mikít er skil þann si<sup>38</sup> enn er hann hævir eða konongr*, 55.

<sup>38</sup> Further *konongr* in 1, 3, 4, 20, 22, 34 (twice), 35, 80, 36, 59.

<sup>39</sup> This can be otherwise explained. See A, 16.

<sup>40</sup> There are a large number of other occurrences of the indefinite in words of this class, but other explanatory factors enter. See below.

<sup>41</sup> Other definite forms of *konongr* occur in: 43, 58.



*fram, \* \* \* rær nu iarlenn fram i sundet milli skipanna; Nu dasaðezc þar listuleg for iarlsens, 21; biscopenn svarar, 11 (but a few lines below biscop svarar); talar sændimaðrenn hve, etc., 76; prestrenn kvað við, 109.*

26. It is but a further extension of the principle observed above when these same nouns in plural are used without the article, the absence of the article being due here to the completeness of connotation, since each name includes all of the class or all that could be included in the given situation, as e. g., the opposing kings or parties in a battle, the legates in a particular mission, etc. Examples: *síðan foro sændimenn aftr oc sagðe Olave orð jarlsens, 26; þa for konongr a fund við bændr oc atte þing við þa, 35; bændr hava iiii mærki oc xx oc c manna liðs undir hværiu, 90; nu sia konongsmenn skip þat er atte Rutr a Viggiu, 85; Nu ganga saman fylkingarnar oc bæriazk þeir nu snarplega oc af mikilli ræysti, vaita konongsmenn harða viðtaku, 92; þa mællto varðmenn-er skipet for i sundet, 67; sændimenn fara hæim oc sægia kononge þau orð er mællt varo, 47; nu stirðnaðu rikismenn við konongenn, 48; nu kæmr Asbiorn þann sama æftan til væizlunnar er konongrenn var komenn, ræðzc hann svæit með stæikarum, 49; annan dag paska koma nu konongsmenn i hærþirgi þessa manna, 59.*

The definite article is, however, equally common. Examples: *vikingarner læggia nu i braut, 58; oc er natta tækr pa somna þeir konongarner, 5; oc lætr nu upp fæsta alla sændimennena Knutz konongs, 76; nu er locet þinginu oc vilia nu sændimennener vita sinn kost, 47; nu tokst a nyialæik bardagenn med þeim Dag oc boandonom, 94; geck med sinn mærki hvar þeirra fæðganna, nu ganga saman fylkingarnar oc bæriazk þeir nu snarplega oc af mikilli ræysti, 92; nu foro þeir konongarner, etc., 65; nu finnaz þeir konongarner a Skane, 66; hæfr sva þegar upp at aller ero at quadder hirðmennener, 61; sva man kraptr guðanna skyla oss, 55.<sup>42</sup>*

27. In this group of words then the condition varies much from that in classical Old Icelandic, where the indefinite form

<sup>42</sup> The further occurrences of the definite are in chapters:

is the usual one (Nygaard, *Norrön Syntax*, p. 36). Certain occurrences call for special notice, as: *sa var hertoge æinn a Irlande er Guðpormr het, \* \* \* kær var hann oc virkr konong-enom i Dyflinne þeim er Mardagus het*. It would seem here, perhaps, that the qualifying phrase *i Dyflinne* is of itself sufficiently particularizing, hence that the psychological definiteness that is present is transferred to and finds expression in the preceding independent noun.<sup>43</sup> And yet I think another factor has been equally operative in such cases toward fixing the definite form which is everywhere the regular one in modern speech in just such context as our example.<sup>44</sup> It is not the locality, but the king, which is in the foreground of consciousness at the time, *i Dyflinne* being relatively less stressed. The particularization that is present relates to the king and therefore gets expressed in that word, the qualifying phrase *i Dyflinne* simply forming a part of the single concept.<sup>45</sup> In *Scipi því styrde konongrenn sialfr*, the intensive *sialfr* expresses emphatic particularization and this particularization is transferred to the noun with which it is associated as a formal group (cf. also *messodagenn sialvan*, 123).

28. It now becomes necessary to illustrate the second and more complex method by which a thing comes to be regarded as having been presented to one's consciousness and receives in the first mention the mark of that fact. Here the object or person is named for the first time, has not been mentioned or suggested before. To illustrate: *þa mællte Olafr við lið sitt; takeð aller þat til raðs sem þer seð mik gera, Siðan let hann drega segl i hun upp en veðret stoð ovan af Agnafir; En er seglen varo upp dregen a skipi Olafs, þa stæmnir hann a Agnafir a fylcing Olafs hins svanska, en vindrenn gecc æftir vilia*

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Nordiska Studier*, p. 437, where a somewhat similar construction occurs.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Han var elsket og afholdt af kongen af Dublin, som hed Mardagus*; he was loved and respected by the King of Dublin, whose name was Mardagus.

<sup>45</sup> The case is different with such a case as Mardagus was king of Dublin; here the stress is equal for king and Dublin.

*Olafs Harallz sonar*, 16. Here the preparations for the departure and the hoisting of the sails which has just been mentioned has further brought into the field of consciousness that requisite for a good journey, a favorable wind, a fact which is indicated then in the definite *vindrenn*. Further: *Oc er hann kom i land þa er þess við getet at mæðr kom af lande ovan þar sem konongr la með skipum sinum. Konongr sat i tialldeno oc tælgði spiotskapt. Boandenn giængr at hanum oc hælsar hanum*, 20. The fact that the king is encamped on shore includes in the situation the king's tent as a part of the equipment. *Oc því næst sa þeir mikinn flock boanda fara til þingsens oc baro imillum sin mikit scrimsl oc mannlican oc var þat allt gulli glæst oc silfri. Oc nu sia þeir bænnðr er a þinginu varo firir hvar guð þeirra for oc þa liupu þeir upp aller oc lutu því scrimsli. Sidan var þat sætt a miðian þingvollen*, 37: *nu kæmr Asbiorn þann sama æftan til væizlunnar er konongrenn var komenn ræðz hann i svæit með stæikarum. Nu er menn komo i sito þa fretta menn æftir hvesso er fære með þeim Asbirni. Hann sægir saguna quad mannen væl við værða allt þar til er hann scripti seglonom, þa quad hann næsta gratraust i kværkunum. Oc i því kæmr hann Asbiorn i stovona*, 49; *hann tok kono hans oc for i æinu hælli oc sat þar, oc kveðr hann visu er haun sa ivir byggðena*, 62.

29. These cases will suffice to indicate the underlying attitude which prompts the designation of things or persons as present in the situation. The tent of the king is a part of the army's camp; the thing-stead is a part of the situation wherever there is a discussion of an assembly; the mention of a feast presupposes a house for the holding of the feast; the mention of a cave includes within the general situation the locality where the cave is located. That is, the mention of an object or locality introduces, as thereby already in the situation, every part of that object or smaller portion of that locality, and vice versa, the mention of a part includes similarly the whole. This includes mention of the person and parts of the body; the warrior and his equipment; the king, his army and every-

thing associated with him in the march or in battle, or his realm as a whole; any other object and its parts, as the house, the ship, the sword, etc. In § 21 above under the discussion of fixed phrases used with pronouns governed by a preposition we have already met with illustration of the operation of this principle; the result was a double particularization, as the semi-possessive phrasal *a hanum* and the individualizing article in *foflæggina* in the sentence: *þa toko þeir prestenn ovaranda oc brutu baða foflæggina a hanum*, or again in the following: *gott er þessom karle um hiartat*, 97, or still further in *fætrner aller a hestennom*, 84, and *skaftet af orenne*, 95.

The illustrative material may be classified as follows: 1) with words for parts of the body: *oc er menn ero komner i sæmn er Rane uti staddr oc ætr hugenom hvart hann skal a braut taka svæinenn*, 4; *oc i því kom skot undir hond hauum vinstri, krokor æin milli rivianna*, 95; *ec stændr a kniom oc liggia ut iðren*, 95; \* \* \* *oc bartu þa hatt havuðet*, 90; *sker or sægir hann eða spæm um tongenne oc kipp sva or sareno at æigi slæ harundenne saman*, 97; *læggrr bringuna a vandbol-kenn oc andaðezk þa*; 2), with words for parts of objects: *hann fær til oc gripr um sværzhiolltena; hann brigðer sværðinu oc lysir halega*, 7; *Olafr sprættur upp oc brægðr sværðinu oc tvihændir* \* \* \* *retter at hanum bloðræflenn*, 7; *nu lætr Olafr drega upp strængina undir kiolenn snakciunnar oc vundu með vindasom*, 21; *nu var iarlenn upp læiddr a konongs skip... sættizt niðr i firrrumet*, 22; *Skialgr kom a Jaðar um nott, oc lyster a loftet þar er Ærlingr svaf*, 51; 3), with names for parts of equipment: *sprætt af hanum bælltinu oc knifinum*, 3; *oc skaut hann igiægnum bæði skiolldenn oc mannenn*, 27; 4) names for the army or officers: *siglir sunnan af Jotlande ivir Limafjorð með xii c skipa oc com at Agðum með allum hærenom*, 69; *oc mællto mennener at biða skilldi konongsens*, 14; *drekenn brunar fram vano braðare. Stambuinn brægðr sværði oc hæggrr til Þormoz*, 58; 5) words for the land or parts of locality: *Sigríð oc Enundi sunr hænnar hafðu suman lutan lannzens*, 5; *þa mællte Hiallste: \* \* \* guð hævir gefit yðr rikit oc*



*sva mikit valld*, 43; *i for varo með Svæini hinir mesto hofðingjar i landeno*, 26.

30. We now come to a group of constructions in which the noun which appears in the definite form because the idea is present in the context is already modified by an indefinite pronoun or a numeral, which results again in a double particularization somewhat similar to the one discussed in § 29 above. We shall first take the two pronouns *allr* and *hverr*. *Allr*, as specifying that all the objects named are included, partakes of the nature of an intensive qualifier; the definite form, *skipin*, for example, itself includes all the ships present in the situation, the added modifier merely emphasizing the completeness of the connotation. Now in so far as *allr* is perfectly definite (as including all of the objects mentioned) the post-positive article should be superfluous and was of course originally not used. Of this there are still illustrations, not only in general statements of objects taken in their entirety, but in names of particular objects present in the situation and which are taken in their entirety; thus: *um allar strander a landet*, 15; and e. g. *allt lið hans*. But in most such cases<sup>46</sup> the noun is further defined by another modifier as possessive or a phrase which therefore excludes the post-positive article by a principle discussed in § 12 above.<sup>47</sup> In all other cases where the thing or persons named are assumed to be present in consciousness, that is indicated in the particularizing article irrespective of the presence of a preceding pronominal qualifier. Examples: *allt hjartat*, 24; *alt feet*, 3; *með allum hærenom*, 52; *allt liðet*, 8; *alla sændimennina konongs*, 60; *rikit alt*, 52; *alt kornet*, 36; *rikit Víkna alla*, 1; or with expressions of time: *alt sumaret*, 52; *allan dagen*, 81; *um alla nottena*, 37:

31. While *allr* emphasizes the completeness of the connotation collectively, *hverr* does the same thing distributively; in

<sup>46</sup> Cf. however *alra manna armaðr*, 70; but again *til allra hinna vitraztu manna oc storhofðingia i landeno*, 68.

<sup>47</sup> But *koma i oll hæroð með* etc., 68, or *aller bænnr*, 38, which, however, are governed by another principle.

the former case the mind takes in the objects as a whole, in the latter each separately as parts of the whole. Here two of the objects are present in the situation the noun appears in the definite form and there takes place again a dual particularization, one by the pronoun for the number taken, the other by the inflexional article designating the objects as present to consciousness. Examples: *hann læggr sinum megin sunzens hvarn knorrenn*, 21; *mærkia skal nu drotens svikarann hværn at nokcoro*, 70.

32. With *engi*, designating the rejection of the objects in their entirety (not distributively as English 'none of') the construction is of course the same (*engir mennener* (none), *mennener* designating all the men named before or present).

33. We now come to the pronouns *baðir*, *sum*, *far* and *halfr*, pronouns which seem to the modern point of view clearly partitive. It is, however, well at once to get away from our modern view-point in this case, for there is no reason whatever for assuming that the partitive idea was at all present in the consciousness of the speakers of the time in such constructions. The consideration that the old pronoun was an adjectival and that inflexionally there is agreement in number as between the pronominal adjective and the noun in all these constructions shows clearly that the partitive idea was not present in the linguistic consciousness from which the construction sprang. The same construction appears with numerals also. Thus we have *engir mennener*, not *engi mennena*, *alt liðet* not *alt liðsens*; and with numerals *æitt skipit* not *æitt skipena*, etc.<sup>45</sup>

The following passage offers several most interesting illustrations: *Olafr hafðe þar skip oc var þar nokcora rið \* \* \* oc er Olafr hafðe þar dvalsc sva langi sem hanum syndizc þa vændir haun a braut þæpen, oc er hann for or aanne ut þa foro sum skipen firir arosanna ut: Ða com marggygren upp oc græip*

<sup>45</sup> The partitive idea is however, present in such cases as the following: *en æigi er mæira aftr komet af liði þvi en ii hundrað manna*, 34; *Sigrið oc Emund sunr hænnar hafði suman luta lannzens*, 5; *Sinum megin sunzens*, 21; *hælming lanz*, 9; *mart manna*, 9; *nokcot af slatre*, 73; *margir kœnnimenn af liði Olafs*.

þegar ætt skipet oc firir for þærri skip soen allre firir konon-  
genom. En annur skipen namo staðar við, oc mællte mennener<sup>49</sup>  
at biða skilldi konongsens. En er Oalfr kom þar oc sa hvat i  
hafðe gorzt þa hellt hann fyst sinn skipi i osenn ut. En þegar  
er hans skip kom i osenn þa kænir margygren þegar upp oc for  
ginande at skipi Olafs. Ða scout Olafr spiote imote haune oc  
misti æigi oc laust hana sva at su hin illa vetr spracc þar. Oc  
var þat giæva Olafs þat sinn um þat fram sein aðrer foro; oc  
sumir menn<sup>50</sup> sægia at hann hægge haund of hænne oc skyti  
hana siðan, 14. Further examples: en langskipet gecc miklu  
mest fra aðrum skipunum, 69;<sup>51</sup> oc haun var tækin oc leiddr  
firir konongenn fyrr miklu en anuor skipen kæme aftir hanum,  
69; Siðan var þat satt a miðian þingvollen, 37; ger sva væl  
hærra at tak þat rað er bazt hæver oc sæmelegast er, oc yðare  
tign byriar oc yðr er mest frame at oc vænst er, oc bazt giægni  
hvarotvæggia rikinn, 43; oc er skipet æit fær æftir hambre  
nokcorom fram þa etc., 53; ec var sættr af faedr minum oc af  
hinum rikazta kononge Knuti moðorbroðr minum ivir ii luti  
Nore, 22; ber hann nu feet (a girdle and a ring) til stangar  
oc vil nu iarlenn hava ii lutina, 4; Gizor slær undan aðrum  
fotenn, 90.

34. In the above we have dealt with the names of objects and place. But just as certain objects or the different places of a locality may be associated with one another in consciousness so the narrative of a succession of events necessarily includes the conception of the time of the action and the successive events. When a particular point in time is specified therefore, that, as being within the larger portion of time included in the events narrated, is already particularized and the word designating the time is put in the definite form. Examples: oc om kvælldet er menn ero bunir til drykciu ser Olafr at etc., 7; Oalfr gerðe sem hann mællte oc kom fyrr um morgonenn en

<sup>49</sup> 'the men present'.

<sup>50</sup> 'some men say, it is the saying of some men' (not those present, = *mennener*).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *giængr nu langskipet miket oc ifra adrum skipum Ærlings*, 69:

*menn vøre a vegom*, 19; (konongr) *var þar um nottenna oc frago at lið var mikit firir þeim*, 34; *en um nottena æftir þa dræymdi Guðbrand at etc.*, 34; *hann var með Ægli um vätrenn, foro utan um sumarit; a eno xiii are rikis Olafs konongs umhaustel kom Þorer hund nordan af Finmork til Noregs*, 69; *um vätrenn æftir for Olafr konongr i Vik æystr oc var þar andværdan vätrenn*, 69; *hann hellt skytning alla xii manaðe oc væitti sinum mannnum, nema þa æina stund er þær hafðuzc við i flocce um sumbrum nokcora stund* (every summer for a while), 48;

35. Gradually the tendency toward definiteness in temporal phrases develops to include other kinds of expressions of time, e. g.: *Olafr konongr let vel ivir þeirra boðe oc viðvare oc var þar annan vatr med þeim i goðo ivirlæte oc mikilli virðing sein vært var. En er a læið a stundena þa sagðe Olafr þeim at hann mindi hæim værða fara til Noreks*, 78. The adverbial *long stunden* of which we have one example in our text calls for a special remark. The occurrence is in Ch. 50: *Þo at Asbiorn have halldet illa paskuhælgina, þa mantu þar igiægn vilia gera, oc er hanum þa æigi long stunden til geven at bæta. Konongr sægir: Mikta læggr þu a við hann; tak þu hann nu i þitt valld þar til er drettens dags hællgr er liðin oc dylsc æigi*, etc. We should here expect *long stund*, as it apparently expresses the indefinite idea of 'a long while;' the adjective moreover is strong in form. Yet the presence of the negative adverb *æigi* modifies also the idea of *long stund*, in that the idea of limited time is introduced, that is a partial individualization. Were it an affirmative sentence we should have to say (*ein*) *long stund*. The degree of individualization which is introduced by the negative *æigi* enables the expression-unit *long stund* to attach to itself the article, which results in the hybrid *long stunden*; this, then, became the fixed form whenever a negative was used with it, and survives in the language today (*lang stunden*, *lang stundi*, def. dial. form).

In the course of time definite expressions of time, as the days of the week, come to be used regularly with the definite article,



barring those formal phrasal combinations which we have discussed in §§20-21 above. For examples, see § 12. Further with indefinite pronoun: *flestan allan dogenn allt til þess er*, etc., 111; *nu öðrum dæginum*,<sup>52</sup> *þa fecc hann dur nokcon oc somnaðe hann*, 109; *nu samna þeir liði þvattdogenn oc um alla nottena*, 51; *nu fær Olafr konongr frett sanna at Knutr enn riki hævir allt sumarit samnat saman.....miklum hærr*, 69.

36. Finally we have the same principle underlying the use of the pleonastic personal pronoun before proper names or common nouns standing for persons already named in the context.<sup>53</sup> Examples: *nu foro þeir konongarner Olafr oc Anundr austr giægnum Aeyrarsund*, 65; *En þau atto dottor Olafr konongr oc Astríð*, 46; *siðan foro sændiboð millum þeirra Garðakonongs oc Syiakonongs*, 45; *Olafr konongr sækir stæmnuna oc hittazc þeir nu namnaner. Röða nu sin amilli*, 45; *þat blotaðu þeir lanz mennener oc þotte þeim þat landvorn mikil*, 14; *eitt sinni er þeir ræddozc við magarner Olafr oc Sigurðr*, 29; *drotningen lykr upp kistu sina, en svæinnenn Olafr var hia staddr*. The last two cases bring us to the appositional construction of an appellative followed by the proper name, as in names of cities, rivers, geographical divisions and titles which last in Old Norse (as elsewhere in Old Gmc.) generally are put after the proper name. Examples: (*koma*) *anne Tæms*, 10; *ut a ana Taems*, 10; *um vatnet Mjors*, 29; *ivir rikit Vikena alla*, 2; *Olafr konongr let miok æfla Kaupstaðenn i Niðarose*, 47; *Sigurð ullstrængr var sunr hans, er staðenn sætte i Niðarose*, 85; *Kaupstaðenn i Þronðhæimi*, 59.

The superlative with the definite noun occurs in: *ec sa stiga standa til himna oc himna upp lukazt oc var ek komenn a æpsta stiget*<sup>54</sup> *er þu vakter mec*, 89; *þat er soct at þa er gnyrenn var mestr at konongrenn læit æigi utar*, etc., 52.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

*The University of Illinois*, March 31, 1910.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *oc varo þar aðra nott* (a second night). *En konongrenn la a bænom sinom um alla nottena* (during the whole night), 73.

<sup>53</sup> or before *aller* as: *oc þar komo þeir aller*, 33.

<sup>54</sup> But noun in indefinite form with adjective inflected weak however *a næsta dægi þegar*, etc., 116 (=modern *næste dagen*).

## THE STORIE OF ASNETH.

AN UNKNOWN MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A LOST  
LATIN VERSION.

The *Storie of Asneth* is one of the many Jewish embroideries upon the concise narrative of Holy Writ. It treats of the life and vision of Asenath, daughter of Potiphar, priest of Heliopolis, who was a maiden pure and proud, despising all men, till she fell under the magic spell of the personality of the great Joseph, "God's strong man." Asenath loved him, the story tells us, at first sight, and grieved so much at his refusal to kiss an idol worshipper that she discarded the gods of Egypt, fasted seven days in sack-cloth and ashes, and at last in a vision was told by an angelic visitor that her sore penance was accepted, and Joseph granted to be her lord. In proof of the truth of the message was performed upon her hand the pretty miracle of the bees of paradise. Her marriage to Joseph followed; and when Pharaoh's son sought to carry her off with the aid of Gad and Dan, Joseph's more truly born brothers, Benjamin, Simeon, and Levi, saved her from danger.

The narrative is an attractive one, as mediaeval legends go, and we can commend that fair and well-born lady's taste who desired her chaplain, or some person of the kind, to translate the Latin of the Story into English. Though he was "dull with dotage," "lame and un lusty," he "meeked him to his mistress," and taking the story, not from its Greek original, but as he found it in a Latin version from which Vincent of Beauvais had abridged it long before for his *Speculum Historiale*, (VI, cxviii—cxxiv), he produced a curious hybrid of poetry, having the sing-a-song-of-sixpence lilt of *Gamelyn*, and the stanzaic form of Chaucer's *Troilus*.

This worthy cleric lived, I suppose, not far from Warwickshire, and not long after the death of Chaucer. He was fam-

iliar with the vocabulary of an earlier age than his own, and had not listened in vain to the passing minstrel. He seems, as we read him between the lines of the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, to have sincerely loved his mistress, and to have regretted her loss with real affection.

The uneven jog of his lines, and the abundance of cumbersome rhyme-tags, hinder our enjoyment of his poem. If we forgive him these faults, we must admit that he gave his lady a not unworthy rendering of his original. What that original was, I give a hint, by printing at the foot of the page the story as it occurs in Vincent of Beauvais. The prayer of Asenath was omitted in that abridgment, along with certain minor details, such as Potiphar's reasonable desire to have his daughter married from his own door; but the phraseology of the *Speculum* is elsewhere reproduced by the English writer with such exact fidelity, that, except for the suppressions above noted, we must consider the Vincentian narrative an accurate copy of the earlier Latin text. Of this *Historia Assenech*, as Vincent calls his authority, I know no copy in existence; and leave the question to those more familiar than myself with the history of Hebrew literature.

The *Storie of Asneth* exists, so far as I know, only in the volume known as the Ellesmere MS. No. 4, folios 121a—132a. The MS. contains Lydgate's *Wikked Tong*, *Ram's Horn*, *So as the Crabbe*, and *Daunce of Machabree*, and Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, all very good texts of the first half of the fifteenth century. In a different hand, though of not much later date, occurs our poem. The writing is penned with monastic care, the letters small and clear, and the abbreviations scrupulously marked. The "þ" is made like "y", and the "n" like "u", while "G" is very like "S". The divisions of the tale are marked by letters illuminated in a ribbon design, not ill drawn. The vellum is marked with a plummet for writing, 43 lines to the page, enclosed by vertical and horizontal lines the full way of the page. The quires of the small quarto are unmarked for the binder, or if marked originally, have been

clipped. The catalogue of Lord Ellesmere's collection at Bridgewater House, soon to be published, will contain a more complete description of the MS. than here needs to be given. I am indebted to the librarian at Bridgewater House, Mr. Strachan Holme, for his kindness in arranging, after permission had been obtained from the Earl of Ellesmere, for the photographing of the MS.

My text is copied from these photographs, such alterations as I make being chiefly insertions necessary to the sense of the line, and clearly indicated. The exact MS. reading is given in such cases in footnotes. I have in half-a-dozen instances supplied translations of rare words. The numerous archaic words in the poet's dialect make one suspect in him an intentional affectation of an obsolete style.

For a bibliography of the four-text edition of the Greek original, and the Syriac, Ethiopic, Slavic, and Armenian translations, one may consult the excellent article by the Rabbi of Temple Beth-El, Dr. Kohler Kaufman, in the Jewish Encyclopedia, under *Asenath*. Dr. Kaufman points out the pronouncedly Christian character of the cross upon the honey, and the reference to bread of life. He gives an admirable summary of the story, too long to quote here. Most important for this paper, however, are his translations from the original of Asenath's prayer, which show that the English translator followed his lost Latin original at that point with the same fidelity observable in the passages covered by Vincent's version.

The heroine's name is in the original Greek "*Ασνεθ*", from a Hebrew *Asenath*. Thus the English version has a nearer resemblance to the original than Vincent's *Assenech*.

## THE STORY OF ASNETH.

### PROLOGUE.

As I on hilly halkes logged me late,  
Beside ny of a ladi sone was I war;  
La bele me desired in englysh to translate



The latyn of that lady, Asneth putifar.

- 5 And I answered, "ma bele, langage I lakke,  
To parfourme youre plesir, for yt ys ful straunge  
That broken tuskes shold wel harde nuttis crakke,  
And kerue out the kernelis, to glade *with* yowre *grau*nge;  
For lame and vnlusty, now age hath me left,
- 10 Mi spiritis are spended, I lakke sapience,  
Dulled I am with dotage, my reson ys me reft,  
Prived and departed from al eloquence,  
So my seson ys passed with language to iape.  
Hit ys not fetis for to see a cowe in a cage
- 15 Ye' desire to make a fool of my lordis ape.

<sup>1</sup>MS. The.

- He plesed neuer lady wel þat lakked corage,  
For as þe oule ys vn able to blase þe sunne bemys,  
So ys þe moselyng molle to iaile þe rede rose,  
And as able ys þe asse to danielis dremys,
- 20 As þe kukkou *with* crochētis ony countour to close."  
And when daunger deynusly here desire refused,  
Labele ful benignely sayde to me þan,  
"That seruant ys not to blame, but fully excused,  
That meketh hym to his maystresse, & doth as he can."
- 25 Concluded þus with gentilnesse, I toke on me þe cure,  
Asneth storie to *translate* after my cunyng,  
Fro latyn into englysh as god me sendeth ooure.  
Gyde þis werke, gracious lord, and graunte it good endyng,  
Utterali the latyn in englysh to transpose,
- 30 Hit is nuyus, but þe sentence I schal sue *in trace*,  
And yf ye fynde fautes, grave hem *with* yowr glose,  
I *pray* þow thus, my maystresse, of yowre good *grace*.

### THE STORY.

- Pharao the famus kyng of egipt land aboute,  
The firste yeer of seven yeeris of plentevus abundance,
- 35 The fifthe day, in þe secunde monthe, he sende Ioseph oute

To purveie wete for þe peple of his obeisance;  
 And in the ferthe monthe, þe eyhtethe day, to make pur-  
 veance

Ioseph cam into þe cuntre of helinpoleos,  
 And gadered whete of that region, nobeli sprang his loos.

- 40 And in þat cite þere was a prince of Pharao the kynges,  
 That was wondir noble and riche, and of gret prudence,  
 Sad of conseyl, meke, and wise, in alle maner thyngys;  
 Chief counseilour to Pharao for his intelligence.  
 Above alle princes he was preferred for his excellence;  
 45 Of Helinpoleos preest, Putifar, so men did hym calle,  
 Honoured in alle egipt of gret and of smalle.

- This prince hadde a dowter dere, Asneth was her name,  
 A virgine ful specious and semely of stature,  
 Of eyhtene yeer age sche was, withoute ony blame,  
 50 Florishyng in here beaute, the most comely creature  
 Of egipt, and alle virgines sche passed in feture.  
 Not lyke the dowhtres of egipt in here resemblance,  
 But assemblyng the hebrees in colour and countenance.

Vincenti Bellovacensis Speculum Historiale ex Libro vjto., capitulis exviii-ccxliii.

cxviii. *De sublimacione eiusdem (Iosephi) et arrogancia Assenech.* Joseph xxx annorum erat cum stetit coram pharaone somnoque eius exposito, sublimatus & dux egipti constitutus .s. anno iacob exxi, ut postea potebit ac pro hoc anno tercię etatis .ccxxxvi. mundi uero secundimillesimo .cc. et .xxix. Dedit autem ei pharao uxorem assenech filiam putifar uirginem ex qua nati sunt ei filii manasses & effraim. Inter hec autem apis rex argiuorum in egipto menphin condidit. *Ex historia Assenech.* In primo autem anno .vii. annorum pubertatis misit pharao ioseph ut congregaret frumenta, qui uenit in fines elyopoleos, cuius regionis princeps erat putifar sacerdos princeps satraporum, & consiliarius pharaonis huius filia erat assenech pulchra super omnes uirgines terre per omnia similis filiabus hebreorum. elata & superba. despicieus omnes virorum quam etiam nullus unquam uiderat uirorum. Erat enim turris coniuncta domni putifar magni

- Of stature semeli as sair, specious as rebekke,  
 55 Fair formed of feturis, assemblyng to rachel.  
 Her cors was ful comely of hue, hed & nekke.  
 Cumfortable, of cuntenance, hit becam here wel;  
 Of here souerain beaute al egipt gan tel,  
 And praysed here in alle þat lande, so noble was here fame,  
 60 That bataile among princes children was ioyned for þat  
 dame.

- But when þat pharaois eldist child, his sone & his heir,  
 Herde telle of this ladi, to his fadir he wente right,  
 And said, "*graunte* me to my wyf *asneth* the feyr."  
 But pharao denied hym, and answered to the knyght,  
 65 "Thu schalt haue to þin astate a ladi of more myght,  
 The kyngis dowter of moab, of noble alliance,  
 A comeli quene, fair and free, evene to þi plesance."

- But *asneth*, þat was so feir, soleyne she was with al,  
 Dispyssyng eche man deynusly, and prowde of here corage.  
 70 A ful high tour was bild for here, of werk þat was rial,  
 Ioynyng to hire fadir hous, and aboue it vpon stage  
 Ten chambres for here wer bild, of precious parage.  
 The firste was fair and large, with porfereit stonis walled,  
 Poudred with precious polimites, of diuerse colours called.  
 75 With carpettis of cloth of gold hit was laid abowte,  
 And in the wallis here egipt godis sette in sundry wyse,  
 Wrouht of goold & siluer wel, of hem sche had gret doute,  
 For eueri day to the same sche dide sacrifice.

& excelsa. super quam erat cenaculum, habens Thalamos x. quorum primus magnus & decorus lapidibus porfireticis stratus. parietes lapidibus preciosis induti loquearia aurea & erant intus egipciorum (decorum) aurei & argentei quos colebat assenech & timebat & quotidie eis immolabat. Secundus Thalamus seruabat ornatus assenech in auro & argento & lapidibus et lintheaminibus preciosis. Intercio Thalamo erant omnia bona terre erat enim promptuarium assenech. reliquae vii.vii. uirginum erant quae illi seruiebant pulcre uirgines quibus locutus non erat uir. neque puer masculus. In Thalamo assenech erant tres fenestre. prima magna ualde perspicuens ad orientem.

In the secunde chamber was here atire, of ful riche assise,  
 80 Goold, siluer, *precious stonis*, and garnementis gaye,  
 Schetis of silk, and robis fyne, of ful riche araye.

The thridde chamber was for stoor stuffed as ye shul here  
 Of alle goodis *þat* growe on erthe, to mannys sustinance,  
 The seuen chambiris<sup>1</sup> remenant were ordeyned on þis  
*manere*.

85 For seven maidenys, *þat* lowly serued here *with* plesance,  
 T[h]ise were here egipt eveneldis, to here daliance,  
 Fair of face, bright of ble, as sterre in *þe* firmament,  
 With man ne manl[i]child speke þei, in no *manere* entent.

In the chief chambir of asneth *þer* were wyndowys three;<sup>2</sup>  
 90 The firste retarding to the est, the secunde was south<sup>3</sup>  
 right,  
 T[h]e thirde lay north upon *þe* strete, in swyche *manere*  
 degre

That of alle that passed by, sche mihte haue a syght.  
 In this chamir a bed was raid, of goold and purpur bright;  
 Context it was *with* iacynth and purpur bise *with* all:  
 95 Alone lay asneth in this bed, that riche was and riall.

A gret halle was bild abowte, *with* wallis wonder hie,  
 With foure yren gatis spered faste and stronge;  
 And kepte *with* eyhtene men of armes, harneised surely.  
 Yet *þer* were planted inside *þe* halle<sup>4</sup> trees faire behonge,

<sup>1</sup> chambir was *sic* MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. there.

<sup>3</sup> sought MS.

<sup>4</sup> Here the scribe copied at first the second line below but erased and corrected his error.

secunda ad meridiem. tertia ad aquilonem. erat ibi lectus aurens stratus peplis purpureis. auro tetis ex iacincto & purpura & bysso. in quo dormiebat assenech sola. & uir nunquam sederat super illum & erat atrium magnum in circuitu domus. cuius paries excelsus ualde. lapidibus quadratis erat constructus. in quo atrio erant quatuor porte



- 100 With frutes þat were delectable, and fair leues among,  
And a cundite beside þe halle, þat ran as cristall clere,  
That moisted the trees lustily, and diðe to hem gret chere.  
The fame of gentil ioseph sprang grefly, and aroos  
To alle þe lordis of egipt land, with gret reuerence;  
105 And when he was come into þe cuntre of helinpoleos,  
He sende xii wyse to putiphar preest, seiynge in sentence,  
“Greteth the wel oure sire ioseph, and noteth yn aduertence,  
To dyner at midday to thi hous, he cometh for his cumfort,  
In the shade fro the sunne, to take þere his disport.”  
110 And putifar, plesed plesantly, sayd with wise ioiynge,  
“Blessed be the lord god of Ioseph, þat my noble sire  
Ys comyng toward my hous, to me yt is plesyng.”  
He called þe prevost of ys hous, & sayd, “I the require,  
Make redi a grete feste, and most deynteus to desire,  
115 And gouerne it goodly, I the charge, in þi beste aray,  
For ioseph þe strong man of god schal come to vs this day.”

- Then herde asneth þat her fadir & her modir bothe  
Wer come in heruest fro the feeld of here heritage  
And sayde, “with ioie I schal go, and se hem forsothe;”  
120 And hasted here forth busily, agayns hem in passage,  
Clothed comely in bright byse<sup>5</sup>, lykyng to her lynage,  
And wrought with goold of iacint, a girdel of goold þer to,  
With armillis<sup>6</sup> aboute here handis, and here feet also.

- A bie<sup>7</sup> of bright burned goold aboute here nekke was bent  
125 Pyght ful of precieuse stonys, & graue in were all  
The Idolis namys of egipt, plesant to here entent,

<sup>5</sup> From O.F. *byssum*, a kind of fine linen.

<sup>6</sup> From O.F. *armilles*, bracelets.

<sup>7</sup> From O.F. *buie*, chain.

ferree quas custodiebant simul xviii uiri fortissimi iuuenes armati.  
erat in dextra parte atrii fons aque uiuentis & deorsum fontis cisterna  
suspiciens eius aquam. et irrigans omnes arbores in atrio plantatas.  
que pulcre erant et fructiferi. erat autem assenech magna ut sara  
speciosa ut rebecca, formosa ut rachel.

- And aboue here hed was sett a riche coronall,  
 That constreyned here fair frount, *þat* was so virginall,  
 Here hed was couered with terestre, & went forth with  
 plesance  
 130 And haileed here fadir & here modir, with comely cunte-  
 nance.

- Ful curteysly sche kyste hem, and [*þei*] gretly gan ioye,  
 To se here doughter so honestly, in riche ornature.  
 The deyntevus frutes of *þe* feld, to here *þei* dide emploie,  
 That delicious were<sup>8</sup> and delectable, & noble in nature.  
 135 *Þe* mayde reioysed of the frutes, *þat* were ful mature,  
 Of figes, dates, pomgarnettes, & of grapes grete,  
 Of doue briddes, and thir frutes, *þat* sauery were & swete.

- And putifar sayde to asneth, "The closett dore *þe* shitte."  
 She did so, and he here kiste, and saide, "my dowter dere,  
 140 Novellis nowe I schall the telle, tend now to my witte,  
 The myhty man, ioseph, of god, *þis* day wil<sup>9</sup> be here,  
 And he ys *gouernour* to saue egipt, by pharao saunz pere,  
 A maide clene as ye be, so virgine he ys speciall;  
 I schal marie yow to hym, & make yow his conthorall."

- 145 And when asneth had herd here fadir *þise* wordis reherse,  
 With straunge yes on hym she loked, here colour gon dis-  
 teyne,  
 And seide to hym, "why seie ye thus, my worship to  
 reuerse,  
 To take me caytyf to a *straunger*? of hym I haue disdeyne,

<sup>8</sup> vere sic MS.

<sup>9</sup> wel MS.

cxix. De hoc quod ioseph de cultura ydolorum redarguit. Misit ergo ioseph ad putifarem nuncium quod uellet diuertere ad domum eius. et gauisus est putifar. et dixit filie sue quod ueniret ioseph fortis dei et uellet eam illi tradere uxorem. Que indignata respondit. se nolle dari uiro captivo. sive filio regis. illis autem loquentibus uenit qui diceret ioseph adesce. & fugit assenech in cenaculum sursam. et

A futif he ys, by bargayn bouht, & more I say yow pleine,  
 150 That herdis son of chanan his lady wold haue fuyled,  
 In prison therefore he was put, & all worshyp spuyled.

“And after yt happid þat pharao, as he lay in slepe,  
 Dreyht<sup>10</sup> was dered in his dremys, diuersely dremyng,  
 And then this ioseph was take out of the prison depe,  
 155 To rede hym right the redeles of his sweuenyng.  
 The olde wyfis of egipt han craft in þat cunnyng,  
 And þerfore þat dreme redere I vtterly forsake,  
 And take me to the kyngis sone, my marie & my make.”<sup>11</sup>

And as putifar with his douhter stood þus talkyng,  
 160 There come on of his meyne, and þus to hym saide,  
 “Ioseph ys come to youre gatis, I do yow to wytyng.”  
 Anf when he spak of ioseph, anon asneth the mayde  
 Ascended to here cenacle, to the wyndow sche here braide,  
 Pat lay estward in the chambir of here statly tour,—  
 165 To se ioseph, for hir fadir of hym spak gret honour.

And putifar went forth with his wyf & with his kynrede,  
 To mete with ioseph, þat gentil Iuge, as man þat was sage;  
 He commaunded þe porteris sone þe gatis up to sprede,  
 And in entred Ioseph þanne, upon þat terrage,  
 170 Standyng on pharaos secunde chare, statli opon stage,  
 With foure stronge stoute stedis, þer inne were drawyng,  
 That were white as the snow, and prowde of here likyng.

<sup>10</sup> Past part. fr. A.S. *dreccan*, oppressed (?).

<sup>11</sup> MS. take.

uenit ioseph sedens in curru. secundo. pharaonis qui erat totus aurens quem trahebat quatuor equi albi sicut niu. frenis deauratis & erat ioseph indutus tunica candida splendidissima. & palleo purpureo et auro texto. et corona aurea super caput eius. et in circuitu corone erant xii. lapides electi. super quos erant .xii. astra aureo et uirga regia in manu et ramus oliue fructu pinguisimo & uenerunt putifar & uxor eius in occursum eius & adorauerunt eum. & intrauit ioseph in atrium

þe briddes were fineli gild, the trais of noble atire,  
 Ioseph clothed was al in white, couered *with* *purpure* palle,  
 175 Wrought *with* branches of bright byse, contextit *with* goold  
 wire,

A coroune of goold on his heed, þat riche was and rialle,  
 And in þe cercle þerof were sette twelf stonis imperialle,  
 And aboue the saide stonis, twelf sterris of goold pure,  
 With a sceptir in his hand, that noble was *in* nature.

180 A braunche *with* beries of oliue tree, in hand he bar *with*  
 alle,

Ful plenteus it was of frut, þerin was gret fatnesse;  
 Then entered Ioseph In at the gatis, & cam in to þe halle,  
 And þe peple was voided sone, *with* gret busynesse;  
 The porteris shitte þe gatis faste, *with* moche hastynesse,  
 185 And putifar, his wyf, and his kynred, *with* worthi gouer-  
 nance,

Except asneth, honoured ioseph *with* obeisaunce.

Ioseph descended of his chaar, glorious to beholde,  
 And tok hem on his right syde, thankyng *in* noble wyse.  
 Grett ioye there was mad, among yong & olde,

190 Save when asneth saw ioseph, here sorwe gan arise,  
 Here spirites failed, here bodi trembled, his noblei to dis-  
 pise,

“Alas,” sche saide, “I haue misdo, dispisyng þis nobil man,  
 When I called hym herdis sone of the land of chanan.”

“And nowe he cometh, as the sunne fro heuen *with* his  
 bemys,

195 Radiant richeli in his chaar, *with* glorious excellence,

& clausa sunt ostia atrii & uidit assenech ioseph & conturbata est  
 super sermone quem dixerat de eo. & dixit. Ecce sol uenit de celo  
 ad nos in curru suo. nesciebans quod ioseph filius dei erat. Quis  
 enim hominum tantam potuit generare pulcritudinem. aut quis uentus  
 mulieris tantum portare lumen. & intrauit ioseph in domum putifar  
 & lauerit pedes eius & ait ioseph. que est mulier illo que erat in



Passyng peerles and plesant, in gouer[n] yng of remys,  
 With beaute bounte he is braced, & grace of influence,  
 Allas! that euer I dispised hym, or made hym resistance,  
 Godis sone, I wot, is ful noble of alliance,  
 200 And the saueour of al egipt, withoute variance.

“Who was euer gete of a man, so fair, so fresh of face?  
 Or what womman myghte conceive, & bere so moche light?  
 Of most wrecched now I am, forfeded I haue hys grace,  
 When I dispurned hym to my fadir, with wordis unright.  
 205 Now wyl I hide me fro his face, and kepe fro his sight,  
 And yet nothyng fro hym ys hid, he hath so gret cunningge,  
 But mercy, gret god of ioseph, of my missayngge!

“I wolde my fadir wolde me gife to ioseph in seruice,  
 For euer þerto I wolde assente, to be his owen seruant.”  
 210 By that had ioseph wasshe his feet, & in noble wyse  
 A boord was laid for hym apart, þat was to hym plesant,  
 For with þe eqiptianis in etyng he was not conuersant,  
 But escheued heem in here metis, and of hem had drede,  
 And after he spak to putifar, thus, and to his kynrede,—

215 “What womman was sche þat, that in þe wyndow stod  
 Of þe cenacle, as I cam In? sche ys ageyns my herte,  
 Remeveth here sone out of þis hous, for marryng of my  
 mod.”

For ioseph dred wanton wymmen, þe good man to peruerte,  
 þerfore he saide, “haue her out that I may be querte.”  
 220 For he was chast & virgine pure, & clene in continence,  
 Dredyng with fere the infeccion of femenyng insolence.

cenaculo ad fenestram abeat nunc de domo ista timebat enim ne  
 molesta esset illi sicut omnes alie que certatim mittebant nuncios  
 amoris ei cum muneribus diuersi generis.

Quos periciebat cum indignacione & iniuria & ait putifar. Domine  
 filia mea est uirgo & odit homines omnes uirorum quem unquam  
 uidit uir nisi ego & tu hodie. siuis ueniat & salutet te. Cogitans ergo

And for as moche as þe doltirs of þe dukys grete  
 of egipt wowed him ofte tyme, to wanton wikkednesse,  
 þerfore he fledde here felawship, and ofte tyme did hem  
 þrete,

- 225 Tho voyde hem fro þe presence of his pure clenness;   
 Alle faire femelis of egipt he had in heuynesse,  
 For þei desired to slepe with hym, he was so amiable,  
 But he dispised hem and here menis, in clenness he was  
 stable,

- Ant saide, "in þe sight of gret god, of my fadir israel,  
 230 I wyl not synne in no wyse, but haue in remembrance  
 The commaundementis of my fadir, and euer kepe hem wel;  
 For he bad me and my bretheren, with oute variaunce,  
 To kepe vs clene fro wymmen of straunge alliance,  
 And saide, þat here felawship wold man with deth destruye,  
 235 þerfore haue out þe straunge womman, nothyng þat sche  
 me nuye."

Then seyde putifar þus, "my lord, þe womman þat ye saw  
 stande

- Ys non alien, but of her Inne, and howre dowhter dere,  
 Hatyng þe cumpanie of alle men; & more I take an hande,  
 Sche ys virgine pure and clene, þerfore I pray yow here,  
 240 That sche may come to yowr presence, & haile yow with  
 good chere."

And ioseph, gretly ioied, þen, for þat putifar saide  
 þat sche loued no man fles[h]ly, but lyued a clene maide,

- "þat sche ys a maide," quod ioseph, "I loue here the more,  
 And as myn own sister, ful wel sche pleseth me;  
 245 Lett here come anon to me." here modir went here fore,

ioseph quod si odiebat omnem uirorum numquam ei importuna esset  
 .ait patri eius. si uirgo est filia uestra diligo eam sic sororem meam.  
 et ascendit mater eius ut adducaret quam statuit in conspectu ioseph,  
 & ait pater eius. Saluta fratrem tuum qui odit omnes mulieres  
 alienigenas sicut tu omnes uiros. & ait assenech. aue benedicto a deo  
 excelso. benedicat te deus qui uiuificat omnia. & dixit putifar filie sue

And brouhte here to his *presence*, þat maide fair & fre,  
Here fadir saide to here, ful sone, "dowhter, I charge the  
Salu þi brother, a maide as þow, of dede & *purpos* pure,  
Hatyng alienes & vnclene wymmen, as þu in thi nature."

250 Then asneth, nurshid nobely, on knes fair hym grette,  
And said, "hail lord, blessed of god, hie heuene kyng."  
And ioseph answered, gentilly, hys wordis to her he sette,  
"Blisse þe maide þe grete god, þat quikketh al thyng."  
þan said þe fadir, "go kis þi brother, dowhter, on my  
blessyng."

255 And asneth wente to kysse hym, after here fadir hestis,  
But ioseph streight his right hand out, & layd yt on here  
brestis.

And sayd, "sothly, unsemyng and unsittyng hit ys,  
To the man þat schulde serue god, and with his mouth hym  
blesse,

And ete the blessed brede of lyue, and drinke of his chalis,  
260 Ony womman alien, or *straunger* for to kesse,  
þat blysse mamettis with here mouth, & idolis in liknesse,  
That are bothe dumbe and dede, & ete brede of here bord,  
Ony swych womman for to kysse, hit lyketh not god my  
lord.

"But the man þat worshipeth god his modir kysse he schal  
265 Hys sister, his wyf, & his kyndrede, & make hem god  
chere."<sup>12</sup> . . . . .

Ioseph sayd, "I wil departe upon þis same day,  
For in þis day god bygan alle his creature,

<sup>12</sup> No break in the MS.

ut oscularetur ioseph quod cum illa uellet facere extendit ioseph  
manum suam & posuit ad pectus eius dicens. non decet uirum colentem  
deum uiuentem & manducantem panem uite. & calicem incorruptionis  
bibentem osculari mulierem alienigenam. osculantem ore suo ydola  
surda & muta, et manducantem a mensa eorum panem anchonis &  
bibentem de spondis eorum, calicem anedras, calicem occultum. &  
unguentem se oleo inscrutabili.

And herè after eyhte dayes, sothly as I þe say,  
 I schal retourne, and dwelle here, & perto do my cure.”  
 270 Putifar thanne, and his kynrede, *with* humblesse of nurture,

Toke at hym his bien aille, *with* ful gentil langage,  
 And so dide Ioseph at hym, & toke forth his viage.

And asneth abood, soul, alone, *with* seuen virgines clene,  
 & greued *with* sorwe, sche wepte sore, to the sunne siled<sup>13</sup>  
 west,

275 Bred ne water wolde sche noon, by no maner mene.  
 When nyht cam, alle þei slepte, & wente to here rest  
 Saue asneth, wakyng allone, lay knockyng nere brest.  
 For sche hadde take ful gret drede, & shok *with* tremblyng,  
 Sche was constreyned so *with* sorwe, þat caused here  
 mourning.

280 & then sche roos fro here bed, & cam fro her chamber doun,  
 The gatis wher portere & his men slepte sure,  
 And to wyndowe faste by sche busked here ful boun,  
 & there sche drow out a large skyn for here couuerture,  
 And filde þe skyn ful of askes, and after by aventure  
 285 Sche ascended in to here chamber, the doris fast barryng,  
 And lay doun on the pavement, and syhed *with* waylyng.

A virgine, þat asneth loued most, herde of here sobbyng,  
 Alle sixe virgines here felawys anon sche gan up rere,  
 þei wente to the chambir dore, & herde here syhyng,  
 290 þei founde the dore lokked faste, þei myhte hit not vnsperre;  
 Wefore þei cried *with* vois echon, & callid on here there,  
<sup>13</sup> *silen*, glide.

CXX DE PENITENCIA ASSENECH ET CONSOLACIONE  
 ANGELICA.

Avidiens assenech uerba ioseph contristata est ualde. et plorauit.  
 et miseratus est ioseph et posuit manum super caput eius et benedixit eam. & gauisa est assenech in benedictione et misit se super



And sayde, "madame what ailes you, and ys your  
nuysance?"

Asneth opened not here dore, but sayde in þis wyse,  
"Mi heed yt aketh" grevously, on bed þerfore I lye,  
295 I am so sik in al my membris, þat I may not rise,  
To open the dore goth fro me; to *your* chambres you hie."  
þei passed forth as sche bade, and ansneth (*sic*) privelye  
Com to þe chamber where here robis pressed were well,  
And drow to here a blacke robe, a cloth of sorwe & deell.

300 That schee had mad for þe deth of here yungger brother;  
With þis cloth into here chamber sche returned sone,  
And schytte the dore with barre & bolt, at trauers upon  
othir,  
& in haste dide of here robe, with ful moche mone,  
(þe riall was with bise & goold ful *preciously* bygone,)  
305 And so sche did here ceynte of goold, þat riche was of  
valour,  
And did on her þe blake robe, þe vesture of dolour.

þe coronall þat couered her hed, in the pavement sche yt  
laide;  
Here byes als and bracelettes of riche orfeoure,  
& in the north part of the chamber to a wyndow sche  
brayde,  
310 And threw hem out by & by, þat noble were of feiture,  
Here garmentis of goold, and girdelis of gay garnetture,  
And alle here godis of goold & siluer, sche tok hem *in* haste,  
With alle þe idolis of egipt, at the wyndow out sche caste.

"asketh aketh MS.

lectum suum et infirmitata est pro timore et gaudia. et egit penitencias  
a diis quos colebat et abrenunciavit eis. Et manducauit ioseph et bibit.  
et cum uellet recedere uoluit eum putifar retinere una die et non  
posuit. sic recessit ioseph promittens se .viii. die reuersurum et  
accepit assenech tunicam nigram. quod erat indumentum tristicie eius  
quam mortuus erat frater eius minor. et clauso super se ostio fleuit

Sche tok here souper araid fore here of wyld foul & fisshes,  
 315 þe carcais als of fatte calfis, and of oþer sacrifice,  
 þe vesselis for wyne of sacrifice, toupes, cuppis, disshes,  
 Cast hem out to straungers houndis, and so did hem dispise  
 And sayde, "alas how schod my houndis ete in ony wyse,  
 Of this souper of sacrifice, of fals maumetrie?  
 320 I take yt þerfore to straungers houndis, & forsake al ydol-  
 atrie."

And after asneth askes tok, & strewed hem in and oute  
 Upon the pauement, & bond her lendis<sup>15</sup> with saccloth for  
 penance,  
 And did an heue<sup>16</sup> upon here bodi, & bette here breste  
 aboute  
 With bothe handis, & wepte sore for here ignorance,  
 325 & laide here doun upon þe askes, with teres of repentance,  
 Sobbyn sore with moche sorwe, sett on euery side,  
 Al the nyth contynuyng so, til þe morwe tyde.

In the mornynge when she roos, with fen sche was fuyled,  
 þat with þe teris and askis were medled so in same,  
 330 Sche fil agayn flatt on here face, here body so sche spuyled,  
 And lay þere til hit was nyht, asneth<sup>17</sup> by here name.  
 So sche meked here by seuen daies, þat noble worthi dame,  
 þe eyhte day þe cokkys crew, þe day bygan to sprynge,  
 The mayde a lytel lefted up here heed, ful faynt of fastynge.

335 Aftir she roos on here knees, feble sche was and feynt,

<sup>15</sup> Loins.

<sup>16</sup> Hive?

<sup>17</sup> ansneth sic MS.

et proiecit omnia idola sua per fenestram que respiciebat ad aquilonem  
 et omnem cenam suam regiam proiecit canibus. et posuit cineres super  
 caput suum et super pauimentum, et fleuit amare per .vii. dies et viii.  
 die dluulo galli cantauerunt et canes latrauerunt et prospiciens  
 assenech per fenestram que respiciebat ad orientem uidit. et ecce stella  
 lucifer. et prope eam fissum est celum. et apparuit lux magna. et  
 uidens assenech cecidit in faciem suam super cineres. et ecce uir  
 descendens de celo stetit super caput assenech. et uocauit eam ex

And lifte up here heed a lite, & syhed wondir sore;  
 The maide was meked, & made megre, & with sorwe atteynt  
 To a wyndow *pat* lay estwarde sche dressed here *perfore*,  
 & sette here down undir yt, and saide, "ha lord thyn ore!  
 340 What schal I do? were may I go? were schal I haue refute?  
 Desolate maide *in* deserte, of cumfort destitute.

Mi fadir, my modir, & my kyn, *pei* wel me haue in hate,  
 For I haue disparplid al her goodis, & cast hem vnderfote,  
 And forsake me for here douhter, & with me debate,  
 345 Who may deliuiere fro *pis* daunger, my balis who may bote?  
 Yett more ouer in my mynde, with sorwe I mark & note,  
*pat* al my louers *pat* me wowed, I hated in alle uyse,  
 Now may *pei* glade on my myschief, & utterly me dispise.

"But *pe* heyhe lord god of ioseph, almyghti in his trone,  
 350 He ys Ielous upon his peple, hatyng al idolatrie,  
*perfore*, dredful lord, to *pe*, now make I my mone,  
 For I haue worshiped fals godis, & mortal mamettrie,  
 Of here sacrifices I have ete; *mercy perfore* I crie,  
 For the lord god of hebreis ys trewe & *mercyable*,  
 355 Long abydyng, mylde and meke, on hem *pat* be unstable.

"He repreueth no *maner* man, that turneth hym with  
 penance,  
*perfore* I wil *returne* to hym, & fro me synne chace,  
 I wil forsake al my synnes, and after to his plesance,  
 Yete<sup>18</sup> out my *praieres* in his siht, & to his loue me brace,  
 360 And yf *pat* I be repentant, he wil tak me to grace,  
 For he is *protectour*, and *defendour*, of fadirles children-  
 alle,  
*perfore* to his grete *mercy* I shall clepe & calle."

<sup>18</sup> Sic MS.

nomine, que pro timore non respondit. et uocauit eam secundo assenech  
 assenech. que respondit ecce ego domine. quis es. annuncia michi.  
 Qui ait. ego princeps domini dei. et princeps exercitus domini. surge  
 et sta super pedes tuos et loquar ad te. at leuauit assenech caput.  
 et ecce uir per omnia similis ioseph. stola et corona et uirga regia  
 cuius uultus sicut fulgar. et oculi eius sicut radii solis. capilli

And þan sche roos out of the place, þer sche satt & stood,  
 To þe wyndows, þat to þe est parties hadde here regard;  
 365 And saide, "lord god of al rightful, þat madest land &  
 flood,

That inspirest al wysdam in hertis þat ben hard,  
 And makyst þynggis inuisible apparent afterward,  
 þat hast enhanced heuen an high & stablyd yt aboute the  
 wyndes,

& foundid land upon þe wateris, as creatour<sup>19</sup> to al kyndes,

370 "That hast made þe stonis grete, & wateris of hyght  
 depnesse,

Conseruyng kyndly þi priaptis,<sup>20</sup> and to þi vois obeisant,  
 þei wyl nawt offende þi maundementis, for in sekirnesse  
 To al lyuyng creatures þi word ys lyf plesant,  
 þerfore I flute,<sup>21</sup> lord, to þe, thyn humble suppliant,

375 Crying to þe with my prayer, in thyn hihe presence,  
 Confessyng to the, my grete synnes, & schewe þe my offence.

"Synnyng, lord, I haue synned, ful gretly in þi syght,  
 & worsheped idolis & maumettis agayns þi mageste,  
 þerfore to open my mouth to þe, unworthy I am by right,

380 O lord god, summe tyme I was a proud la[d]y of degre,  
 Preferrid in richnesse aboue alle oþer, in worship gret plente  
 I hadde, but ful desolate and destitute I am forsake,  
 Werefore, lord, I fle to the, to þi mercy I me betake.

<sup>19</sup> MS. creature.

<sup>20</sup> From Latin *praeapto*.

<sup>21</sup> From *fluten*, flit.

capitis ut flamma ignis et uidens assenech timore percussa cecidit in  
 faciem suam. quam confortans angelus et eleuans ait. depone cilicium  
 istud nigrum quo induta es. et cinctorium tristicie tue. saccunde lumbis  
 tuis. et excute cineres de capite tuo. et laua faciem tuam. et manus  
 tuas aquo uiuente et orna te ornamentis tuis et loquar ad te. que  
 cum ornasset se festinanter rediit ad angelum. cui angelus. denuda  
 caput tuum a tristro quam uirgo es. confortare et gaude assenech uirgo.  
 quum nomen tuum scriptum est in libro uiuencium et non deletur  
 in eternum ecce ab hodierna die renouata es et uiuificata. et man-



“And as þe infaunt, þat sothly soketh his modir breste,  
 385 For drede fleeth to the fadyr, to haue of hym socour,  
 So, lord, I sprede out my handis, to þe ys al my treste,  
 Take me, lord, & calle me to the, & helpe me *with* þi fauour,  
 For þe dwell, þat wod lyoun, will rauesshe me with errour,  
 For he is fadir of fals godis of al egipt lande,  
 390 But I haue cast hem fro me, & destroyed hem *with* my  
 hand.

Deliuere me, lord, fro his powere & fro his mouth me  
 drawe,  
 Lest on happe he rauesshe me ant sle me, þat grett whale,  
 That ys acursyd eternally, by the sentence of þi lawe.  
 Receyue me, lord, for fadir & modir refuse me *with* bale,  
 395 And seyn, ‘asneth is not our douhter,’ to grete & to smale,  
 ‘For sche hath destroyed our godis of goold, & gyfe hem in  
 conculcacioun,  
 To alle men passyng by þe way in gret abhominacioun.’

“Wherefore I fle to þe, my god, þat art of myhtes most,  
 Deliuere me, & spare me, lord, I haue synned by ignorance.  
 400 When I called thi child ioseph, in dispite *with* my goost,  
 The heerdys sone of chanan, in *pride* of my bobaunce;  
 And now he is aboue alle men, withoute variaunce,  
 For he þe knoweth for on god, veray lord and trewe,  
*perforeþu* hast gyfe wytt to hym, wisdom & vertue.

405 “Now, good lord, take me to hym to be his hand maide,  
 And I schal wassche louly hys feet, subdue me to his  
 seruage,  
 Lernyng þe knowlych of veray god;” & when sche þus  
 had said,

ducabis panem benedictionis et potum bibes incorruptionis que ungeris  
 crismate secundo. Ecce dedi te hodie sponsam ioseph et nomen tuum  
 non uocabitur amplius assenech sed multi refuggi. nam penitencia  
 exorauit pro te altissimum que est filia altissimi. uirgo hylaris ridens  
 super et modesta. Cumque quereretur assenech ab angelo nomen eius.  
 respondit nomen meum scriptum est digito dei in libro altissimi. et

The sterre lucifer in þe est shewed his visage,  
 And þerof asneth was ful glad, & seide in here langage,  
 410 "Trowest not god hath my prayer herd, þe messenger lo of  
 lyht  
 Is rise up!" & sodeynly sche saw a selcouth siht.

Sche saw faste by þe sterre, how heuene partyd in two,  
 & a wondir ful gret liht lemed out in þat stede,  
 And asneth ferd fel on here face, on þe askes tho,  
 415 And a man com doun fro heuen, & stood upon here heed,  
 Callyn asneth by here name; sche answered not for dred,  
 And he called here the secounde tyme, & saide "asneth!  
 asneth!"

Then sche answered, "lo, my lord, & þerwith sche took  
 breth,

And saide, "tel me who þu art," & he answered in haste,  
 420 "I am a prince of godis hous, & of hys heuently ost,  
 Arise, and stand on thi feet, & be nothyng agast,  
 And my wordis schal speke to the to cumfort of þi gost."  
 Sche lyfte þen here heed, & saw a man like almost  
 Ioseph, with scepter, stole, & coroune, his cheer as lyhtyng  
 leem,  
 425 & his yes bright shynyng as doth þe sunne beam.

The heris of hys heed, þei were as flame of fire brennyng,  
 And asneth, frayd of þe syhte, fel to his feet for fere,  
 In so moche þat al here membris were meved with tremb-  
 blyng.

And the aungel saide þenne, "asneth, nothing the dere."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> dredere MS.

omnia que in libro illo scripta sunt ineffabilia sunt. nec conuenit  
 homini mortali ulla auoire illa ulla dicere.

CXXI DE MENSA ET FAVO QVEM ILLA APPOSVIT ANGELO.  
 Et ait assenech tenens summitatem pallii eius. si inueni gratias in  
 oculis tuis sede nunc paululum super lectum istum super quem  
 nemo unquam sedit et preparabo tibi mensam. et dixit angelus affer

430 Be þu cumforted, an rise up, & on þi feet þe rere,  
And I schal speke my wordis to þe after myn entent."  
And asneth roos upon here feet at his commaundement.

The aungel saide to asneth, "do of þi blak haire,  
& thi garnement of drede, þe saccloth do away,  
435 Smyte þe askes fro þi heed, & washe þi face faire,  
& þi handis with rennyng water; do on þi riche aray,  
þi lynnyn robe, untouched newe, þat glorious ys & gay,  
& gird the with þe double ceynt of þi virginite,  
And then com to me agayn, & I<sup>23</sup> schal speke to the."

440 Asneth hasted forth anon & did as he desired,  
And caste on þe white robe with precious parementis,  
With double ceynt gird aboute, & diuersly atired  
Aboue þe brestis, & on þe lendis gird on here garnementis,  
A lynen newe theustre<sup>24</sup> vail with riche ornamentis,  
445 Here hed was voluped with þat vail, for virginal excellence,  
And returned to þe aungel, & stood in his presence.

þe aungel saide, "lai don þi wail, discouere þi hed in haste,  
Why dost þu thus? þu art maide, þin heed is fair to se,  
As the heed of a yonglyng," þe wail away sche caste,  
450 The aungel said, "asneth, maide, of good chere þu be,  
Oure lord hath herd þi prayer & þi confession fre;  
This fast he saw of vij dayes, & þi lou mekyng,  
And þe fen, mad of the askes and of þi gret teryng.

"Be glad, virgine, for þi name ys write in þe book of lif,  
455 And schal neuer be don away, but ay in remembrance,

<sup>23</sup> Inserted MS.

<sup>24</sup> theustre from þeostre, dark.

cito. et apposuit panem et uinum suaue oleris uetus et mensam nouam.  
et ait angelus affer michi et fauum mellis Cumque illa contristata  
staret eo cum fauum non haberet, ait ei angelus. intra in cellarium  
tuum et inuenies fauum mellis super mensam tuam. et inuenit fauum  
candidum sicut niuem et mel mundissimum et odor eius suauis. et  
ait assenech. domine non haberam, sed dixisti ex ore tuo sancto et

Lo fro þis day þu art renuwed & quicked fro al strif,  
 And þu schalt ete of blessyng bred & hue drinke of plesance,  
 þu schat be enoynted *with* holi creme of glorious *purveance*,  
 And, more, I gif þe in to wyf to ioseph my dere frend,  
 460 And ioseph into þi spouse in wordle *with* oute end.

“And þi name schal be called asneth no more,  
 But hit schal be moche-of-refute, & so men schul þe calle,  
 For peple schul *turne* to good by the, I warne þe bifore,  
 And undir þi wynggis þei schul be couered, tristyng in god  
 alle,  
 465 And attendyng to þe hiest god schul be kept in þi walle,  
 For thi penaunce hath prayd to hym for þe euery hour,  
 And upon alle other penantes, in godis name *with* dolour.

“For penance ys þe dere douhter of hiest god in heuene,  
 And entendyng upon maidenenes and loueþ you gretly,  
 470 And *praieth* for you euery hour to god, I telle þe euene,  
 And for alle repentant in goddis hie name mekly,  
 Yt makeþ maidenenes to reste in heuene in place arayd sikerly,  
 & renoueþ virgines clene to goddis dere blessyng,  
 & purchaceþ (?)<sup>28</sup> ham ioye and blisse in wordlis withoute  
 endyng.

475 “Penaunce is a maide good, glad, and mesurable,  
 The hiest god hath here in lond, his angelis in reuerence,  
 I loue here wel, now schal I go, *with* oute ony fable,  
 To ioseph, & telle of þe the wordis of my sentence,  
 And he schal come þis dai to the, & see thyn excellence,  
 480 And *with* ioye loue þe weel, thi spouse be he schall,  
 & wedded wyf to hym in wordlis eternall.

<sup>28</sup> The MS. here has a word which I cannot make out. The last letters are certainly -aceþ. The first four letters resemble numr.

factum est. unde et odor eius est sicut spiramen oris tui. et subrisit angelus super intelligenciam assenech. et extensa manu tetigit eius dicens. beata es tu quam dimisisti idola et credidisti in deum unum et beati aduenientes domino deo in penitencia. quam comederet de hoc fauo quem fecerunt apes paradisi dei, de rore rosaru, in paradiso.



“& now here me, asneth, maide; do on þi garnementis  
 Of weddyng now in þi chambre, and atire the *with* all,  
 And enbelise þi bright beaute, with preciouise ornamentis,  
 485 & go forth to mete ioseph, thi spouse speciall,  
 For he schal come & see þe, to day, in vesture imperiall.”  
 And after he had endyd his word, asneth, with consolacion,  
 Worshiped hym do on þe erthe, & said in comendacion,

“Blessed be þi god, most hiest, þat thus þe hath sent,  
 490 & deliuered me fro derknesse, & depnesse of my bale,  
 Blessed euer be his name, lord god omnipotent.”  
 & to þe angel afterward þise wordis sho gan availe,  
 “What is þi name? tel me sone, & give yt me in tale,  
 þat I mai worship & thanke þe, my lord & my frend,  
 495 & glorifie þi grete name, in wordle *with* out ende.”

The angel saide, “my name is write in godis book in heuen,  
 With godis fynger fore al othir in the bokys bygynnyng,  
 For I am þe prince of godis hous, & so I tel þe euen,  
 þat al þat writen is in þat boke, hit passed mannys  
 spekyng,  
 500 Inconuenient þerfore yt ys, to eche man vnsyttyng,  
 To commune or to here of hem, that are celestially,  
 For þei be gret fro mannys mynde, and wonderfull *with*  
 all.”

Thenne seide asneth, “good lord, lat me fynde grace,  
 þat I mai knowe þat yt be do, þat þu hast said to me,  
 505 Gyf thyn handmaide leve to speke in presence of þi face.”  
 The angel said, “spek on, asneth, þi bone I graunte the,”  
 And sche tok hym by the palle, & said *with* vois ful free,

et ex hoc comedunt omnes angeli dei. et quicumque ex illo comederint  
 non morientur in eternum. et extensa manu confregit de fauo partem  
 minimam et conedit ipse. reliquum—que dedit in os assenech et dixit.  
 Ecce comedisti panem uite et uncta es crismate sacro. et ab hodierno  
 die carnes tue renouabuntur et ossa tua sanabuntur. et uterus tua  
 erit indeficiens. et iuuentus tua senectutem non uidebit. et pulcritudo

"I pray the, lord, to sitte a while upon þis bed so clene,  
For man ne womman satt neuer þeron by no maner mene.

- 510 "And I schall make a bord redy, and offre to your plesir,  
Breed and wyn fro my celer, ful swete & redolent,  
And when ye haue ete, & drynke, þen aftir your desire,  
Ye mai folwe forth your way after your entent."  
The aungel saide, "bring yt sone, þerto I consent."  
515 And asneth sette a newe bord with businesse & haste,  
And went to fette breed & wyne pleasant to his taste.

- The aungel said, "a hony combe bring þu me ful sone."  
And for sche had non redy sche stood al dismaid.  
Sche saide, "I schal send a chyld in to the feeld anone  
520 Of hour heritage, to fette on, sone yt schal be rayd."  
"Entre in to þi celer," the aungel to here saide,  
"And thu schalt fynde an hony comb redy on the bord,  
Take and bryng yt to me;" and asneth sayd, "my lord,

- Knowyth wel þer is non, in no maner of wyse."  
525 "Entre þi celer," quod þe aungel, & on þer schalt þu fynde."  
Sche entred in, an hony comb sche fond of a gret assise,  
Also white as þe snowe, clene & pure in kynde,  
Of odour swete, and asneth meruayled in her mynde,  
And said, "trowest not þat of þis comb, þat þis man hath  
ete,  
530 For þe flauour ys as þe breeth of his mouth so swete."

And annon sche tok þe comb and afore hym sette,  
The angel said, "whi saidest þu, þer was non in þi celer?  
Now hast þu brouht a ful fair on, þat was in þi recette."

tua non deficiet et eris sicut metropolis edificata omnium confugiencium  
ad nomen domini dei omnipotentis regis seculorum et extendit manum  
et tetigit fauum quem fregerat et factus est totus integer sicut prius.  
Extensaque manu dextra tetigit digito suo indice summitatem mellis  
prospicientem uersus orientem. et retraxit digitum suum ad seipsum.  
et induxit super extremum faui quod respiciebat ad occasu, et uia

And asneth *with* gret drede saide in this maner,  
 535 "Lord, *non* swych honycomb in *gouernance* hadde I there,  
 But by *commaundement* of þi mouth, so yt was do,  
 For the odour þer of ys lik the breth of þi mouth also."

And þe aungel smyled then, *with* lauhyng cuntenance,  
 For þe wisdom of asneth, vpon here intelligence,  
 540 He called here vnto hym, his right hand he did hance,  
 Vpon here heed; schee loked on hym, *with* shame & reuer-  
 ence,  
 He gaf here þen hys benison of gracious influence.  
 He saide to here, "þu art blessed for<sup>20</sup> þu hast left þe fay  
 Of alle maner fals ydolys, and beleuist in god veray.

545 "And blessed be thei, þat come to god in holy penance,  
 For þei schul ete of this comb, þat bees made of paradise,  
 Of the dew of rosis þere, þat are of gret plesance,  
 The angelis of god schul ete also, þis comb of prise,  
 And who þat eteth of þe same schal neuer dye in no wyse."  
 550 After he brak it and ete a part of þat hony swete,  
 The remenant he putte in asneth mouth & bad here to ete.

The aungel saide, "Io, þu hast ete of þe bred of lyf,  
 & þu art enoynted *with* holi creme, & þi flesh fro this day  
 Schal be renued, & þi bonys cured from al strif,  
 555 And þi vertu neuer faile, þe sothe now I the say.  
 Thy Iuuent schal haue *non* age, þi beaute schal laste ay,  
 Of alle þat fle to oure lordis name, god & heuene kyng,  
 Thu schalt be as Cite bild of ioie, *without* endyng."

<sup>20</sup> for repeated in MS.

digiti eius facta est in sanguinem. Extendit manum suam secundo  
 & tetigit summitate digiti sui fauum mellis iuxta partem respicientem  
 ad aquilonem. & traxit eum super partes respicientes ad meridonem  
 et facta est uia digiti eius in sanguinem. aspiciente assenech et ait.  
 inspice fauum. et exierunt de fauo apes multe candide sicut nix. et  
 ale earum purpuree sicut iacinctus circumdederunt omnes assenech &

He touched þe comb broke *with* his hand, hool it was anone,  
 560 He touched þe hony *with* hys fynger upon þe este partie,  
 He drow his fynger ageyn to hym to þe west part sone,  
 And þe way of his fynger was mad al blodi,  
 He drow his fynger þeron fro þe north to þe sowth surly;  
 The way of hys fynger þer was turned in to blood,  
 565 And asneth biheld al that he did, in his lift side sche stood.

The aungel saide, "vpon þe comb behold & take hede,"  
 & bees come oute þerof ful fele, & white as þe snow,  
 Here wynges were of purple hewe, aboute here þei yede,  
 & wrouthe a honycumb in her handis & ete þerof Inow.  
 570 The aungel saide þen to þe bees as I schal tel yow,  
 "Go ye now in to *your* place." þei wente toward þe est,  
 Into paradis. þe angel saide, "asneth, al this þu seest?"

She answered, "ye , my lord," þe aungel saide þenne,  
 "So my wordis schul be fulfild þat I haue said to þe."  
 575 T[h]e comb he touched *with* his hand, & fire bygan to  
 brenne,  
 And consumed þe comb anon, not hurtyng bord ne tre.  
 The fragrant odour of þat brennyng yt was swete & fre.  
 Asneth saide, "I haue seuen maidenenes on o nyght bore,  
 With me, as my sisteres I loue hem alle þerfore.

580 "To blesse hem as þu hast me afore þe I hem calle."  
 "Calle on," he saide: sche called sone; þei come to his  
 presence,

The aungel saide, "almyghti god lord blesse you alle,  
 Be ye to þe city of refute seven pileris in assistance,  
 & alle dwellyng in þat Cite schul reste on *your* prudence."  
 585 The aungel saide to asneth þen, "þis bord away þu dihte."

operabant in manibus eius fauum mellis & manducauerunt ex eo. et  
 ait angelus apibus. ite in locum uestrum. & abierunt omnes uersus  
 orientem in paradisum. & ait angelus. sic erunt omnia uerba que locutus  
 sum ad te hodie. et extendit tercio angelus manum suam & tetigit  
 fauum. et ascendit ignis de mensa & comedit fauum & mensam non  
 tetigit. & fragrantia faui dulcis ualde facta est.



Sche turned and saw like a char with foure hors passyng  
 In heuen toward the est like flame of fire reed,  
 The hors assembling to þe flame, of þunder leihitnyng  
 Sche saw þe aungel vpon þe char standyng in þat steed,  
 590 þat he was aungel sche was unknowe þefore sche said  
 with dreed,  
 "Alas. I haue spoke with godis aungel, haue mercy on þi  
 hand maide,  
 For þe wordis I spak in þi presence in ignorance I hem  
 saide."

And asneth yet þus spekyng, a younge man cam ful faste  
 Of þe seruantes of putifaris, & to here he saide,  
 595 "Ioseph þe stronge man of god cometh here in haste,  
 His messanger ys at þe gate." and asneth forth sche braide  
 And stood aside in a tresance, sche was ful wel apaide,  
 Ioseph entred into halle, þe gatis men did spere,<sup>7</sup>  
 And shitte out alle straungeris þat no man schul hym dere.

600 And asneth wente to mete ioseph out of þe tresance goyng.  
 Ioseph saw here & gan to wondir upon [here?] beaute  
 bright,  
 For sche was chaunged & enbelised by þe angelis  
 comunyng,  
 & ioseph saide, "who art þu? telle me anon riht."  
 "I am þi handmaide," quod sche, "to þi commaundement  
 diht,

605 And alle mamettis I haue do away, & utterli forsake,  
 þe aungel of god fedde me today & heuenly fode me take,  
<sup>7</sup> *spredere* sic MS.

#### CXXII DE BENEDICCIÓNE VII. VIRGINUM ET CONIUGIO ASSENECH.

Et dixit assenech ad angelum. domine sunt michi vii. uirgines  
 nutritæ mecum ab infancia & una nocte mecum genite. uocabo eas &  
 benedices eas sicut me. quas ille iussit uocari. & benedixit eas dicens.  
 benedicat uos dominus deus altissimus & sitis sicut vii. colonne ciuitatis  
 refugii. & iussit angelus assenech ut leuaret mansas. quam cum leuatam

And saide, 'I haue gyfe þe today wyf unto Ioseph,  
 And he schal be thi spouse, in the wordle *withoute* ende;  
 & saide my name, schulde no more be called asneth,  
 610 But Cite of refute and þi lord god schal þe sende,  
 'Moche peple *þat þu* schale turne & to almyhty god wende'  
 He saide me more, 'to ioseph forth now schal I passe,  
 And speke<sup>28</sup> þise wordis in his eris, of þe more & lasse.'

"Now þu knowyst, my lord Ioseph, yf þe aungel cam to þe,  
 615 And spoke to þe of me the wordis *þat* I shewe."  
 þen ioseph sayde, "of hiest god, asneth, blessed þu be,  
 & þi name, in kynredis blessed of kynredes schal renewe,  
 For god of heuen loued þe & send me his angel trewe,  
 & spake of the to me þise wordis; & *þerfore*, maide com ner,  
 620 What ys þe cause þu standist fro me now so fer?"

And ioseph streihte out his hand, & loueli gan her brace,  
 þei kiste þen bothe in same *with* cuntenance excellent,  
 Then saide sche, "my lord Ioseph, entre into oure place."  
 Sche ladde hym in by þe right hand, here fadir was absent,  
 625 Sche broughte water to wasse his feet, *with* ful trewe entent,  
 And he asked an<sup>oþer</sup> maide to whasshe ys fete þere,  
 And asneth saide, "I schal hem wasshe, ye ar my lord dere,

"Fro hennys forth I am þin awne þi handmaid & þi thrall,  
 Whi askest þu anothir maide to wasshe þi feet here?"  
 630 Thi feet ar myn owne feet, þi handdis also *with* all,  
 And þi soule ys my soule, þu are thn myn owen fere."  
 Sche constreyned hym & weesh hys feet *with* ful good  
 chere.

<sup>28</sup> spake MS.

se ponere pergeret recessit angelus ab oculis eius. & reuersa uidit sicut currum. iiii, equorum procedentem uersus orientem in celum. Cumque oraret assenech ut indulgeret ei cum tam audaciter locuta erat cum eo. ecce unus adolescens ex famulis putifarum nunciauit dicens. ecce ioseph dei fortis uenit. iam enim procurator eius est ad portas atrii nostri. festinauitque assenech in occursum ioseph & stetit in ypodromio

And he behold here faire handis of beaute *per* was no misse  
He tok here by *pe* right hand and louely did here kysse.

- 635 He made here *pen* sitte by hym vpon his right hand;  
Here fadir here modir & here kynreed com out of *pe* feld  
Of here heritage, and wondering stil thei gan stande.  
The glorious beaute of here douhter *mervailus* *pei* beheld.  
Thei saw here sitte *with* ioseph, reuerence to hym *pei* yeld.  
640 More *pei* *mervailed* *pat* sche wered on *pe* stole of here wed-  
dyng,  
And after *pei* ete & drinke togedir, gretly enioynge.

Then saide putifar to ioseph, "to morwe I schal calle  
Alle *pe* *gouernouris* of pharoa and *princes* of egipt lande,  
And make espousailes vnto you, my douhter take *pu*  
schalle,

- 645 Vnto *pi* wyf." *pen* saide ioseph, "thu schalt vnderstande,  
I schal go myself tomorwe, and *pat* werke take on hande,  
& speke to pharao of egipt kyng, my fadir of gret honour,  
Of al his land he hath me mad chief prince & *gouernour*.

"And I schal speke in his eris of *asneth* plesantly,

- 650 And he schal yeve here me to wyf *with* solempnite."  
Then said putifar, "go forth *with* pees ful obeisantly,"  
But *with* putifar he dwelled al nyght *with* tranquillite,  
And *with* *asneth* slepte he not, but said in verite  
"His is no right *pat* a man *pat* wirshipeth god an hihe  
655 Afore espousailes in no wyse *with* his wyf to lye."

Ioseph ros vp tymely, to kynge pharao he goes,

And said, "graunte me to wyf *asneth*, *pe* maide reuerent,

*domus & cum intrasset ioseph atrium saltauit eum assenech. & dixit ei uerba que erat locutus angelus ad se & lauit pedes eius. Crastina die rogauit ioseph pharaonem assenech in uxorem & dedit eam illi pharao & imposuit eis coronas aureas meliores quas habebat & fecit eos osculari ad inuicem & fecit eis nupcias & cenam magnam ultra vii. dies & precepit ut nemo faceret opus in diebus nupciarum ioseph. &*

The douhter of preest putifar of olinpoleos."  
 & pharao saide, "to þe, ioseph, þe maide is congruent,  
 660 For sche is a maide clene as thu, tak to her to þin entent.  
 Be sche to þe þi dere spouse in wordle euerlastyngē."  
 And pharao send to putifar his douhter forth to bringe.

Afore pharao asneth stood in his hihe presence  
 And he wondering on here beaute, "endure with þe For ay  
   \*       \*       \*       \*       \*  
 665 The rightful god of ioseph hath chose þe his spouse today,  
   \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

And ioseph is called the sone of god of hih dignite,  
 And þu schalt be called his owen spouse in perpetuite."

Pharao þen tok hem bothe and here hedis frette  
 With crounys of pure gold, þat riche wer of atire,  
 670 Upon þe right side of ioseph asneth þen he sette,  
 And laide his handis on here hedis & saide in his desire,  
 "Blesse you now þe lord god of þe heuenly empire,  
 And fulfille you eternally with glorie, ioye, and blisse."  
 And after turned hem mouth to mouth, & togedir did hem  
 kysse.

675 And after pharao dide þe weddynges to be solempnised,  
 Callyng alle princes and gouernours of egipt land þerto,  
 A rial feste by seuen dayes during was deuised,  
 And pharao declaret a newe decree to alle hys land also,  
 Sayngge, "what man þat ony werke euer here after do  
 680 In the day, þat ioseph & asneth were wedded inne,  
 Thei schul dye in grevus deth, for that gret synne."

And after Ioseph knewe his wyf sche conceived sone,  
 And bar manasses & effraim, þis was here procreacion,

uocauit filium dei & assenech filiam altissimi. COMGESTOR. Nati  
 sunt ei filii duo priusquam e ueniret fames, & uocauit primum manasses  
 quod est obliuio. dicens obliuisci me fecit deus laborum meorum &  
 domus prioris mei. secundum uocauit effraim quod est fructificacio  
 dicens Crescere me fecit dominus in terra paupertate mee.



And aftir asneth seurlly to god sche mad here mone,  
 685 Remembering here olde synne by prive meditacion,  
 And after mournyng þus sche saide,<sup>29</sup> with gret lamentacion,  
 "Lord, synned I haue synned, moche synned in þi presence,  
 Asneth, dowhter of putifar, pardone myn offence.

"Most foulest in my fadir hous I was of gouernance,  
 690 A maide enhansed & right proud, I haue synned, lord, to þe,  
 Fals godis herid *with* oute nombre to my daliance,  
 & ete bred of her sacrifice so synned in þat degre,  
 Synned, lord, I haue synned in þi sihte fre,  
 & ete of bord of pestilence, bred þat is straungling,  
 695 & dranke of þe chalis of defaute in þi presence synnyng.

"And of the lord of heuene I was ignoraunt,  
 Not tristyng in þe hihe god þat art lyf eternall;  
 I haue synned, lord, in þi presence, my synne is displiant.  
 For I triste on my riches & my beaute *with* alle,  
 700 I haue synned, lord, lift up *with* pride, confesse so I schall,  
 I was dispisyng euery man on erthe *with* errour,  
 Ther stood neuer man in my presence þat I gaf fauor.

"Alle my woweris I dispised, of hem I hadde disdeyn.  
 Synned, lord, I haue synned in presence of þi face,  
 705 For I saide, þer was no prince *with* glorie þat was veyn  
 þat þe girdel of my maydenhed was worthi to vnbrace.  
 I willed to marie þe kyngis sone, so proud was my trace,  
 Synnyng, lord, I haue synned contynuyng in þi presence,  
 Til ioseph þe myhty man of god tok me *with* excellence,

<sup>29</sup> sche saide *rep. in MS.*

CXXIII. DE DESCENSU ISRAHEL IN EGIPTUM ET SEDVC-  
 CIONE DAN & GAD. EX HISTORIA SACRA. Itaque cum per vii  
 annos ubertatis collegisset ioseph frumentum & ingrueret fames super  
 omnes terrarum. Iuxta somnii coniectura. apperuitque horrea.  
 uendiditque egipciiis. insuper & hisque de aliis ad emendum ueniebant  
 prouinciis. inter quos fratres suos agnoscens. sed ab eis incognitus.  
 durius allocutus est eos. exploratores eos esse dicens id est explora-

- 710 "For as þe fyssh by the hook ys take by distresse,  
 So ys beaute drow me to hym by vertuus prouydence;  
 And ladde me to almighty god *with gret gentyllesse*,<sup>30</sup>  
 And did me taste of þe drynke of [t]he *eternal sapience*,  
 And now I am mad his conthorall by his aduertence  
 715 Ay to dwelle *with* hym in wordle *with* oute ende,  
 Synned, lord, I haue synned remission þu me sende."

- And after seven yeer were passed of plentevus abundance  
*Per* bygunne seuen yeer of hunger scars & chere,  
 And Iacob herd of Ioseph, and *with gret plesance*,  
 720 He com into egipt land *with* his kynrede in fere,  
 In the secunde monthe the secunde yeer when vitale was  
 dere,  
 The on and twenti day of þe monthe, Israell cam don then  
 And descended *with* his kynred into þe land of iessen.

- Then saide asneth to ioseph, "the fadir I schal go se,  
 725 For a god he is to me, þi fader israel."  
 & ioseph saide, "to se hym com now forth *with* me."  
 And þei com to iacob to þe land of iessen well.  
 And ioseph bretheren mette hem *with* reuerence & reuell;  
 Þei wirshiped hym, don upon þe erthe louely obeyng,  
 730 Thei entred in to iacob where was his loggyng.

- Israel sitt yng on his bed, old & of gret age,  
 Asneth saw hym & meruailed for iacob was good in sight,  
 Of hys age ful reuerent, as youthe of fair parage,  
 His heed white as þe snow, his berd to þe brest right,  
 735 Al white was sitt yng, and his yees schynyng as liht,

<sup>30</sup> gentynesse MS.

torum pena dignos maximeque si de beniamin uera non dicerent de quo timeret quod & in eum aliquid deliquissent. quo tandem ab eis cum muneribus adducto. seipsum illis cum fletu innotuit. uultuque ac uerbus placidissimum. Datis insuper muneribus patrem ad se uenire mandauit iacob itaque per uisionem a domino confortatus descendit in egiptum cum lxvi animalibus. ita quod ipse cum eis & ioseph cum

Hys synewes schuldurs & his armes were stable & vailant,  
Hys knes schynys ant his feet like to a geaunt.

And asneth salued hym on here knes *with* humble conte-  
nance,

Then said iacob to ioseph, "my sone thy wyf þis is?"

740 He said, "ye." þan iacob this wordis to here gan vance,  
"Blessed be thu, doughter of hiest god," & after he did  
here kys.

And after þei ete & drunke togedir, *with* gret ioy & blys,  
And þenne Ioseph & asneth afore hem were sente.

745 In the right side of asneth was leuy in assistance,  
And symeon þe left *partie* wente by & by,  
& asneth loued leuy wel for hys intelligence.  
And after as sche in pharaois hous walked plesauntly,  
Pharaois sone beheld here as he loked an hy,  
750 þat was his firste bygeten child, his sone & his here.  
Anon he brente on here for loue, her beaute was so fair.

Wherefore he languyshed for loue, & nyste what to do.  
But sone he sente messagers to symeon & leui,  
þat were þe bretheren of ioseph, & thus said hem to:

755 "I knowe wel þat ye are men stronge and mihty,  
And meny a sichym ye han slayn *with* swerd manfully,  
And now I pray you tenderly for to helpe me,  
I schal you gife goold & siluer & men gret plente.

"Seruantis assis & chamelis to youre lote schal falle

760 I warne you þat to *your* brother I haue gret enuye,  
For he hath asneth to his wyf, ordeyned me first of alle.

duobus filiis similiter fuerunt lxx. Eratque cxxx annorum quam  
ioseph eum in conspectu pharaonis introduxit. eique terram gesen ad  
habitandum dedit.

EX PARVA GENESI. In anno secundo famis mense ii xxi die  
mensis uenit israel in egiptum eum uniuersa cognacione sua. intrauit  
terram gesen. uidit que assenech iacob & admirata. quum senectus eius

perfore asneth now to me, on my swerd schal he dye,  
 Asneth to spouse þen schal I haue I tel you trulye.  
 Then schal I take you as my brethere trusty & trewe  
 765 And yf ye dispise my cunseil sore ye schul yt rewe.

“For my swerd ageyns you þen schal I araye.”  
 Then spak leui unto hym *with* riht bolde chere,  
 “Wherto speketh my lord þise wordis us to afraye?  
 We are men þat worship god, ant oure fadir dere  
 770 Ys þe child of his god and our brother in al manere  
 Ys dredyng gretly god, thi word hou schul we do?  
 To synne so in godis *presence* & oure fadirs also.

“Therefore heer now my wordis & do not þyn entent,  
 For howre brother tok here not of his owen acceptance,  
 775 But by the lawe of thi fadir & of his consent,  
 And yf þu dwelle in þi purpoos of wykked purueance,  
 Oure swerdis, lo, in our handis wyt þe in variance,  
 In þi *presence with* oure brother ful redi for to dye.”  
 And when pharaois sone herd þis, he dred hem gretlye.

780 Then symeon and leui went out fro his *presence*,  
 And pharaois sone was replete *with* sorwe, drede, & ire.  
 To iniure he dradde ioseph for his gret prudence.  
 Yet on þe beaute of asneth his corage was a fire,  
 His meyne þen saide unto hym, to plesance of his desire,  
 785 “Lo þe sonys of handmaides to rachell & to lye,  
 Of bale and of zelphe to ioseph haue envye.

“þei wil be redy to do þi wil;” & forth þei were fett,  
 & pharaois sone vnto hym þen did hem calle,

erat speciosa sicut iuuentus. Erat quippe caputeius candidissima  
 sicut nix. et barba candida sedens super pectus eius. oculi eius ful-  
 guarantes. & nerui eius & humeri et brachia firma. genua & crura et  
 pedes ut gigantis et benedixit eis iacob et osculatus est. Et reuersi  
 sunt post prandium ioseph et assenech in domum. et leui cum eis et  
 symeon. Et cum uidisset filius pharaonis assenech in domo patris sui



& saide, "lo, here lyf and deth afore your face ys fett.

790 Taketh þe lyf and not þe deth, I cunseyl you *with* al.  
I herde ioseph sey to my fadyr, þat ye wer children þral  
'And not my bretheren, I abyde hem vtterly to destruye  
After the deth of my fadir & al here generacion nuye,

Thei schul neuer enherite *with* vs, þe sonis of seruage,  
795 Þise solde<sup>a</sup> me to þe Ismalitis, I schal yelde he[m] malice,  
þat þei maligned ageyns me in here gret outrage.'  
My fadyr pharao preised hym & said þat he was wyse  
And saide 'I schal werke *with* þe after þi deuyse.'  
And after þei hadde herde þise wordis of þe sone of pharao,  
800 Þei said troubled gretly "lord [what] schal we do?"

He saide, "my fadir pharao I schal sle þis nyht,  
For he is as fadir to ioseph & loueth hym gretly,  
And ye youre brother ioseph to deth ye schul dyht,  
þen schal I haue asneth to wyf, þat fair is & louely,  
805 & ye schul haue part of myn heritage as my brethre tristy.  
þen saide þe bretheren Gad & dan, "þi men lord we be,  
What þu cumaundis hit schal be do & more we telle þe.

"We herde ioseph to asneth saie to morwe þu schal go  
Into felde of howere heritage for now is heruest seson  
810 And commaundet six hundred men to passe *with* here also,  
Commaunde vs, lord, mo fihtyng men þat we may by reson  
Go afore hem on þe nyht & leye a bushment *with* treson,  
Bi the brook & hide vs þere in the spers of þe redis,  
And tak *with* the fyve hundred archeris what so euer nedis,

<sup>a</sup>scholde MS.

deambulantem. exarsit in pulchritudine eius. et locutus est leui et symeon ut interficeret ioseph. et haberet eam uxorem quam illi debebatur. et daret eis aurum et argentum multum. Qui non intend-  
erunt in sermones eius. et cepit filius pharaonis accusare ioseph apud fratres suos dan .et gad. qui erant filii ancillarum iacob. dicens se audisse ioseph dicentem apud pharaonem quod post mortem patris sui destrueret eos. ne esset heredes cum fratribus suis. eo quos filii ancillarum. et eum uendidissent ysmahelitis et inuiderent ei. per-  
suasitque eis ut interficerent ioseph. et ipse interficeret pharaonem

- 815 "And go afore vs a good way fert out in lengthe,  
 And asneth *with* ynne our bushment þen come schalle,  
 & we schulle sle here men echon, þat be *with* here by  
 stren[g]the,  
 And asneth wil fle on here char & in our handis falle,  
 þu schalt parfourme þen þi wil and thi desires alle,  
 820 Then schul we ioseph & hys children sle byfore þi ye."  
 When pharaois sone þise wordis herde, he enjoyed gretly

- And sende to hem two þousand þat armed were briht,  
 þei wente and hidde hem by þe broke in þ[e][r]eed<sup>82</sup> slily,  
 & pharaois sone roos up on the same nyht,  
 825 And com to his fadir chamber to entre in prively.  
 His fadir wacche forbad hit hym, & told þe cause why,  
 "Thi fadir hed of wacche it aketh & now reste hath take,  
 He forbad entre to euery man þat non scholde hym wake."

- And when he herde þise wordis he departed þan,  
 830 And toke five hundred archiris, afore þe gate he wente,  
 After þat þat yt was spoke bothe by gad ant dan.  
 And asneth aros tymely to ioseph sche here mente,  
 "I go to þe feld of oure heritage after þyn entente,  
 But sor[l]y dredeth now my soule þat we schul parted be."  
 835 Ioseph said "dred nothyng, for god is *with* þe,

- And schal kepe the fro al disese, as þe appel of þe ye,  
 For I schal go and gif bred to þe land aboute."  
 And bothe þenne þei toke here way, & asneth cam bye  
 Vpon the brook, and six hundred men *with* here in a route,  
 840 And sodeynly the hus[h]ment brake on hem a shoute,  
 And slowe hem ful cruelly in þe egge of the swerde,  
 And beniamin fledde *with* asneth<sup>83</sup> on here char aferd.

<sup>82</sup> þeed MS.

<sup>83</sup> asketh MS.

patrem suum qui tanquam pater ioseph. Quod cum uellet facere nocte prohibuerunt custodes patrus sui introire ad eum dicentes. pater tuus doluit caput et non dormit et prohibuit nobis ne quis ad eum intraret. nec etiam armatis perrexit ad locum insidiarum ubi erant dan et

- A man *þer* scaped away, *þat* was *with* *asneth* there,  
 And told *leui* and his brother in haste of the *afrai*.  
 845 Men of armes *þei* tok forth, hors, harneis, and geer,  
 & after *asneth* quicly thei folwed on the way,  
 And sone in haste *þei* come there *þat* *þe* busment lay,  
 And fille on hem sodeinly, & gaf hem dethis wounde,  
 Gad & dan entred *þe* redis & hid hem *þat* stounde.
- 850 Beniamyn, abydyng *with* *asneth*, saw pharaois sone com on  
 To sette hand upon here, *þerof* he was war,  
 In the lift side of *þe* sculle he smote hym *with* a ston,  
*þat* fro his hors *with* *þe* same to *þe* grounde he hym bar,  
 As good as ded *þere* he lay, he gaf hym swych a scar.
- 855 His horsmen and archeris when *þei* saw *þat* siht,  
*þei* fledde to *þe* redis & hidde hem *þer* right.

- When beniamyn saw sytheon & *leui* comynge  
 He was glad, and gaf *asneth* wordis of good chere,  
 And after *þei* assembled ful gretly enioynge
- 860 Askynge after gad and dan yf *þei* sawe hem there,  
 Willyng to haue slayn hem *with* purpos entere,  
 But *asneth* saw *þei* souhte her brether to sle hem in rage,  
 And myldely *with* softe wordis her w[r]ath sche gan swage.

- “Ye schal not now do þis þynge, youre brethere *þei* be,  
 865 Of the kynde of youre fadir and yf ye slowe hem so,  
 Ye schulde be reþref to alle men tristef to me,  
 And make your fadir sori & sette his hert in wo.”  
 And when sche hadde þus said her ire swaged tho,  
 Aftir *þei* tok up pharaois sone, *þe* blood fro hym wasshyng,
- 870 And sette hym on a hors, his wondis softe byndyng;

gad. quum illuc debebant pergere ioseph et assenech dc. viris qui omnes ab insidiis trucidati sunt preter unum qui fugit ad sytheon et leui. assenech autem fugit in curru et cum ea beniamin. Sytheon autem et leui assumentes omnes qui secum erant armatos persecuti sunt eos. Et irruerunt in eos subito et plurimos occiderunt. Dan autem et gad absconsi sunt in densitate calami.

Den þei laidede hym to hys fadir, & told hym more & myn.  
 Pharao thanked gretly god þat he was not slayn,  
 þe þridde day he was ded be þe wounde of beniamin,  
 And pharao sorwed sore for hym and gretly did complayn,  
 875 And þat sorwe *with* sikenesse so sore gan hym constrayn  
 þat pharao dide in þe age of nynty & nyne yeer,  
 Leuynge his kyngdom to ioseph þat was hym leef & deer.

Ioseph regned nobeli þere wyth gret prosperite  
 Fourty yeer and eyht, ful graciously gouernynge,  
 880 And after he gaf his diademe to pharaois sone fre,  
 þat was at his fadir deth at þe brest soukyng,  
 And ioseph was called in egipt fadir to þe kyng.  
 þus endeth the storie of asneth to youre remembrance,  
 My rude *translacion* I pray you tak hit *with* plesance.

## [Epilogue]

885 Ha, cruell deeth! contrarious to creatures in kynde,  
 Ha, deeth dispitous! who may aduertise  
 Thi mourther, thi malice, who may haue in mende  
 The myschief, that to mankynde þu dost exercise?  
 Thi rigour, þi rancour who may deuyse?  
 890 The matyng of þi miserie no man may endure,  
 For thi chekkes conclude eueri creature.

Thu are to alle creatures hidous to beholde,  
 Thu pyllour, thu pirate, cesse of þi prise.  
 Thi felonye ys multiplied in so many folde  
 895 That al the worlde generally of the, deþ, agrise.  
 Stynt of þi malice, for wyth thy malgyse  
 Louers ful lykyng and lusty in game  
 Thu marrest *with* myschief, and makest hem lame.

CXXIIII DE MORTE PHARAONIS ET IACOB ET IOSEPH.  
 HELINANDUS IIII LIBRO. Anno principatus ioseph xii mortuus  
 est pharao sub quo uiverat ioseph. quem commestor altero nomine dicit  
 appellatum nefrem. De huius autem morte sic dicit historia assenech.  
 post illud bellum sive superius memoratum inter filium pharaonis et



Thy tyraunt on emperat, with thi tene & treson,  
 900 Thi solas of soueraignes þu dost siluestrise,<sup>34</sup>  
 And ladies likyng thu sleest out of seson,  
 And reuest hem here ryalty with þi reprise,  
 Thyn insaciabie malice who may acomplise?  
 When þat loueli ladies thu leyst so lowe  
 905 And here bright beaute þu blemishest in a throwe.

For þi malice me semeth reames sholde arise,  
 To destruye cruell deeth, and do hym of dawē—  
 But oon wynked on me then “war quod þe wyse,  
 And cesse of þi sentence for symple is þi sawe,  
 910 For deeth vniuerselly the worlde schal vengyse,  
 So ys the tyraunt tytled to that victorie,  
 By adam the alderman of old auncetrie.”

Then sorwed I that sentence recouered by assise,  
 And mourned for my maystresse here marred in molde.  
 915 There ys countour ne clerk bounte can decyse,  
 In vertu here wommanhed was volupid many folde.  
 Discreet, devoute, diligent, deeth, thu mayst agrise  
 To repress so noble, so gentill a creature,  
 In tendir age vntymely agayn the ordir of nature.

920 O myghty lord, w[h]os goodnesse neuer schal fynyse,  
 Haue mercy on the soule of my dere maistresse.  
 The fendis power fro that soule chare & chastise.  
 Deliuere here, gracious lord, fro peyne and distresse.  
 Endowe here in thi place of plesaunt paradise,

<sup>34</sup> From O.F. *siluestre*. The verb does not, I think, occur in French.

symeonem et leui, beniamin inquit sedens in curru cum assenech uidens  
 filium pharaonis uenientem contra se ut tolleret assenech lapidem de  
 torrente arripiens, percussit eum in ceruice sinistra. et ededuxit eum  
 de equo super terram. qui mortuus postea uidens beniamin symeonem  
 et leui uenientes confortatus est. qui querebant fratres suos dan et  
 gad ut interficerent eos. quorum ira conpescuit. illi uero leuantes  
 filium pharaonis a terra. lauauerunt plagam eius ligauerunt eam et

925 And receyue here blyssed lord upon thi right side,  
In they blysse eternally wyth<sup>ss</sup> the to abyde.

Of lordis lyne & lynage sche was, here sche lyse,  
Bounteuus benigne, enb[e]leshed with beaute,  
Sage, softe, and sobre, an[d] gentyll in al wyse,  
930 Florishyng and fecunde with femenyn beaute,  
Meke, mylde, and merciful, of pite sche bar þe prise.<sup>ss</sup>  
Comely, kynde, and curteis, in nobleye of nurture,  
Vernant in alle vertu, plesaunt and demure.

*Here the manuscript ends.*

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<sup>ss</sup> MS. whyt *sic*.

<sup>ss</sup> The reader will have noticed that this rhyme runs through each stanza of the Epilogue. This variation of the ballade-form is unique.

duxerunt eum ad patrem suum pharaonem. et narrauerunt omnia uerba hec. pharao uero gratias egit quod non interfecerunt eum. tercio die uero mortuus est filius pharaonis de uulnere. Et pharao non multo post mortuus est dolore mortis filii sui annorum, xcix. Et reliquit regnum suum ioseph qui regnauit pro paruo in egipto annis xlviii. et post hoc dedit dyadema filio pharaonis qui erat ad ubera quum mortuus est pharao et ioseph nuncupatus est pater eius in terra egipti.

Note: Lydgate refers to this legend in his poem *To Mary the Queen of Heaven*, where he compares the Virgin to 'Assenek off Egypt, of beute pereles.' (M.S. Bodl. Tanner 110 fol. 244 and elsewhere). I have not found any other references to her in English literature.

H. N. M.

J. G. BOHNER, *Das Beiwort des Menschen und der Individualismus in Wolframs Parzival*. Diss. Heidelberg 1909, 80 pp.

The author has made a study of the 'attributive' adjectives, modifying the various characters in *Parzival*, for the purpose of determining to what extent Wolfram had, by their use, revealed his individuality and attempted to individualize the different personages of his great romance.

The importance of the adjective in the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, as a means of stylistic expression, is illustrated by comparing the total number of attributive adjectives in Eilhard's *Tristan* and in the first 1000 lines of the *Eneide*, the epics of Hartmann von Aue, and Wigalois with those in the first 1000 verses of *Parzival*. *Parzival* shows then relatively more such modifiers than any previous epic of chivalry. No attempt was made to explain the phenomenon; nor account taken, to our regret, of the constituent elements of the particular passages under consideration. Comparing *Parzival* in like manner with Gottfried's *Tristan*, Konrad's *Parthonopier*, and Wirnt's *Wigalois* (here the last 1000 verses, after Wolfram's influence), the author concludes that a new epoch in the copious use of attributive adjectives had begun with *Parzival*. And thru a like comparison with König Rother and the *Nibelungenlied*, it appears that Wolfram's use was, in this particular too, more like that of the national epics.

Figures show again that Wolfram's adjectives, compared with Gottfried's, are quite uniformly and evenly distributed. The introduction and single scenes of *Tristan*, for instance, have relatively many more adjectives than the corresponding parts in *Parzival*. According to a bare count the various books of *Parzival*, however, differ as to the number of adjectives in each. In books I-VI and XV is found the most abundant use of epithets; in books VII-XIV and XVI, the most meager. We find this fact very interesting. The author should, however, have taken into account the various elements that make up the various books, before trying to prove thereby that a pause had set in between books VI and VII and between books XIV and XV, and that Wolfram's work is not on such a high plane of excellence in the Gawan episodes as elsewhere. That may be true, but we must consider that book I owes its abundance of adjectives, in large measure, to the fact that it contains the introduction, which receives relatively more adjectives in any epic poem; that the description of Pelrapeire and the two opposing armies, the introduction of Condwiramur, Kingrune, Klamide, and King Arthur's court, and the relation of *Parzival* to Condwiramur in book IV invite the use of adjectives; and,

furthermore, that many of the adjectives in book V are due to the description of Schastel Marveile, to the beloved Sigune and Jeschute, and to King Arthur's court. Much the same could be said of book VI. These books contain, moreover, but few speeches. The poet himself, and not the characters, develops the story. That is not the case, for instance, in book XI. Here, almost 40% of the book is made up of speeches; whereas book V contains not even 30% of the same. To this difference in composition is due also, to a large extent, the small number of adjectives in Hartmann's Iwein compared with Erec, Gregorius, and Armer Heinrich. And to this same fact we would attribute, too, the comparatively small number of adjectives in book IX of Parzival. We should recall, furthermore, that a developpt knight like Gawan does not receive the same number of adjectives as a young aspiring hero, depicted from his boyhood to manhood; for Gahmuret whose exploits make up so much of books I and II, receives relatively about the same number of adjectives as Gawan. That is doubtless largely due to tradition. Nor can we speak with any certainty concerning changes and relapses in poetic composition, until we know more of the indebtedness of the particular poet to his sources. The difference in regard to the use of adjectives between Iwein and Armer Heinrich, for instance, is undoubtedly largely due also to the difference in sources.

So much for the introduction. The rest of the dissertation is divided into two parts: the first considers the manner in which Wolfram brought his own individuality into play; the second, whether the various characters in Parzival are individualized by attributive adjectives.

The first part merely popularizes, to a large measure, the conclusions of E. Steinmeyer in "Über einige Epitheta der mhd. Poesie" (Erlangen, Prorektorratsrede 1889) and of the present writer in "Die Adjectiva bei Wolfram von Eschenbach stilistisch betrachtet" (Leipzig Diss. Halle 1906). It is shown that Wolfram's personality comes into the foreground in the choice of adjectives, made by him to give new expression to certain ideas that were characteristic of the epic of the day. To mark qualities of 'excellence and worth', for instance, designated in the past by 'guot', Wolfram was the first to use, to any mark degree, the adjective 'wert'. The idea 'guot' was nothing new; but the use of the unusual 'wert' to express the same, was doubtless a conscious step on the part of Wolfram. The same kind of conscious innovation was, to a large extent too, the use of 'clâr' for the familiar attribute 'schön'. We can hardly grant, however, that Wolfram's influence in the use of words like 'süeze' was very markt, for the attribute 'süeze' was too common in all the epics of chivalry. Wolfram differs from his contemporaries again in the use of 'kiusche' and 'kluoc', but not in



regard to the quality designated thereby. Compared with Tristan and Iwein, he emphasized 'courage' and 'manliness'. But here again we do not know what was due to the sources. We should like to know, moreover, whether the age of the different heroes made any difference in the designation of attributes, before we are ready to accept in all particulars the results even of Jaenicke's paper "de dicendi usu Wolframii." If the "unhöfisch" 'küene', 'balt', and 'ellens rîche' were gradually dropt, what was used in their stead? The quality, designated by them, seems rather to have been displaced by attributes like 'wert', 'guot', 'stolz', 'manlich', 'höfisch', and the like.

In part two we learn how far any particular character is individualized. The majority of the adjectives in Parzival originate in general from differences of age and sex: youth brings with it 'clâr' and 'süeze'; old age, 'grâ' and 'wîse' in the case of man and woman respectively; middle age, above all 'wert', but also to some extent 'stolz', 'küene', and 'ellens rîche'. Rank, nationality, character, and intellect are not used for individualization except from a humorous standpoint, or when the various personages of the poem use adjectives in characterizing each other. In fact, Wolfram shows but little direct individualization, failing to note the individual in each character with sufficient vividness.

In an appendix the author gives, in various divisions, a list of the persons with the attributive adjectives under discussion.

The reading of the proof was done in a very hasty and negligent manner. The misprints are too numerous to enumerate.

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FOLKESANGEN PAA FÆRØERNE. Af Hjalmar Thuren. København. A. F. Høsts Forlag. 1908. 337pp. (*Folklore Fellows' Publications, Northern Series*, No. 2).

In 1901 the author published a booklet, "*Dans og Kvadigtning paa Færøerne*," containing a score of Faroe ballad tunes which he had collected in Copenhagen from natives of those islands. The present volume however is based upon material which he gathered at first hand during a visit to the Faroes in 1902 and presents the results of his study of Faroe ballads and songs from the musical standpoint.

Only a few Faroe tunes had been printed previously by others. It is time that a careful collection of tunes was made, since, as Thuren assures us, the old native ballads are dying out, except in the remoter districts, from lack of appreciation by the younger generation. New melodies are making their way

into the islands,—the young fishermen, for instance, bring back at the close of the season foreign sailors' and other songs which crowd out the old ballads at the winter dances. The increasing acquaintance with modern instrumental music also tends to bring about a change of taste.

Thuren prepared himself carefully for this visit to the Faroes and was able within the single summer season to visit the important districts and to become acquainted with the best singers of the old ballads in the islands. He carried a phonograph about with him and found the islanders quite willing to sing into it, so that he was able to bring back at least half of his material on the wax cylinders. His versions of the Faroe tunes were collected from nearly sixty natives, mostly persons of fifty to seventy years of age. A greater number of airs was collected in Suderø than in any other part of the islands.

The chief social diversion of the Faroese is dancing, and, since they have no instrumental music of their own, their dances are accompanied only by simple one-part singing. Hence the introduction to this book is properly devoted to a discussion of the Faroe dances, the chief of which, the ring-dance (Danish *kædedans*, "chain-dance," in which the participants form a circle by joining hands), is described in detail. Dancing is most indulged in in the winter but on occasion at other seasons also, as at weddings or on the national holiday, July 29. Not merely the young people but older ones as well take part. All enter into the spirit of the dance with the whole soul, following the accompanying ballad or song with the closest attention, even giving expression to their moods by such mimicry and gestures as the circumstances permit. The leader of the dancing is likewise the foresinger, who must be long-winded and lusty of voice and should render the texts with expressiveness and dramatic force. All the participants sing the refrain, though it is not unusual now for other dancers to join the leader in singing the stanzas of a well-known ballad. The ballads are often very long and may be sung with much repetition, since the purpose is to prolong the pleasure of the dance. When one piece is finished, another is usually begun immediately, or, if not, the dancing may continue for a time without accompaniment. Ballads were not sung exclusively to the dance. The *kvöldsetur*,—when those connected with the farmstead gathered formerly on winter evenings to spin, card wool or sew, while the older peasants related tales or led in singing—afforded the young Faroese the best opportunity to become acquainted with the old traditional lore of their people.

On pages 85-140 the material on the Faroe melodies is presented, eighty-eight numbers with variants for many of them.

The text of one stanza or of the refrain is printed with the notes. Thus, so far as the texts are concerned, Thuren gives little new material, merely referring for nearly every number to the great manuscript collection of Faroe ballads and songs begun by Grundtvig, the "*Corpus carminum Færoensium*" in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, (see *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, VI, 246-261). Thuren's purpose was to collect tunes and he does not make clear that he took pains to record new variants in the texts. The author discusses at length the rhythm and tonality of the Faroe melodies and adds a few pages on their origin. He is inclined to regard the pentatonic character of Faroe melodies as due to Keltic influence, without being able to offer convincing proof of this any more than, in his introduction, for the origin of the national *kædedans* in the medieval dances of the continent. Regarding the esthetic value of Faroe ballad tunes, he does not deny that they scarcely sound attractive to most persons accustomed to harmony in music, though in tonality and rhythm they are not without charm for one who has a thorough acquaintance with them.

Thuren also collected a large amount of material on the tunes of older Danish ballads in Faroe tradition, about seventy in all with variants. Only a few specimens are presented here since the author intends to make use of his material in a collection of Danish ballad tunes. Finally this book contains specimens (eighteen numbers) of more recent Danish and Norwegian melodies as sung in the Faroes, including songs on biblical subjects and hymns. It is an interesting fact that the Faroese have adapted some hymn tunes to dance-songs and satirical poems.

An appendix contains a summary of the Danish text in not altogether faultless German.

Thuren's book with its new and valuable material is a very welcome contribution to our knowledge of song among that small Teutonic folk.

CHARLES A. WILLIAMS.

*University of Illinois, March 18, 1910.*

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LYKKEMAND OG NIDING: VOR FOLKEÆT I OLDTIDEN. FÖRSTE BOG. By Vilhelm Grönbech. Köbenhavn, V. Pio. 8vo. pp. 220. 1909.

This book attempts nothing less than to show that in the interpretation of Germanic antiquity we must proceed on a deeper psychological basis than we have hitherto builded upon.

As it is not likely that this notable work will be accessible



to many, in its Danish dress, I take the liberty of occupying more space than is usual otherwise.

Our first knowledge of the Germanic world is from without. From the South we look upon the Teutonic tribes with the eyes of an advanced civilization. And seen thus, they undeniably appear as a chaotic mass of savages, devoid of the culture, the organization, the arts, by which the Ancient world was able, for centuries, to withstand the tremendous shock of their attack. The abject fear of the Cimbri and Teutones quickly yields to the decided feeling of superiority when Caesar's genius led his legions to victory over their fierce but undisciplined hordes. Consequently, no serious attempt at understanding these 'barbarians' was made. Romans and Greeks agreed in considering their existence exclusively as a negation of all civilized life.

A few centuries later, however, when decadence began to set in, a quasi-Romantic sympathy with these barbarians arose. In comparison with the decayed products of their own highly complex society running to seed, these people seemed like veritable children of Nature. Tacitus describes them as well as he knew, sympathetically; he makes them neither better nor worse than they were. At the same time it is clear that his book goes to the other extreme in this sense that he idealizes them, Rousseau-like glorifies their very primitiveness and unbroken strength, by showing *that they are aborigines*. But *he* did not understand the Teutons either.

The civilized man's hatred and fear of the barbarian is engendered chiefly by the feeling that in him he is confronting incalculable forces that seem amenable to no *law*. Fiercely, planlessly, it seems to him, the savage keeps his oath, just as planlessly to break it again; he is unexpectedly gentle and generous at one time, only to rival the beasts in ferocity and brutality at another time.\* The barbarian has no character, that was the common opinion of the Ancients. In other words—he is 'uncivilized'.

We at present blandly assume greater insight, relying upon our knowledge 'from the inside,' our 'Germanic civilization,' from the height of which we may complacently look down upon

\* [Compare, however, the various atrocities which 'civilized' Cæsar committed and unblushingly recorded in his Gallic War. Were these atrocities and breaches of faith of which he and other 'civilized' Romans were guilty, less perfidious and brutal, because they were committed in the name of Roman Imperialism, and against 'uncivilized' Barbarians? Of what real value is the opinion of men who were capable of acts as barbarous as those of the so-called Barbarians?—Ed.]



'our beginnings,' both as depicted by the Ancients, and in the Germanic literatures—oblivious of the revolution, albeit—a slow one, which Christianity and classical influences wrought on the whole aspect of the Germanic world. We may be sure that the Ancients were keen enough observers. They were contemporary, we must not forget, and they tell us of what they saw with their own clear eyes or heard as reliable information from sober men; for they were at least as eager as the modern explorer to get at the best obtainable knowledge concerning peoples beyond their immediate ken. The great mass of their information squares excellently with what we know about the Teutons from other sources. The failure of such men as Caesar and Tacitus to understand the true nature of the Teutons ought to warn us, lest we commit the same error in *our* interpretation and make too light of that which is really and essentially unlike in our forebears, lest we interpret according to our own notions, substituting our motives for theirs.

We do have that advantage over the Ancients that we possess the reverse picture also, in the mirror of an extensive, homegrown literature. And with the help of this literature we are, indeed, able to interpret all, or nearly all, of the scattered remarks of the Southern observers. We know through it that the Teutons were not 'savages,' after all, but civilized, in their own way and, their actions lawful, in their own eyes. But with a difference! Of the two North European races of antiquity, the Celts and the Teutons, it is, notwithstanding the difference of race, the Celts who are more comprehensible to us. With his fantastic, responsive, and passionate temperament the Celt is distinctly the more modern of the two. Compared with him, the Teuton is heavy, less imaginative, reserved, harking back, as it seems at first blush, to a more earthbound stratum of development. We must be doubly on our guard, then, against assuming, as has been done, that the Teuton's view of life was virtually and merely an unperverted precursor of our own, through the assimilation of which we might hope for a Germanic re-birth. That was the fond hope of the North during the last century. The truth is that the representatives of Germanic antiquity shown us by Öhlenschläger, Tegnér, A. Munch, Ibsen, Björnson, and others, have precious little resemblance to the originals; but smack, rather, of the rapidly shifting tastes of the nineteenth century.

"To acquire a just opinion of a bygone period, one must live one's self into the 'ecstasy'"—the gratification of the predominating passion—"of that time," because in this ecstasy are contained *in nuce* all the intellectual and emotional contents of the age at their greatest intensity. Most of us will agree with

Grönbech when he asserts that the characteristic ecstasy of the ancient Teuton is experienced in the moment of accomplished revenge.

It is undoubtedly difficult for us fully to realize this; but the fact can at least be *explained* (which Grönbech omits to do) by reference to prevailing social and economic conditions. The social and economic unit of Germanic times was emphatically the clan. The desirable qualities in one free-born were that he be doughty, generous, hospitable, prudent, resourceful, helpful to friend and terrible to foe—in fine, that he have the virtues of a good kinsman; because, the essential thing for the existence of the clan—virtually for its self-preservation—was precisely that it should prosper and present a formidable and united front, in order to keep would-be invaders at a respectful distance; which, in its turn, is conditioned on the prosperity and loyalty of each individual member. No insult to any one could be brooked; for, like a chain, the clan is no stronger than its weakest link.

Of a necessity there follow as master-rules of conduct, on the one hand, that dissensions and actual conflict between kinsmen is the greatest of evils—so monstrous a crime as to be almost unthinkable;<sup>1</sup> on the other, that the clan must see to it that the next of kin ruthlessly pursue and kill the slayer of a member, and in all ways help on the revenge—whenever not directly opposed to what we, with the emphasis on individual responsibility, as against clan-morality, would consider most elementary justice and fairness. *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus*, a Brutus pronouncing the death sentence upon his son for transgressing the law,—such ideals were wholly beyond the ken of the Teuton.

“Here lies the difference between Hellenic and Teutonic civilization. The Greek is so sympathetic because we can approach so closely to him, have as it were a heart-to-heart talk with him about Life; because we can let him introduce us into his own world, so different from ours, can let him point out to us

<sup>1</sup> As a sort of counter-proof to this may be taken Grönbech's illustrations of how individuals, placed between the mutually exclusive principles of revenge or honor, and close kinship, may come near satisfying the Greek idea of the tragic. We need but to think of Signy, of Gudrun-Kriemhild, of Hildebrand and Hadubrand; and, finally, of the apotheosis of the unthinkable crime, Balder's death: brother killed by brother and all the gods kinsmen of the slayer. But,—and here is the difference,—aside from the sorrow over the effects of vengeance once wreaked, we have yet to learn of one case of inward struggle *which* course to take, and of any hesitation in its pursuit, except from cowardice.

the daily aim of his thoughts and acts; and, best of all, because from his mien and word we can infer how his mind reacts on outside influences. The barbarian stirs not. He stands there, obstinately immovable, and repels our approaches. When he does speak, his words convey no meaning to us. He has killed a man. "In revenge?" His father had said an ugly thing to my uncle, and so I sought honor from him to us." "Why took you not the offender's life?" "His son was a better man." The more we inquire the more incomprehensible he becomes. He seems like a machine running on principles."

He is, as we understand him now, throughout and only, kinsman. The Greek exists—as we do—as an individual within a society, whereas the Teuton at best is only a representative of a larger whole. And under the ægis of the clan, he judges others and himself under one aspect alone—as asserting himself, holding his own, vindicating his honor, as he calls it. All else that stirs in a man's breast is turned and twisted into some form of relation with his honor, all other passions are hedged in and focussed to meet in one effective point, in his vengeance. But the revenge he takes is not merely a direct retaliation and repetition of the wrong done him, but a personal vindication, a process of self-assertion, an emphatic affirmation of his own value, of his 'idea'—in short, of his 'honor.' Hence the Teuton's chiefest self-expression, his poetry, feeds on revenge and the preparations for revenge, exults in its accomplishment, and dwells fondly on the complementary supposition of loyalty to king and clan. The grandest motives contributed by him to the world's literature belong here—the Nibelung—Völsung—Thidrek cycles; and well-nigh the whole body of the Icelandic sagas.

Woman's place in his poetry is but that of a Valkyria, or of an abettor, or trifling cause, of feuds. Rarely is she there on her own account. She simply belongs to the normal inventory of life. And friendship is mentioned only when friend leans on friend in case of need.

Grönbech does not, of course, mean to deny that the desires for gain and woman's love were not present in the North, then as well as at other times; but it was not, then, *la grande passion*. The place of eroticism, as ruling passion, was occupied by the jealously guarded integrity of one's self, in so far as it comes to motivate the more remarkable events of history and furnishes the strongest central spring of action; just as at other times love is the chiefest inspiration of the extraordinary; as at present (e. g. in the typical Britisher's and American's point of view) love is again on the parlor side of life,

and gain and power are regarded as the real aims of manly endeavor. The one feeling has grown at the expense of all others and has absorbed what would seem to us an undue amount of the contents of consciousness. The ancient Teuton is a stickler for his honor 'wie er im Buch steht.' In a national psychology, the Germanic invasion of history would certainly represent a 'masculine pole.'

Unfortunately, Grönbech proceeds on the tacit assumption that the 'honor or vengeance' principle, as central feature in Germanic life, is unique. With this we are, of course, bound to disagree. Similar customs incident to similar conditions, have very commonly prevailed at all times and among all races. Not necessarily only among those that are savage or 'decadent.' Grönbech need but read *Huckleberry Finn*, or some of the savory records of Breathitt County, Kentucky. The custom of Vendetta seems everywhere ascribable to a lack of strong central authority, whether now this be due to weakness or inefficiency (cf. the Kentucky feuds and the Camorra in Italy<sup>4</sup>), or to a peculiarly loose organization of the state itself. In either case clan-protection will result—as in the Germanic North in olden times.

Very little having been done toward the investigation of the feeling of revenge,<sup>5</sup> perhaps the best we can do, would be to familiarize ourselves with how (semi-)legalized vengeance works out in modern times.

I choose the Corsican Vendetta which embodies customs strikingly similar to those that prevailed in Iceland, many centuries ago. Mérimée's '*Colomba*' contains full descriptions of Corsican life, the accuracy of which never has been called in doubt. Stripped of its modern accessories, chief of which is the falling in love of the returning son with an English heiress—simply a means of bringing out the struggle between the old morality and the new,—the story left is the simple saga-motive, of the son unwilling to avenge his father on his murderers, but egged on to it by local opinion and the instigation of his sister. Here only a few analogies.

Says Mérimée: "Il est impossible de parler des Corses sans attaquer ou sans justifier leur passion proverbiale." It is even more than that, it is 'a sacred duty' to wreak swift vengeance

<sup>4</sup> The principal points of interest might be formulated in the questions: What were the circumstances of their love? How did he rise in the world? How was the vengeance effected?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Political Science Quarterly* IX 466.

<sup>5</sup> Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, II, 471.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. III.



on the offender; and one so binding that it needs not the '*rimbecco*,' the wail of reproach against delay, to spur up the conscience of the next of kin. Everybody despises the coward who does not wash out an insult with blood. To burn the deed into his memory, the women sew on a son's coat some blood-stained patch of the murdered kinsman's garment. The Vendetta is the greatest, if not the only, source of inspiration for the Corsican poet or poetess.<sup>8</sup> With the '*rimbecco*' compare the Norse '*frýjuorð*' and its terribly compelling power, especially when issuing from the mouth of implacable women. There is also the '*vendetta transversale*'—"c'est la vengeance que l'on fait tomber sur un parent plus ou moins éloigné de l'auteur de l'offense."<sup>9</sup> That is, there obtains the same idea of clan-responsibility for the deeds of its members. The act of vengeance is committed with the same cool deliberation in either island. Not so very long ago, one of the adversaries in a Corsican feud "might be seen day after day practicing at a mark set up against an oak-tree that stood near the public road. When he had, in his own estimation, acquired sufficient skill in the art of murder he lay in wait for his enemy, and shot him as he passed that very oak."<sup>10</sup> A spot such as that becomes marked in the consciousness of the people, and a '*mucchio*'<sup>11</sup> of stone or branches accumulates there gradually, just as, in Iceland, a '*varða*' is occasionally set up where a man has died a violent death, and grows through every traveller casting a stone on it.<sup>12</sup> In Corsica, the perpetrator of an act of vengeance goes '*alla campagna*,' that is, becomes bandit; but that the avenger should at all flee into the '*macchi*' is not due to unfavorable public opinion. On the contrary, it is merely a way to protect himself against clashing with the stronger (Genoese, and later French) law and authorities, while he is openly encouraged and supported by his clansmen.

In this regard, then, the Corsicans of yesterday really stood lower morally than the Norsemen of old, in as much as the latter made a sharp distinction between murder (O. N. *morð*) and homicide (O. N. *drep*). The slayer was to make immediate announcement, at the nearest homestead of neutral people, of his deed, his name, and his home; upon which correct '*víglysing*,' and if he could show 'good cause' for his deed at the next thing, he was at liberty to offer *manngjöld* (compo-

<sup>7</sup> do. Mérimée's note 2.

<sup>8</sup> Chap. III Mérimée's note 1.

<sup>9</sup> Chap. I Mérimée's note.

<sup>10</sup> *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 64, p. 499.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. XI.

<sup>12</sup> Herrmann, *Island* II, p. 89 and note.

sition).<sup>13</sup> If it was not correctly announced, however, public opinion condemned the deed as *níðingsvíg*, a caitiff murder, he became *útlagr* (outlaw), and was proscribed with the utmost rigor.

Besides Corsica, the institution of vendetta exists (or existed), in more or less primitive forms, also among the Albanians,<sup>14</sup> the Sicilians, the Calabrians, the Druses, the Circassians, etc. But the analogy of the one modern instance adduced suffices to demonstrate that the Germanic conception of honor and revenge is by no means an isolated phenomenon.

This conclusion of course in no wise invalidates Grönbech's contention that upon and around the dictates of 'honor' Germanic society was built up in entire logic consistency. We follow him interestedly, when, on the basis of this hypothesis, he attempts to grasp and account for the salient characteristics of Germanic civilization. Without necessarily granting that it will explain all, we may admit with pleasure that it certainly does afford us a new insight into the peculiar social and moral suppositions upon which, in the last analysis, this civilization rested. For—and this is one of the greatest merits of the book—barbaric and repulsive though they may seem to us, we are yet bound to recognize that there *was* such a thing as a distinctive German civilization—one as harmonious as ours, though vastly coarser and narrower.

In probing historic Germanic conditions from this point of view the author has furnished prolegomena for a psychology of the primitive feelings of clanship, the institution of vendetta, and the conception of honor, which ought to be of universal interest and bear fruit in other disciplines also. Moreover, an essential step has been taken in really understanding—not only translating—the Ancients; especially in passages that have as natural presupposition a mode of thought different from ours. In other words, these passages must, from their special cast of thought, be re-translated, as it were, into the *Allgemeinmenschliche*, in order to be appreciated by us with approximately the same feelings which they would arouse in contemporaries of the writer.

Grönbech's main thesis is, then, that our conception of specifically Germanic terms, such as Afs. *fríð*, *liss*, *är*, *spēð*, *sib*, '*gamen and glēo-drēam*' (and their analogues in the other Germanic languages), needs a thorough-going revision—which is but a reiteration, in detail, of his program to put the interpretation of

<sup>13</sup> Older Gulathings Law 156; Frostathings Law iv, 7; etc.

<sup>14</sup> Article 39 ff. of the Montenegrin Law of Prince Danilo (1855) still admitted the legality of the killing of an offender by the insulted individual.

Germanic antiquity on a deeper psychologic basis. It would, however, be neither feasible nor desirable to quote his results, the 'definitions' of these terms (unless, indeed, *in extenso*). To do so would obliterate precisely what the author aims at: to restore to a semblance of former life the rich conceptual value, the emotional connotations, as it were, of these well-known words, by rounding out their desiccated modern equivalents trait by trait, and with a leisurely, loving care. Thus alone can be rendered back to their life-like coloring the age-imbrowned paintings of saga and epos, law and lore. At times, as cannot but happen to so ardent an advocate, he presses a point unduly, as e. g. when he undervalues the testimony of the *Njálssaga*,<sup>15</sup> but with his arguments on the whole we do certainly agree.

One of the most 'tangible' results seems to me the notable gain in poetic meaning of a great number of lines, especially in the Anglo-Saxon epics, which are generally regarded as so many blind tags, or little better. Take e. g., *Bēowulf*, l. 1180 ff.: "I know my 'glad' Hrōðulf, [and] that he will keep the young men (Hrōðgar's sons) in honor (*ārum healdan*) if thou, Lord of the Scyldings, shouldest depart this world before him. I ween he will repay our heirs with good, if he remember all that we two did in the past to further his honor (*hwaet wit . . . ārna gefremedon*), in his behalf and to his advantage, when he was yet an infant." Ibid, 1272: "He (*Bēowulf*), however, was mindful of the strength of his might, the ample gift God had granted him, and trusted to the Supreme for honor (*him tō anwaldan āre gelyfde*), for help and succor; and hence overcame the fined (Grendel's mother)." Ibid. 2375: "But he (*Bēowulf*) with friendly instructions upheld him (*Heardrēd*, his liegeland's son) among his people, bounteously with honor (*mid āre*), until he became of age. . . ."

Honor, and honor again! Vexed and baffled by this 'honorable' vagueness, we may exclaim with Lessing's *Minna* "Die Ehre ist—die Ehre." And we are not brought a whit further, even if we conscientiously make a comparison of all passages containing *ār*. Bosworth-Toller give no less than twenty glosses for the word, under the headings of 'honor,' 'kindness,' and 'property'; but there is serious doubt whether we shall find unmistakable support for any translation other than just 'honor'. Clearly, then, the early conception of 'honor' was both more complex, and had a more direct appeal, than we have assumed. And, unless in the manner here shown to us, we delve into the recesses, and attentively follow all manifestations, of the Teutonic mind we shall never get to know or, rather,

<sup>15</sup> Though undoubtedly late, of diverse origin, and worked over.

*feel*, the portentous significance that attached to this (and many another) word which in the course of centuries has lost both cast and color.

It is these terms, naively transferred to Biblical history, that chiefly impart to the Germanic Paraphrases their peculiar flavor. Trailing long trains of century-old connotations from their Northern homes, these words lag lamentably, at times ludicrously, behind the new (especially Christian) conceptions they are to convey.<sup>16</sup>

It has not been the purpose of these lines to give a list of contents of this most suggestive treatise—which were a difficult task, indeed; but, rather, to call attention to the book and the new problems it raises. For one thing, its methods are distinctly *sui generis*. One arises from the perusal delighted at having gained a deeper insight into familiar yet perplexing matters, and with the satisfaction always attending any freshly presented and plausible effort to link special and dimly understood phenomena with facts of a more general nature. Moreover, the book has literary merit of no mean order. A second volume is promised on Public Life among the Ancient Teutons. We look forward to it with pleasure.

L. M. HOLLANDER.

*University of Michigan*, March 10, 1910.

<sup>16</sup> A few examples are given by G. on p. 141 ff.

## STUDIES IN NEW ENGLAND TRANSCENDENTALISM

by Harold Clarke Goddard. Pp. 217-x. New York. The Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, Agents, 1908. Price, \$1, net.

Both the friends and the detractors of this popular American thought-movement of the early half of the nineteenth century have treated it from many points of view, but one misses from all the books on the subject a serious, and at the same time satisfactory, attempt to say just what it was, how far idealistic, how far mystical, how far philosophical and how far poetic, how far based on a love of facts and how far intellectualistic. Perhaps this is because the movement does not appear at its best in the crucibles of the analyst and systematic expositor, and because the professional high priests of philosophy have never taken the movement very seriously. Emerson was inclined to suspect "that completeness of system which metaphysicians are apt to affect," and his own temperamental tendency to use superlatives and to exaggerate rather disqualifies him for accurate writing. New England Transcendentalism has



features in common with so fantastic a metaphysic as Christian Science, and others in common with systems as widely separated by temperament and method as Platonism, Humeanism, and Darwinism. Why are not these features worth discovery in such writers as Channing and Emerson?

Professor Goddard's book is in this respect no exception to the rule. The terms of his characterization are, for the most part, used very loosely, almost carelessly. The term transcendental is technically defined in the introduction to the work, but elsewhere it is used vaguely. In the author's mind it seems to be merely the name of an historical literary phenomenon possessing very curious, but very loosely correlated characteristics.

The discussions of the book relate chiefly to two questions,—the sources of the movement as revealed in a study of the reading of its chief representatives, and the question how far the popular charges of 'impractical' and 'transcending common sense' are justified. Much has been written on these same questions and novelty in the discussion of them was not to be expected. The author's general conclusions have been in the minds of thorough readers of Emerson for years. But there is much in the author's sifting and massing of evidence, and much in his style of writing, which amply repay the reader for his trouble.

In the first chapter, the relations of transcendentalism to unitarianism in New England are described with what impresses the present writer as a very fair sense of historic perspectives. That Calvinism split into unitarianism and orthodoxy, and unitarianism into transcendentalism and conservative unitarianism, is probably history well told. And the author correctly observes that the unitarianism of New England was no mere importation from the English movement of that name. It was in part indigenous to American soil. Transcendentalism was no doubt to a great extent a reaction from the 'pale abstractions of Boston unitarianism,' a reaction from the understanding toward the emotions, from the head to the heart, from intellectualism with its emphasis upon purely logical values to humanism with its emphasis upon human values, from rationalism toward intuitionism and mysticism. The author adds, however, that the two movements were related as in the old world the close of the eighteenth century with its romanticism and enthusiasm was related to the formalism and intellectualism of its beginning. This characterization of the eighteenth century is, however, more trite than true, more rhetorical than scientific. There was a strain of transcendentalism of this sort throughout the eighteenth century in Europe. Especially in England the ap-

peal from reasoning to reason, from analysis to intuition, was never unheard. Ralph Cudworth died in 1688 and Berkeley in 1753. Between them the torch of Platonic idealism was not allowed to smoulder, and all the breezes from England over the sea carried with them sparks of that celestial fire. Professor Goddard probably over-emphasizes the reactionary character of New England transcendentalism.

The second chapter of the book treats the intellectual and literary influences affecting the transcendentalists and recognizes the forces just mentioned. Plato in the original and as quoted by Cudworth and others; Plotinus, Cousin, Berkeley, Schelling, Coleridge, Swedenborg, Goethe, and many others helped. The influence of Coleridge on Channing, for example, was most profound, while Emerson was, to use his own expression, a 'good reader' of Plato and Plotinus. Channing, Alcott, Emerson, Parker, and Margaret Fuller are treated separately and with interesting detail drawn from more comprehensive histories of their lives. An important appendix on the German literature in New England in the early part of the nineteenth century is one of the most original features of the work and one of the most valuable. The influence of the transcendentalists on each other is also well brought out. "Through Unitarianism then, and through Channing, who diverted a part of the Unitarian movement into a new channel, we may trace an essentially direct English current ending in transcendentalism. Into this perhaps relatively slender stream was turned the turbulent but congenial volume of German and other continental waters, and into that united river the thought of former ages dropped—not, in the image of Emerson's poem, like ordinary rain, but like veritable cloudbursts."

The third and fourth chapters of the book discuss the transcendentalism and practical life, and tend to justify the popular charge against the movement, although the author holds that 'the proper charge stands neither refuted nor confirmed.' He finds in the movement two opposing forces, the one in the main impractical, the other chiefly practical. He adds that 'the most conspicuous similarity of these transcendentalists was simply their *Puritan Character*'—moral courage, adherence to principle, purity, nobility, and elevation of spirit such as belong to the best of old New England.

The 'signally American contribution to transcendentalism' was puritanism, the union of philosophy with character.

In the concluding chapter an 'astounding' similarity between the spirit of New England transcendentalism and the spirit of the French Revolution is emphasized,—distrust of the past, optimistic faith in the future, and confidence in the ef-

ficacy of a formula for solving the problems of mankind. They did not grasp the significance of historical continuity and evolution, and they failed to comprehend the real functions of the church and the state, exalting the individual and ignoring in large degree the social and institutional factors of life.

On the question whether New England transcendentalism was indigenous to America or an importation from Europe, the work before us takes a middle position. From one point of view it was part of a world-wide and spontaneous movement at the end of the eighteenth century in the direction of other than intellectualistic standards and methods of truth. In this respect it compares with Coleridge's exaltation of reason above understanding (following the Kantians), Shelley's mysticism, Carlyle's gospel of work, Wordsworth's nature-worship, and so on. But the author holds that the original stimulus to the strictly metaphysical part of New England transcendentalism came largely, though not exclusively, from Germany, England being foremost, and France next in bringing this thought to America. Coleridge was the most important of English interpreters of German thought and Cousin, Mme. De Stael, and Jouffroy, of French.

The style in which the book is written will probably be vigorous and pleasing to the majority of readers. A good bibliography and index conclude the book.

G. A. TAWNEY.

*University of Cincinnati.*

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ENGLISH LITERATURE: ITS HISTORY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LIFE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD. A Text-Book for Schools. By William J. Long, Ph.D. (Heidelberg). Boston. Ginn & Company. 1909. 8vo, pp. xv, 582. Price, \$1.35.

The number of school histories of English literature has been considerably increased in the last few years. The latest addition to the list is the work of a clergyman and writer well known in other lines but, so far as we know, without special experience in the teaching of this subject. He seems, however, to have made conscientious preparation for the work of writing this book.

The volume is built on fairly generous lines. It contains about 150 pages more than Moody and Lovett's *History of English Literature* (1902) and about 100 pages more than Simonds's book of the same title (1902). It is only slightly heavier than the former, and a somewhat shapelier vol-



ume than that of Simonds, which is printed on thicker paper. In the matter of illustrations, it may be added that while Moody and Lovett's book contains none, and Simonds's has 13, Long's has 53, of which five or six are full-page, and of which all are clear and distinctly creditable to the book. The frontispiece is a handsome reproduction in eleven colors of the group of Canterbury pilgrims from Ms. Royal 18 D ii in the British Museum. Professor Phelps's Literary Map of England (1899), in a revised form, is inserted. For the text three kinds of type are employed: small pica for the description and criticism of works and periods, long primer for the historical summaries and biographical sketches, and brevier for the bibliographical notes and review questions. Typographically the volume reflects great credit on all who have helped to produce it.<sup>1</sup>

The writer of a school text-book on literary history must consider at least four points: interest, accuracy, proportion, and comprehensiveness. In respect to the first of these Mr. Long succeeds well. He writes clearly, in the main, and easily; he is free from cant and gush, yet he is properly enthusiastic. In a short introduction (nine pages) he has rightly insisted upon the importance of literature as embodying national and popular ideals; and his later chapters are generally consistent with this view. His estimates are rarely of the hackneyed or merely conventional type, and show a well developed sense of literary values.

Likewise in the matter of accuracy, so far as we have tested Mr. Long's statements we have found them to be generally correct. A vast number of facts, dates, and titles are presented; yet the percentage of errors is small. Some details under this head are noted below.

Of the ideal proportions of a book of this kind every writer and critic will have his own notion. Mr. Long's notion may be gathered from a few random illustrations. He devotes three pages to Marlowe, eighteen and one-half to Shakespeare, five and one-half to Ben Jonson, three and one-half to Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Middleton, Thomas Heywood, Dekker, Massinger, Ford, Shirley; eight to Bacon, eight to Bunyan, three to Evelyn and Pepys; sixteen and one-half to Milton,

<sup>1</sup> We have noted the following misprints: P. 49, l. 3 f.b., read: Advocates'. P. 118, l. 1 f.b., read: century. P. 120, l. 11, read: out rode; l. 13, read: And all about; ll. 15, 20, read: merrily. P. 181, l. 14, read: Northup. P. 192, l. 17, transfer 'and' to the beginning of the next line. P. 360, l. 17, delete the parenthesis. P. 562, l. 9 f.b., for Meyer's read: Myers's. P. 570, l. 4 f.b., read: Litteraria.



seven to Dryden, two to Butler, three and one-half to Gray, six to Goldsmith, nine and one-half to Dickens, eight to Thackeray, eight to George Eliot. The minor Victorian poets, Mrs. Browning, Rossetti, Morris, and Swinburne get, we think, rather too little space (together five pages); and surely the poetry of Clough (p. 486) should receive more than a mere mention. Emily Brontë (p. 514) is, relatively to her sister Charlotte, probably worth more than a note of five lines. It is perhaps a question if Chapter V, *The Revival of Learning* (only ten pages), has an excuse for separate existence. These last, however, are only minor criticisms; in the main, Mr. Long's sense of proportion will commend itself to most of his readers.

To come to our fourth point, by comprehensiveness we do not mean completeness—an impossible ideal; we mean that a writer of a history like this is not at liberty to select a few great names and ignore all the lesser ones. Some consideration of minor writers is needed as a background. Mr. Long's generous attention to minor writers may be called one of the distinctive and commendable features of his book. In the Victorian era, for example, he finds space for mention of J. A. Symonds, Sir Leslie Stephen, Huxley, Tyndall, and Wallace; in the earlier chapters he mentions men like Raleigh, North, Hakluyt, Percy, and William Hazlitt, whom others have often omitted. It is this quality of comprehensiveness which renders this book superior for school use, in our estimation, to works like Hinchman and Gummere's *Lives of Great English Writers*, in its way a thoroughly good book.

We now pass to some more minute criticisms:

P. 17, l. 8 f.b. Was *Beowulf* undoubtedly written on English soil? Assuredly its present form was produced on English soil, but the earlier form probably goes back to Continental times. See B. Symons in Paul's *Grundriss* iii. 644-54.

P. 31, l. 10. It may be convenient to exclude Bede, but it is certainly illogical. Bede was none the less an Englishman for the accident that he, like other scholars of the day, wrote in Latin, and his *Ecclesiastical History* is just as much a product of English genius as if it had been originally written in English.

P. 52, l. 10. Is it strictly accurate to say that Tennyson's work was "founded on" Geoffrey? A long period of development intervened between Geoffrey and Malory, from whom Tennyson got most of his Arthurian stories.

P. 57, note 1. It may be doubted whether Tennyson "made a mistake" in treating Gawayne as he did. He only followed the well known tradition by which Gawayne was degraded from his former lofty character; and the poet, it must be remembered,

had his own artistic purpose to serve. He was not merely translating; he was creating. Gawayne in Tennyson forms a kind of link between Lancelot and Tristram.

P. 69, l. 20. There should, we think, be a more positive injunction to pronounce the *-e* at the end of a Chaucerian line.

P. 73, l. 7. Is not this misleading? Do we know definitely that Chaucer translated the whole of *Le Roman de la Rose*?

P. 77, l. 11. Probably the author does not sufficiently take into account the ballad literature, which certainly does not refer to a heroic age.

P. 78, l. 14 f.b. We should hesitate to speak of *The Knight's Tale* as dramatically powerful. It can hardly be denied that there is a good deal of lingering in true medieval fashion over certain parts of the tale.

P. 82, l. 4. "The common people cherished this easily memorized form of Saxon poetry." Is not this misleading with reference to the number of readers and interested hearers of that day? It suggests too strongly the conditions of modern times.

P. 85, l. 15. "Copied manuscripts." The adjective is unnecessary, since practically all medieval mss. were copied, not original.

P. 86, l. 25. Gower certainly deserves a large-type notice.

P. 95, l. 3. Why say "both together?" They did not collaborate L. 15. Surely Malory should precede Wyatt and Surrey. Nothing is gained by the present order.

P. 96, l. 5. Which one of the four poets wrote a poem called "The Death of Tristram"? Tennyson, Arnold, and Swinburne wrote on Tristram's death, but of these only Tennyson follows Malory's conclusion of the Tristram story. See Malory xx. 6.

P. 109. We do not see what is gained by putting *The Shepherd's Calendar* after *The Faerie Queene*.

P. 110, l. 13. "Softly closes the book in gentle weariness." This is tame beyond endurance. If the author consciously tried to drop into a Spenserian trick, he more than succeeded.

P. 113, l. 17. A much larger number of poets had a hand in *The Mirror for Magistrates*.

P. 114, l. 8. *Euphues* at this point is not an intelligible reference; a cross-reference to p. 130, n. 2 should be added. L. 16. Chapman, by Mr. Long's own admission, belongs rather with the dramatists on page 163.

P. 118, l. 15. Did the annual presentation of the miracle plays usually or even rarely occupy "a week or more"? Even at Chester they were spread over only three days; cf. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage* ii. 138. Nor did they always begin on Corpus Christi Day.

P. 119, l. 4. The author here gives the impression that the Devil occurs in every play. He does occur in every cycle, of course.

P. 120, l. 11 f.b. The source of these songs, apparently from the Coventry Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors, might well be noted; cf. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama* i. 151-2. L. 9 f.b. "The audience insisting." Was it insistence on the part of the audience or respect for the traditional Bible stories which kept the original form of these folk-dramas on the stage?

P. 123, l. 13. That the interludes "add nothing to our literature" is too sweeping a statement.

P. 151, l. 18. This is an inadequate definition of tragedy. When characters are involved in desperate circumstances, what results is not necessarily a tragedy. It depends on whether the desperate circumstances result from the action of the persons involved. Modern tragedy, that is, must be regarded as having its roots in character.

P. 153, l. 12. While we incline to agree with Mr. Long, it is only fair to point out that in the view of some intelligent critics the sonnets of Shakespeare are quite as impersonal as his plays. And why should the reader avoid (l. 13 f.b.) such or any other classifications?

P. 154, l. 8 f.b. That Shakespeare and the Bible will provide one who merely reads them with a style is open to doubt.

P. 182, l. 24. Brooke's *Shakespeare Apocrypha* has really no place here.

P. 182, l. 6 f.b. Macaulay on Bacon ought not to be recommended to any but mature students—for whom it is worthless.

P. 214, l. 16. This, after the very correct strictures already passed on *Paradise Lost*, is too high praise. Magnificent passages *Paradise Lost* surely has; but structurally it has been too highly rated; even Milton's mighty genius was unequal to the task of handling a theme so full of impossibilities.

P. 227, l. 9. "Currantoes" needs explanation.

P. 265, l. 20. This is rather hard on Voltaire; in fact it is totally misleading and uncalled for. It is time some one attempted to do for Voltaire what he did for Calas, and what Spedding tried to do for Bacon.

P. 282, l. 2 f.b. Addison's clearness is here, as it has often been, exaggerated.

P. 297, l. 3 f.b. Would not "the most eloquent orator whom" be better than "orator which"?

P. 323, l. 6 f.b. Burns's "personal habits." Strictly speaking, it was despair over the immediate desperate situation in

which he found himself with reference to Jean Armour and her irate father that induced him to try to emigrate.

P. 324, l. 19. Burns did not buy the farm of Ellisland; he merely leased it.

P. 327. The significance of the picture of "The Auld Brig" of Ayr should be indicated.

P. 414, l. 8. "After wandering," etc., is a poor sentence.

P. 473, l. 17. Volumes iii and iv of *The Ring and the Book* were published in 1869.

P. 532, l. 9 f.b. "One of the most illuminating criticisms of Burns that *has* appeared in our language." It is time this thoroughly illogical construction disappeared from good writing. We are perfectly well aware of how it grew up and of how good writers sometimes slip into using it; yet it is bad present-day English nevertheless.

P. 536, l. 13 f.b. "Carlyle often violates the rules of grammar." This is somewhat misleading and unjust to Carlyle. In the commonly accepted sense of the term, Carlyle is rarely if ever ungrammatical.

P. 562, l. 3 f.b. Long omits Alexander's *Introduction to Browning*, one of the best of such books.

P. 563, l. 3 f.b. On Craig's *Making of Carlyle*, see the present writer's review in *The Dial* xlvii. 283-4; also *The Nation* lxxxviii. 360.

P. 565, l. 2. Add Woodberry's *Swinburne*, in the *Contemporary Men of Letters* Series.

P. 570, l. 6 f.b. Add Sir Leslie Stephen's *Studies of a Biographer*.

The index is fairly full, but far from complete.

To conclude, we must congratulate Mr. Long on having produced an eminently practical and stimulating book. It will serve as a useful guide for study and reference among high-school pupils, and its compressed form does not prevent it from being a good book for the general reader.

C.S.N.



## HEINRICH VON KLEIST UND WILHELMINE VON ZENGE.

Owing to a series of unfortunate and regrettable misunderstandings the text of the letter of Wilhelmine von Zenge concerning her relations to H. von Kleist, published for the first time in Vol. VI, 432 ff of this Journal, in an article entitled Heinrich von Kleist und Wilhelmine von Zenge, was not submitted to the author of the article for final correction and revision and, therefore, appeared in a badly mutilated form.

In view of the great importance of the letter for the biography of Kleist we print in the following its exact original version which Dr. Martha Krug Genthe, the granddaughter of Wilhelmine von Zenge, has kindly placed at the disposal of the Journal:

*Mein bester Freund:*

Sie äusserten gestern Abend bei Ahlemanns den Wunsch ich mögte weniger geheimnißvoll sein. Für Sie will, und werde ich nie etwas verheimlichen. Es hängt ganz von Ihnen ab, alles was meine Person betrifft von mir zu erfahren. Da ich so sehr wünsche daß Sie mir ganz Ihr Vertrauen schenken mögten, so will ich Ihnen den Theil meines lebens beschreiben, welcher für mich bis jetzt der wichtigste und interessanteste war, und ich hoffe Sie werden mich Ihres Vertrauens werth finden. Dass ich von meinen Eltern sehr einfach und häusslich erzogen wurde, ist Ihnen bekannt. Von meinem 16ten Jahre an, führte meine Mutter mich in alle Gesellschaften, sie begleitete mich in grosse Assenbleen, wo ich das Hofleben anstaunte, Opern, Redouten und Bälle besuchte ich, und genoss, da mir diese Freuden so ganz neu waren, dies alles eine Zeit lang mit grossem Interesse, doch blieb mein Herz bei dem allen sehr leer, und mit Freuden kehrte ich wieder in unsere stille Häusslichkeit zurück. Als ich 18 Jahr alt war || bekam mein Vater das Regiment in Frankfurth. Damals trennte ich mich sehr ungern von Berlin, da ich einen sehr geliebten Bruder, und eine eben so geliebte Freundinn zurück lassen mußte; doch war mein Herz noch von keinem Manne besonders gerührt worden. Mit einem tanzte, oder unterhielt ich mich vielleicht lieber als mit dem andern, doch hatte keiner besonders Theil an meiner Traurigkeit bei dem Abschiede von Berlin.

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Die erste Zeit gefiel mir es gar nicht in Frankfurth, wir alle lebten noch ganz in Berlin, bis sich auch hier Menschen fanden, welche sich für uns interessirten, und uns durch mancherlei Vergnügungen zu zerstreuen suchten. Unter diesen zeichnete sich besonders die Kleistsche Familie aus.

Der Lieutenant Kleist stand damals noch bei des Vaters Regiment. Auch er kam mit seinen Schwestern beinahe täglich zu uns, und wurde von allen gern gesehen, weil er ein sehr fröhlicher junger Mann war, und uns durch seinen Scherz oft zu lachen machte. || Sein älterer Bruder, welcher als Lieutenant bei der Garde stand, nahm damals den Abschied, um hier in Frankfurth zu studieren. Auch er

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wurde unser Nachbar, nahm aber keinen Theil an unsere Gesellschaft wenn wir zu seinen Schwestern kamen. Erst als sein Bruder nach Potsdam versetzt wurde, und seine Schwestern ihren Begleiter, und wir einen angenehmen Gesellschafter verlohren hatten, gesellte er sich zu uns. Wir fanden aber alle, dass er die Stelle des Bruders nicht ersetze, denn er war sehr melancholisch und finster, und sprach sehr wenig. Bald aber begleitete er uns auf allen Spaziergängen, kam mit seinen Schwestern auch zu uns, spielte und sang mit mir, und schien sich in unserer Gessellschaft zu gefallen. Damals hörte er Experimentalphisik bei Dr. Wünsch, wovon er uns gewöhnlich nach dem Colegio mit grossem Interesse unterhielt, auch wir nahmen so lebhaft Antheil an allem was er uns darüber sagte, dass seine Schwestern, wir, und noch einige Mädchen aus unserem Kreise zu dem Dr. Wünsch gingen, und ihn baten auch uns Vorlesungen || darüber zu halten. Dies geschahe, und wir waren sehr aufmerksame Zuhörerinnen, repetirten mit unserm Unterlehrer dem Herrn von Kleist, und machten auch Aufsätze über das, was wir hörten. Als Kleist einen Abend die Aufsätze von seinen Schwestern gelesen hatte, bat er mich ihm auch den meinigen zu zeigen; ich that es, und er fand ihn gut, nur sehr fehlerhaft geschrieben.

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Er bat sich die Erlaubniss aus mir die Hauptregeln der deutschen Sprache nach gerade in kurzen Aufsätzen mittheilen zu dürfen, welches ich recht gern annahm, und recht fleissig studierte, um seine Mühe zu belohnen.

Einen Abend als ich bei Kleists war, gab er mir einen ähnlichen Aufsatz, wie gewöhnlich in ein weiss Papier geschlagen, doch wie erstaunte ich als ich es zu Hause öffnete und darinn von ihm einen Brief fand, worin er mir sagte, dass er mich schon lange herzlich liebe, und ich ihn durch meine Hand sehr beglücken könne. || Mir war es bis jetzt noch gar nicht eingefallen, dass ein Mann mich jemals lieben könne, denn ich fand mich immer sehr hässlich und unleidlich, und war nie mit mir zufrieden. Ich hatte ihn immer sehr unbefangen behandelt, und war ihm gut wie einem Bruder, doch liebte ich ihn nicht, und erstaunte über seine Erklärung, da ich vorher auch nicht das Geringste davon geahndet hatte, sondern immer glaubte er zöge meine Schwester Lotte mir sehr vor. Louisen machte ich zu meiner Vertrauten, und gestand ihr, dass ich ihm gut sei, doch wäre er gar nicht der Mann nach meinem Sinn. Den anderen Tag schrieb ich ihm dass ich ihn weder liebe, noch seine Frau zu werden wünsche, doch würde er mir als Freund immer recht werth sein.

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Leider konnte ich es nicht verhindern ihn wieder zu sehen. Er war ausser sich über meine Antwort und wollte mir einen zweiten Brief geben, welches ich aber schlechterdings verbat. Acht Tage lang suchte er mich auf den Spaziergängen auf, da ich nicht mehr zu seinen Schwestern kam, und bat || Louisen so sehr den Brief zu nehmen, und reichte ihn mir noch einmal mit thränenden Augen, so dass ich endlich bewegt wurde und ihn annahm.

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In diesem Briefe fragte er was ich an ihn aufzusetzen habe, und versicherte ich könne aus ihm machen was ich wolle, ich mögte ihm nur sagen wie er meine Liebe gewinnen könne. Ich schrieb ihm wieder, und schilderte den Mann wie er mich glücklich machen könnte. Er gab sich so viel Mühe diesem Bilde ähnlich zu werden, dass ich ihm endlich erlaubte an meine Eltern zu schreiben, und ihm meine Hand versprach, sobald sie einwilligten.

Er hatte etwas Vermögen, aber nicht so viel dass wir davon leben konnten, doch hatte er vom König das Versprechen in einem Amte angestellt zu werden sobald er ausstudiert habe. Meine Eltern gaben ihre Einwilligung, doch mit der Bedingung, so lange zu warten bis er ein Amt habe, welches ich auch sehr zufrieden war. Meine Ausbildung und Veredlung lag ihm sehr || am Herzen. Wenn er aus dem Colegio kam so beschäftigte er sich eine Stunde mit mir. Er gab mir interessante Fragen, auf welche ich schriftlich beantworten musste, und er korrigierte sie. Er gab mir nützliche Bücher zu lesen, und ich musste ihm meine Urtheile darüber sagen, oder auch Auszüge daraus machen. Er laß mir Gedichte vor, und ich musste sie nachlesen oder französisch übersetzen. Auch schärfte er meinen Witz und Scharfsinn durch Vergleiche, welche ich ihm schriftlich bringen musste. So lebte er ganz für mich, ich gewann ihn recht lieb und machte mir es zur Pflicht auch ganz für ihn zu leben. Wenn ich mir zuweilen gestand, dass er dem Ideale von Mann, welches ich mir entworfen hatte, noch immer nicht entsprach, so dachte ich es giebt vielleicht keinen besseren, denn ich kannte auch keinen der mir lieber war als er. Ich erfüllte mein Vorhaben redlich. Alles, was er an mir tadelte, suchte ich fortzuschaffen jeden Wunsch den er äußerte, suchte ich zu erfüllen. || und alles, was ich dachte, und that, bezog ich auf ihn. So lebten wir ein halbes Jahr sehr glücklich, da hatte er sein Studium hier beendet, er ging nach Berlin, um sich dort noch mehr zu vervollkommen und zu einem Amte vorzubereiten.

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Sein Umgang war mir so werth geworden, dass ich bei seiner Abreise sehr unglücklich war, und ihn nachher bei jeder Gelegenheit vermisste. Alle vierzehn Tage schrieb er an mich, und so oft er konnte, war er bei mir, und war noch immer der herzliche, gute Mensch. Er hatte viel Geist, seine schnelle Fassungskraft wurde von allen seinen Lehrern bewundert, seine Phantasie war sehr lebhaft, und verleitete ihn oft zu Schwärmerei. Er hatte einen erhabenen Begriff von Sittlichkeit, und mich wollte er zum Ideal umschaffen, welches mich oft bekümmerte. Ich fürchtete ihm nicht zu genügen, und strengte alle meine Kräfte an, meine Talente auszubilden, um ihn recht vielseitig zu interessieren.

Weihnachten vor zwei Jahr || kam er ganz unerwartet hier an, und sagte mir, er könne jetzt gleich angestellt werden wenn er wolle, doch wär es ihm unmöglich ein Amt zu nehmen, die Amtsgeschäfte würden ihn unglücklich machen, auch könne er seine Freiheit nicht so aufopfern. Er fragte ob ich sein kleines Vermögen mit ihm theilen

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wolle, ich erschrak über dies alles sehr, ich wollte und konnte ihm weder ab- noch zurathen, um meinetwillen unglücklich zu sein, und versicherte, ich wolle alles thun, was zu seinem Glücke beitragen könne. Er reisete wieder nach Berlin, doch nicht lange nachher erhielt ich einen Brief, dessen Inhalt noch weit schrecklicher war als die erste Nachricht. In diesem Briefe sagte er mir, dass er jetzt die Kantsche Philosophie studiere, welche ihn so unglücklich gemacht habe, dass er es in Berlin in seinen engen vier Wänden nicht aushalten könne, er würde eine Reise machen, um sich zu zerstreuen. Er schickte mir sein Bildniß und eine Tasse mit einer sehr hübschen Inschrift, versicherte || bald wieder zu kommen, und mir recht oft zu schreiben. Auch ich schickte ihm mein Bildniß, und sagte ihm nur ein schriftliches Lebewohl. Er reisete mit seiner Schwester nach Paris, schrieb mir anfänglich oft, doch als ich seit drei Monaten von ihm keine Nachricht erhalten hatte, schrieb er mir—er werde sich in der Schweiz ankaufen, und hoffe, ich werde ihm dorthin folgen wenn er mich abholte. Ich bat ihn mit den rührendsten Ausdrücken in sein Vaterland zurückzukehren, und gestand dass ich ihm zwar folgen wolle wohin er ginge, doch würde mir es sehr schwer werden, meine Eltern zu verlassen, und besonders mich so weit von ihnen zu entfernen. Ehe dieser Brief beantwortet wurde, musste ich 5 Monat alle Posttage vergebens auf Antwort warten Meine Hoffnung, und die Erwartung von einer frohen Zukunft, waren schon längst bei mir gesunken, ich sagte mir es oft dass ich mit dem Mann nie glücklich sein würde, da ich nicht im Stande || war ihn glücklich zu machen. Doch wollte ich mein Wort halten und mich ganz für ihn aufopfern. Ich war ihm so viel Dank schuldig, und nahm so innig Antheil an allem was ihm betraf, dass ich wenigstens hoffte ihn wo nicht beglücken, doch aufheitern zu können. Ich kannte seine Wünsche und wusste mich so gut in seinem sonderbaren Wesen zu schicken, dass ich überzeugt war, es könne ausser mir kein weibliches Wesen mit ihm fertig werden. Nach fünf Monaten erfuhr ich endlich durch seine Schwestern wo er sich auf hielt, ich schrieb an ihn, und bekam zur Antwort—er habe nicht erwartet von mir noch einen Brief zu empfangen, sondern habe mein letztes Schreiben als eine Weigerung angesehen ihm nach der Schweiz zu folgen. Nach einem heftigen Kampfe habe er es endlich dahin gebracht mein Bild aus seiner Seele zu entfernen, er bäte mich deshalb nicht wieder an ihn zu schreiben. || Da er durch Leichtsinn in Berlin sein Amt verscherzt habe, und durch seine Reise die Menschen zu grossen Erwartungen von ihm berechtigt habe, so könne er nicht ohne Ruhm wieder in sein Vaterland zurückkehren. Sein einziger Wunsch sei jetzt bald sein Leben zu enden.—Dieser Brief erschütterte mich tief, doch beweinte ich mehr sein trauriges Schicksal als das Meine. Ich sah es ein dass ich nie die Seine werden konnte, und hatte auch schon lange aufgehört es zu wünschen. Ich hatte die Kraft mich von seinem Gemälde zu trennen welches ihm sehr ähnlich war, schrieb noch einmal an ihn, tröstete ihn als Freundinn, und sagte

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er möchte wenigstens seine Freundin nicht vergessen, sondern mir zuweilen schreiben wie es ihm ginge, denn gewiss würde ich immer den lebhaftesten Antheil an seinem Schicksal nehmen. Hierauf hat er nicht geantwortet.

Zu gleicher Zeit verlor ich einen sehr geliebten Freund und Bruder, —mein Schmerz war unbeschreiblich. Ich wurde sehr krank, und mein einziger Wunsch war bald zu sterben, den mein Leben hatte für mich alles Interesse verlohren. Der Schmerz meiner Eltern welche auch durch den Tod meines Bruders einen grossen Theil ihres Glückes verlohren hatten, erinnerte mich dass ich noch Pflichten zu beobachten habe. Ich verbarg meinen Schmerz, um sie zu trösten, und meine einzige Linderung waren heftige bittere Thränen. Die Welt, und besonders die Männer waren mir sehr gleichgültig geworden, nur Ahleman war mein Vertrauter, er weinte mit mir, und tröstete mich. Mit der Zeit sahe ich es ein dass diese Trennung zu meinem Glücke sei und dankte dem grossen Führer der Menschen für meine ertragenen Leiden, denn ich fühlte dass sie mich zu einem besseren Wesen gemacht hatten.

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Meine Leidensgeschichte ist zu Ende. Die Wolken haben sich zertheilt, und ich sehe eine freundliche Sonne an meinem Horizonte aufgehen. Ich lernte Sie kennen, und gleich nachdem ich Sie zum ersten mal bei Ahlemanns gesprochen hatte sagte ich zu meiner Schwester: der Mann gefällt mir. Und mit Ihrer näheren Bekanntschaft fühlte ich immer mehr dass ich für Sie, und Sie für mich geschaffen wären, ich war so glücklich Ihnen zu gefallen, und hoffe Ihrer nicht unwerth zu sein. Die offene Mitteilung meiner Jugendgeschichte wird Sie nicht beunruhigen, sie ist so war, wie ich immer gegen Sie sein werde. Wenn Sie nicht der Einzige waren der mein Herz rühren konnte, so kann ich doch versichern dass ich noch nie || so von ganzem Herzen liebte, als ich sie liebe, und dass der Entfernte nur noch als ein erhabenes Mittel wodurch der gütige Schöpfer meine Veredlung bewirken wollte, in meinem Herzen tront.

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Sein Sie ganz mein Freund, und wenn Sie in meinem betragen auch nur das Geringste finden das nicht nach Ihrem Sinne ist, so bitte ich leiten Sie.

Ihre

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WILHELMINE.

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## STUDIES IN THE TANNHÄUSERLEGEND.

### I. THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND OF THE MOUNTAIN OF VENUS.

The question concerning the origin of the legend of the Venusberg presents many intricacies and has been often considered from various points of view, but no definite and satisfactory explanation seems yet to have been reached. If in the following discussion an unusual, and, at first sight, improbable point of view is assumed from the outset, the reader is asked to reserve judgment until the whole of the tale is told.

At present there exist two general theories as to the origin and probable localization of what was known in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries as the mountain of Venus. One assumes that it was in Germany where the story originated, and that it attached itself to various mountains there. The Hörselberg in Thuringia has been especially exploited as the seat of the legend and an excellent account of this version is given by Grässe in a pamphlet published in 1861.<sup>1</sup> Still another theory whose chief modern exponent is Gaston Paris assumes that the myth had its origin in Italy and thence traveled into Germany.

The story had wide circulation in the centuries just mentioned, frequent references being made to it in the literature of that period. Before the 14th and after the 16th centuries, however, we find no literary mention of it. Where the story really started and what it really is, becomes, therefore, an interesting question. It is the conviction of the writer that any attempt to attribute the beginnings of the legend to the peculiar formation or tradition of some actual mountain is based on a wrong premise and can never lead to any satisfactory conclusions. Inasmuch as it is the purpose of this paper to link it with a matter seemingly so remote as to make the attempt appear startling, we shall lay down the thesis at once in order that

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Th. Grässe, *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, 1861.

there may be no doubt even from the beginning as to the point to be established.

The legend of the Venusberg is nothing more nor less than an outgrowth of the legend of the Holy Grail.

### THE GRAIL.

A great mass of material, much of which is fanciful and speculative, has been written on the origin of the grail legend in the West. Some few investigators have touched the matter to the quick, but at widely separated points and as yet with no thought of such a connection of their respective discoveries as would result in a full and logical explanation of the whole question. Such a connection of facts which at present are left more or less isolated will help to clear up some of the existing confusion in this chapter in the history of the grail legend.

The story of the Holy Grail makes its initial appearance in the literature of the West in the 12th century, in the account of Chrestien de Troyes. (1190.) Where Chrestien got his inspiration for such a work we cannot ascertain. We are told of a book given him by his patron prince, whose father had brought from the East blood of Christ. Hertz in his translation of *Parzival* gives a brief but comprehensive account of the matter.<sup>2</sup>

Chrestien was followed by many others down to recent times. The date of the first appearance of the legend in western literature is important. Whence and how it came into the West in the first place has been much discussed, but with no very satisfying results. A recent investigation by Konrad Burdach seems, however, to be so conclusive as quite to overshadow all previous theorizing with something which looks like substantial fact. Previous to Burdach two general theories on this point were held. The first was that it was a Christianized relic of a pre-Christian or pagan rite, perhaps connected with the return of spring,<sup>3</sup> or with druidic worship<sup>4</sup> and of Celtic origin. The

<sup>2</sup> Hertz, *Parzival*, pp. 414, 415, and 455.

<sup>3</sup> Alfred Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Kloster*, Scheible, v. 9, p. 647 ff.



second, that it was developed from the legend of Joseph of Arimathia and Nicodemus.<sup>5</sup>

In an address given in 1903, Burdach gave a brief outline of his conclusions, which it was his purpose to develop more fully and completely in book form later. The report of the address appeared in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for that year and it is on this that all the references in this paper to Burdach's theory are based.<sup>6</sup> The book has not yet appeared, although it is awaited with much expectation by those interested in the subject. Burdach accepts neither of the explanations just mentioned. He admits that the legend in the West is of purely Christian origin, but assigns it to quite a different quarter than Joseph of Arimathia. The spear he places as of equal importance with the cup and as of equal antiquity. He describes at some length the materialistic rites of the Eastern or Greek Church, shows in what essentials it differs from the Western, gives explanations of the symbolism of the ritual, all of which shows the emphasis laid on mysteries of cult in that branch of the Catholic Church. He finally gives as his conclusion that here is to be found the source of the western legend; that crusaders to the East, attending church, and beholding all the gorgeous ceremonial of the Byzantine Mass, were so impressed by its crowning glory, the Great Entrance, in which appeared the Holy Gifts, that they brought back a tradition of the cup and spear to the western world and thus the legend of the cup and bleeding spear began.

Inasmuch as Burdach's book has not yet appeared and his full and detailed exposition is not at hand, it has seemed necessary here to add some facts not found in his brief account in order to make certain of our ground.

In the liturgy now used by the Graeco-Russian Church, which is a direct descendant of the Greek Church since about 992, we find certain facts which bear Burdach out point by point in what he has said of the Byzantine Mass, and fill in

<sup>5</sup> Hertz, *Parzival*, 421.

<sup>6</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1903, Nr. 46, p. 2821 ff.

gaps which the brief account at hand has unavoidably left. My authority here is a translation of the liturgy of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Graeco-Russian Church from the old Slavonic Service Books by P. Kuvochinsky. It must be borne in mind that these are the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, and that they have in all probability been preserved with that care for detail of form which characterizes the Catholic Church east and west. From this liturgy, with the commentary by the translator, who writes in a tone which tells us he is one of the faithful, I have taken the following points as significant, and will give them in substance as a basis for further comment.

Of special sacred vessels not in use in the Western Church there are five,—the Asterisk, Air, Sacramental Fans, Spoon and Spear. With the spear the Altar Breads or Holy Body is pierced. The Asterisk consists of two large, thin plates of silver, forming an arch. It supports the veil so that it may not touch the Holy Gifts. Its mystical meaning is the Star of the Wise Men. All persons, children and adults, partake of the communion by means of the Sacred Spoon. The Air is a large linen cloth covering the Paten and Chalice. As air surrounds the earth so it surrounds the Holy Gifts. The Sacramental Fans represent the six-winged cherubim and are used to keep flies off the Holy Elements. Although for our discussion the spear alone of all these is important, we give them all as showing the fulness and detail of the ceremonial of the eastern Church, and the general impressiveness which it must have had not only on those accustomed to it, but especially upon strangers. There are three veils used in the eucharistic ceremony. They are made of damask, velvet, or cloth of gold, embroidered and ornamented in various ways. The Great Entrance, the carrying of the Elements from the Prothesis (or Table of Oblation) to the Altar, is the most imposing ceremony in the Russian Church. It symbolizes the last advent of Christ when he shall come with glory. First comes the Reader bearing a high candlestick with lighted candle; after this follow the Deacon

or Deacons in order symbolizing the rank of angels. Then come those who bear the Holy Gifts. If there be more than one present, each of the rest holds a sacred object, the cross, the spoon, the spear. The veil is kept over the Holy Gifts until the creed is finished 'in token that we must make a true confession about our Lord before we can behold Him without any veil.' At the final preparation of the Eucharist for the communion and the reception of the clergy the curtain is drawn over the Holy Door, to call to remembrance the burial of Christ and His sojourn in the tomb. The elevation of the Bread sets forth to us the elevation of Jesus on the cross. When the priest breaks the Holy Bread into four pieces and, taking the upper portion, places it in the chalice, it is symbolical of the union of the Body and Blood of Christ. The addition of warm water to the chalice signifies the returning to life of His most pure Body at his Divine Resurrection. St. Germanus explains as follows: 'As blood and warm water flowed both of them from the side of Christ, thus hot water poured into the chalice at the time of consecration gives a full type of the mystery to those who draw that holy liquid from the chalice, as from the life-giving side of our Lord.' At the communion of the congregation the Holy Door is opened, typical of the miraculous opening of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Deacon, holding the Cup in his two hands on a level with his face, invites the people to approach.'

In the Liturgy of the Faithful, amid song by the Choir, occurs the Great Entrance. Farther on in the same liturgy the following direction is given: "Then taking the Paten he (the Priest) shall place it reverently on the head of the Deacon, who still holdeth the Censer, and the Priest shall take in his hand the Chalice and they shall go forth through the North Door, preceded by a taper.' Farther on, "The Deacon again: 'Bless Master the Holy Cup!' The Priest blessing it says, 'And that which is in the Holy Cup, the precious Blood of thy Christ.'" Again: 'And he shall cover the Cup with the Veil (of damask, velvet, or cloth of gold) and the Holy Paten with the

<sup>1</sup> *The Russian Liturgy*, pp. i-xxiii.



Star, Cover and Veil.....Then the Holy Door is opened and the Deacon, making a reverence shall stand at the entrance and taking from the Priest the Cup, and elevating it shall say: .....Then shall the Priest set the Cup upon the altar and bless the people:.....The Priest taking the Holy Paten shall set it upon the head of the Deacon and the Deacon going to the place of ablution shall set it therein. The Priest having done reverence shall take the Holy Cup, and looking upon the people shall say.....‘Let us depart in Peace’.”

In this account we find cup, patena and spear. We also find veil of damask, velvet or cloth of gold, which reminds us strongly of the cloth of samite which we encounter in the grail legend. We can also see at the Great Entrance how the cup enters covered with the rich veil, passes about, is briefly uncovered, and later departs again covered, all quite similar to the legendary entrance of the Holy Grail into the hall where it is covered because of its overpowering splendor. It is a highly mysterious vessel, even in the actual Greek mass. The especial emphasis placed on the sacredness of the cup itself, quite separated from its contents, is significant. “Bless, Master, the Holy Cup.” “And the Holy Blood within the Cup.” This hints at the sacred onyx cup of earlier days in Jerusalem, the alleged cup of our Lord. The evidence on the whole fits well with Burdach’s explanation as to the origin of the grail legend in the West, namely, that its first appearance in the 12th century and its growing popularity is connected directly with the crusades, which also began in the 12th century, and is traceable through them to the imposing Great Entrance of the Byzantine Mass, which the crusaders must often have witnessed.

If such is the origin of the grail legend in the West, we may properly pass to the consideration of its further development there,—a consideration of even greater importance for our purpose. The reception which the legend seems to have met with is not what we should expect on the face of the situation. A story having to do with so sacred a relic and of such clearly Christian origin might fairly be supposed to be popular with



both common people and clergy. But such seems not to have been the case at all. After a considerable period of silence concerning the legend except in the important literary productions of Chrestien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach,—productions which must have done much to make the story reasonably well-known—we find our Holy Grail coming to light in a strange and grotesquely altered form. In North Germany we learn that, as early as the latter part of the 13th century, the word itself meant a carousal, a place of sensual pleasure, the summum bonum of human joy in no very high sense, and that it really meant nothing else to these people.\* We shall do well to remember that this part of the country is comparatively far removed from Chrestien and Wolfram.

In his Middle High German Dictionary, Lexer gives as a definition of the word Gral the following: 'bildlich, das teuerste, liebste; ritterspiel der bürger in nd. städten, s. nd. Aesopus, hrs. v. Hoffman s. 40.' He then cites a passage which he says had previously been overlooked.<sup>9</sup> The passage is from the 'De Schismate' of Dietrich a Niem, 1410; and reads: 'ad quattuor miliaria prope [*bei Puteoli*] cernitur mons sanctae Barbarae in plano campo eminens et rotundus, quem delusi multi Alemani in vulgari appellant *der Gral*, asserentes prout etiam in illis regionibus plerique autumant, *quod in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad diem iudicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti, et ludibriis diabolicis perpetuo irretiti.*'

In the literature of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries we find 'gral' used in connections which make it synonymous with earthly bliss, not only in the North but throughout Germany. In Oswald von Wolkenstein, who writes from the Tirol, we find the following (1377-1445): "ich hoff, du last mich nicht allain, seit du nu pist mein höchster gral, der alles laid verdecket."<sup>10</sup>

\* Compare the excellent discussion of the subject by R. Hildebrand in Grimm's *Wörterbuch* under 'Krales'.

<sup>9</sup> [The fact is that this 'overlooked' passage was first quoted by Schilter in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum* Vol. III under the word *Gral*, where Lexer doubtlessly found it. Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> *Oswald von Wolkenstein*, ed. J. Schatz, Nr. 11.

The celebration to which Hildebrand makes reference in the Wörterbuch is thus fully described in the Magdeburg Schöpenchronik:

"1281. In dussen tiden weren hir noch kunstabelen, dat weren der rikesten borger kinder; de plegen dat spel vor to stande in den pingsten, als den Roland, den schildekenbom, tabelrunde und ander spel, dat nu de ratman sulven vorstan. in dem vorgeschreven stride was ein kunstabel, der heit Brun von Sconenbeke, dat was ein gelart man. den beden sine gesellen, de kunstabelen, dat he on dichte und bedechte ein vreidig spel. des makede he ein *gral* und dichte hovesche breve. de sande he to Goslar, to Hildesheim und to Brunswik, Quedlingeborch, Halberstad und to anderen steden und ladeten to sik alle koplude, die dar ridderschap wolden oven, dat se to on quemen to Magdeborch, se hedden eine schone vruwen, de heit vrow Feie (Sophie); de scholde men geven den, der se vorwerven kunde mit tuchten und manheit. dar von worden bewegen alle jungelinge in den steden. de van Goslar kemen mit vordeckeden rosen. de van Brunswic kemen alle mit gronen verdecket und geclidet und andere stede hadden ok or sunderlike wapene und varwe. Do se vor disse stad quemen, se wolden nicht inriden, men entpfeng se mit suste (Tjost) und dustiren. dat geschach. twe kunstabele togen ut und bestanden de und entpfengen se mit den speren. de wile was *de grale* bereit up dem mersche und vele telt und pawelune up geslagen; und dar was ein bom gesed up dem mersche, dar hangeden de kunstabelen schilde an, de in *dem grale* weren. des anderen dages, do de gesten misen hadden gehort und gegeten, se togen vor den gral und beschauweden den. dar wart on verlovvet, dat malk rorde einen schilt: welches jungelinges de schilt were, de queme her vor und bestunde den rorer. dat geschach an allen. To lesten vordeinde vrowen Feien ein olt kopman van Goslere; de vorde se mit sik und gaf se to der e und gaf or so vele mede, dat se ores wilden levendes nicht mer ovede. hir van ist ein ganz dudiesch bok gemaket. de sulve Brun Sconenbeke makede sed-

der vele dudesche boke, als Cantica Canticorum, dat Ave Maria und vele gudes gedichtes.”<sup>11</sup>

What then has befallen the initial conception of the grail becomes a matter of interest and one requiring some explanation. We may set it down at the outset as a safe assumption that, had the Church of Rome, which at this time so completely dominated western thought, taken up and sanctioned the legend of the Holy Grail, it would have been but little likely to have undergone in so short a time such a fate. Holy things, especially relics, do not, among catholics, become objects for profane treatment without protest from the Church. We may assume that the legend was at least not fostered by the clergy. It may be, however, that we are justified in assuming something further. We are told on the authority of a writer in the Catholic Encyclopedia, a very recent work, that, with the exception of Helinandus, no church father or clerical writer makes any mention of the grail. Helinandus, moreover, has only the following to say: ‘gradalis sive gradale gallice dicitur scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda, in qua pretiose dapes suo jure divitibus solent apponi gradatim unus morsellus post alium in diversis ordinibus, et dicitur vulgari nomine *graalz*’.<sup>12</sup>

A careful search in the Patrologiæ from the year 1100 to the end of the work (about 1215) resulted in finding no reference to the matter. This silence is noteworthy, even though it may be only a piece of negative evidence. In the Catholic Encyclopedia the author of the article on ‘grail’ referred to above, concludes with this interesting paragraph:

“It would seem that a legend so distinctively Christian would find favour with the Church. Yet this was not the case. Excepting Helinandus, clerical writers do not mention the Grail, and the Church ignored the legend completely. After all, the legend contained elements of which the Church could not approve. Its sources are in apocryphal, not in canonical, scripture, and the claims of sanctity made for the Grail were refuted by

<sup>11</sup> *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, VII, 168 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Lexen, Mittelh. Wörterbuch* under Gral.

their very extravagance. Moreover, the legend claimed for the Church in Britain an origin well nigh as illustrious as that of the Church of Rome, and independent of Rome, etc."

The importance of the passage from the Catholic Encyclopedia lies not so much in the reasons which the writer gives as in the fact that (1) he writes under the 'imprimatur' of the Roman Catholic Church, and (2) that he seems to be echoing a tradition of his Church. This tradition of which we find here a late echo, as it were, coupled with the complete contemporary silence of the Church as to the whole question of the grail legend, gives good reason for supposing that the Church not only did not countenance the story but even objected to it. What this must have meant for the whole development of the legend, we can easily see when we examine certain internal features of the account of the holy grail in its original form. The grail was supposed to give him who was in its presence everything *needed* for happiness. Purity of the highest order was at first considered as indispensable to obtain this. But the idea of the unlimited power of supply always loomed up large in all versions of the grail story. It was a very easy and psychologically natural step in the minds of men to pass from the conception of a vessel which supplied everything *needed*, to one which supplied everything *wanted*,—a distinction sharply defined. How much more easily such a transition could have taken place in view of the hostile attitude of the Church is readily seen. No clergy stood ready to rebuke the gradual profanation of the sacred relic, and so from seed within itself, watered by the proclivities of sensually-minded men, the legend of a wonderful, need-supplying vessel was distorted into a mere wish-supplying vessel. At last the very name became, from the Tirol to the North Sea, a synonym for things, which, in the original legend, no man could even have thought of.

#### THE VENUSBERG.

The Venusberg first appears in literature under this name in the year 1357 in a Dutch poem entitled "Die Kinder von



Limburg" or "Margarete von Limburg". The date of its first appearance as well as the place is significant. It is after the last of the crusades by somewhat better than a century. It is, furthermore, at the north-western extremity of Germany. At first thought we are led to wonder why such an idea as a mountain of Venus had not earlier presented itself if it were to become current at all. The history of such places as the shrines of Venus on Mt. Eryx and in Cyprus, as well as at other points in and about the Mediterranean, would seem to have afforded abundant inspiration for such a myth centuries before. It must, however, be remembered that learning was very scanty during the centuries preceding the Renaissance, and that there was, therefore, but small chance for tales of life on Mt. Eryx and in Cyprus or similar places to the south and east to become generally known, although Venus and her general characteristics were fairly familiar. And we must remember that the myth of the Venusberg was not merely the creation of the learned few, but a true folk-myth.

At any rate, the fact remains that the name Venusberg first appears in literature about the middle of the 14th century. From then on it is a frequent subject for literary comment, by which we know that the notion was gaining ground everywhere among the people of Germany.

"Das deutsche Heldenbuch" in 1452 mentions the trusty Eckart who sits before Fraw Venusperg.<sup>13</sup> Faber in his *Evagatorium* (1483) mentions the place by name and thinks the one in Italy is named after the one in Cyprus.<sup>14</sup> In 1486 Bernhardt von Breitenbach in his "Reise gein Jerusalem" speaks of a Venusberg and grotto in Cyprus in an attempt to refute those who claim it is in Italy.<sup>15</sup> A patrician of Cologne gives a lengthy account of his expedition to vrau Venus berch on a trip from Rome to Venice (1497).<sup>16</sup> Hermann von Sachsenheim

<sup>13</sup> *Das deutsche Heldenbuch*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 87, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Fabri *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 4, p. 221ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Friedrich Kluge, *Bunte Blätter*, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 35, 36.

in his poem "Die Mörin" (1512) tells us of his forced visit to Frau Venusberg somewhere in the orient.<sup>17</sup> In the same year (1512) Murner in his "Narrenbeschwörung", 6, V. 51 ff., tells of a traveling scholar who is a cavalier from Frau Venus Berg. Hans Sachs in his voluminous writings makes mention several times of the Venusberg. (1545-1559).<sup>18</sup> In one place he speaks of a young doctor of Florence who is told by two painters about Frau Venusberg. Again, in his well-known "Fahrender Schüler im Paradies", he says, "Ich bin in Venus-berg gewesen, Da hab ich gsehen manchen buler". In his Schwanckbuch he mentions, in "Das unhulden-bannen," a traveling scholar from Venusberg; again he refers to it in the "Unsichtige nacket hausgmagdt", and in "Der Pawrenknecht mit der Nebelkappen". Martin Montanus in his Schwanckbuch (1557-1566) tells of "einem pffaffen, maier, seinem weib und farenden schüler." The traveling scholar says he has been in Fraw Venusberg. The farmer asks how it is there and if Tannhäuser is still there.<sup>19</sup> In the Zimmerische Chronik (1564-1566) we find the French court referred to as Veneris Berg. The court of Herzogin von Österreich is called the same. A citizen of Mosskirch, Petter Schneider by name, says that he has often been in the Venusberg. A reference is also made to the inquiry of Aeneas Silvias of his brother in Italy as to where the Venusberg is. The fact is also mentioned that traveling scholars often come from the Venusberg. Hans Sachs in 1567 gives us a Fastnachtspiel entitled "Das Hofgesindt Veneris".<sup>20</sup> In 1588 Johann Fischart in his "Erneuerte Beschreibung vom Peter von Staufenberg" mentions the Venusberg along with Tannhäuser, Sachsenheim, and Eckart. The famous Theophrastus Paracelsus in volume IX, 345 speaks also of Venusberg (1588). In the 1594 edition of his "Gargantua"

<sup>17</sup> *Die Mörin*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 137.

<sup>18</sup> Hans Sachs, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 201, p. 319; v. 159, pp. 3, 72 ff; v. 125, pp. 271, 503, 507.

<sup>19</sup> Martin Montanus, *Schwanckbücher*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 217 p. 396.

<sup>20</sup> Neudrucke d. Lit., v. 9, p. 13.

Fischart mentions "den Grall oder Venusberg besuchen".<sup>21</sup> Del Rio in his *Disquis. Magic.* (I, 674) refers to the place by its name of Venusberg (1606). Goedeke's *Grundriss* makes mention under date of 1614 of an account of Venusberg by Henricum Kormannum. "Mons Veneris. Fraw Veneris Berg. Das ist Wunderbare und eigentliche Beschreibung der alten Haydnischen und Newen Scribenten Meynung, von der Göttin Venere—durch Henricum Kornmannum ex Kirchjana Chat-torum."<sup>22</sup> Frölich in the "Viatorum", II, 114. (1644) says, "In Apennino monte Marchiae Anconiae in Italia immane horribileque est antrum quod Sibyllae caverna vel Mons Veneris vulgo dicitur, de quo superstitiosi multa fabulosa recitare solent." Sigismund von Birken (1669) in his "Brandenburgischer Ulysses", page 149, says, "Noch eine solche Sibyllen-Höle ist zu finden auf dem Gebirge Apennini unfern von dem Castel S. Maria in Gallo welche von den Anwohnern der Venus-Berg genennet und viel Dings davon gefabelt wird." In the last edition of "Promptuarium Germanico-Latinum", by a Jesuit, Wolfgang Schönsleder, (1688) is to be found on the last page of the next to the last leaf (LII 3a Spalte 2) the gloss: "Venusberg Fiscellus mons unde Nar. fl. oritur. Mons Sibyllae vulgo." Thus, as Friedrich Kluge remarks in his paper on the Venusberg, the myth gradually dies away in the 17th century.<sup>23</sup> This enumeration by no means exhausts the instances which a careful search of all the literature of the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries would doubtlessly reveal.

A study of the references shows the interesting fact that in two-thirds of the instances cited, there is not the slightest attempt to localize this Venusberg, nor does it seem to be assumed that its location is a well-known fact. In the cases where attempts are made to localize the myth we feel that it is mere caprice and not definite fact which lies back of it. Various mountains in Germany, it is true, have been regarded as Venus-

<sup>21</sup> bl. 221 b.

<sup>22</sup> p. 585, No. 22.

<sup>23</sup> *Bunte Blätter*, Veunsb., p. 60.

berge.<sup>24</sup> In Schwabia, Thuringia, Meiningen, Vorarlberg mountains have been given this name. Likewise have mountains in Italy and Cyprus been so called. But it is our intention to show that these localizations are matters of local tradition or else learned theorizing, based largely on such tradition. The very diversity of these late attempts by local historians and scholars to locate the Venusberg is very strong evidence that the beginnings of the myth are to be sought elsewhere than in some purely local tradition. It indicates that the legend is, furthermore, one of those folk-myths covering a wide area of country and here and there becoming localized where circumstances make it easy. (cf. Kluge, *Bunte Blätter*, p. 29.)

An account of the attempts to locate the Venusberg in Germany is given by Grässe in his pamphlet.<sup>25</sup> In his discussion, however, he does not commit himself as to its location although he mentions various mountains about which the myth clung, chiefly the Hörselberg in Thuringia.

A more serious attempt to localize the story finds expression in the paper by Kluge. He is indebted for the principal idea of his essay to Gaston Paris.<sup>26</sup> In this essay Kluge defends at some length and with much detail the proposition that the myth of the Venusberg had its origin about a mountain near Norcia in Northern Italy, and that thence it spread northward to Germany. He cites many references to the name Venusberg, and by them attempts to establish his point. His authorities, however, when grouped into the two periods into which they naturally seem to fall, present evidence quite contrary to what Kluge intended to prove.

He opens his argument by stating that between 1450 and 1550 the name Venusberg often occurs in literature. In the century preceding, the 14th, he tells us that a monk, Pierre Bersuire (died about 1362\*), speaks of a mountain in the Apennines where magic is taught, but *does not connect it with*

<sup>24</sup> cf. Grässe, *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 16 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Grässe, *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 13 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Bunte Blätter*, Venusb., p. 28; note.



the name of Venus. Another, Facio degli Uberti (died about 1367) in a work called "Dittamondo"<sup>27</sup> describes a mountain of Pilatus and a lake of demons. He obviously means Monte de Pilato near Norcia, as a commentator on his work tells us. But he says no word of the Venusberg. Of the preacher Bernardino Bernavoglia in Foligno, a little town near Spoleto, Kluge cites a sermon in which he says, "Ad hunc lacum conveniunt homines de propinquis et remotis partibus et faciunt ibi aras cum tribus circulis et ponentes se cum oblatione in tertio circulo, vocant daemonem nomine quem volunt, legendo librum consecrandum diabolo. Qui veniens cum magno strepitu et clamore dicit: 'cur me quaeris?' Respondet: "volo hunc librum consecrare, id est volo, ut tenearis facere omnia quae in ipso scripta sunt, quoties te invocavero, et pro labore tuo dabo animam meam.' Et sic firmato pacto accipit librum diabolus et designat in eo quosdam characteres, et deinceps legendo librum diabolus promptus est ad omnia mala faciendum."<sup>28</sup> Here too, although a clear enough reference to a magic mountain is made, there is nothing said of the Venusberg. Even Antonius de la Sale in his "Salat" (1450\*) says nothing of the mons Veneris in his account of this mountain near Norcia.<sup>29</sup>

From this date on begins the second period in Kluge's chronology, a period extending to the end of the 17th century, during which continued reference is made to this mountain in Norcia as a Venusberg. All the references of the earlier period i. e. of the 14th and (early) 15th centuries, merely describe a mountain of the black art in Italy, but they do not name it. That the myth in connection with this mountain of the Sibyl in Italy is of later origin is indicated, furthermore, by the following passage from Faber's *Evagatorium* written about 1490, "*Et moderno tempore vulgus rudis delirat de quodam Tusciae monte, non longe a Roma, in quo dicunt dominam Venerem. . . . Et haec aevo nostro contingerunt.*"<sup>30</sup> He

<sup>27</sup> *Bunte Blätter*, Venusb., p. 32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.

<sup>30</sup> Faber, *Evagatorium*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 4, p. 221.

speaks of "moderno tempore" and uses the present tense, which shows that he has in mind some occurrences not very far back. And yet, in *North Germany*, in 1357, occurs mention of a Venusberg by that very name. It is strange, to say the least, that a thing which started in Italy should be first mentioned at the other extreme of Germany.

To this chronological evidence against Kluge's position may be added the fact that Germans play such a rôle in the whole question. Tannhäuser, a German, is the leading character bound up with the whole myth. Faber in the passage quoted from above says: "Unde de hoc carmen confictum habetur, quod manifeste a vulgo per Alemanniam canitur de quodam nobili Suevo, quem nominant Danhuser, de Danhusen villa prope Dünckelspüchel." With this we must compare what Dietrich a Niem says as far back as 1410, when he speaks of Germans seeking the mountain called 'der Gral', a mountain which has, from his description, all the characteristics of the Venusberg. Nor must we forget in this connection Fischart's reference concerning those who are seeking the 'Grall oder Venusberg.' Faber continues in the passage just quoted: "In tantum autem hac fama dementati sunt Alemanni, ut multi simplices ad hos famatos peregrinentur montes, et dum contingit aliquem mori, amici sui famant, eum raptum a Venere in montem; alii redeuntes dicunt se vidisse, quae phantasticis auditu didicerunt." Here are Kluge's own words on this phase of the question: (the italics are my own.)

"*Deutsche* Reisende haben bei ihren Besuchen auf dem sagenberühmten Monte della Sibilla die *deutsche Tannhäusersage* dorthin getragen. Und bei den wiederholten Nachforschungen, die *Deutsche* dort anstellten, bürgerte sich allmählich, wenn auch vorübergehend unsere Tannhäusersage dort ein. Was la Sale dort in Mai 1420 erzählen hörte, war die *deutsche Sage* wie sie ja auch von einem *deutschen* Ritter handelt.

"In der Tat sind die *Deutschen* am Ausgang des Mittelalters zu meist interessiert für den monte della Sibilla. In der Eingangsgrotte zum unterirdischen Reich der Sibylle kopierte

der .sorgfältigste Geograph des Sagenberges, la Sale, die Inschrift, 'Her Hans Wanbanbourg Borg intravit', also ein *deutscher* Ritter hatte sich hier verewigt. In Montemonaco hörte derselbe la Sale von zwei *Deutschen*, die mit dem Geistlichen Antonio Fumato die Grotte besucht haben. Um die gleiche Zeit soll nach dem Züricher Chorherrn Hemmerlin in seinem um 1450 geschriebenen, aber erst 1497 gedruckten Dialogus 'de Nobilitate' (Bl. 94a) ein Schwyzer nahe bei Norcia und dem Kastell Montefortino den Sibyllenberg besucht und daselbst mit schönen weiblichen Geistern sich aufgehalten haben. Ungefähr um dieselbe Zeit, in die der Kölner Arnold v. Harff seinen allerdings mehr als problematischen Besuch des Venusbergs verlegt, berichtet das Evagatorium des Ulmer Bruders Felix Fabri, der in den 80er Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts zweimal zum gelobten Lande pilgerte, bei Gelegenheit der Insel Cypern und der daselbst lokalisierten Venusverehrung auch von dem Venusberg auf dem Apennin, unweit von Rom; er verknüpft das Tannhäuserlied damit und weiss auch davon zu berichten, dass es gerade *Deutsche* sind, die es dorthin zieht: (then follows the quotation given above, 'In tantum autem hac fama, etc.).

"Und vom Venusberg unserer fahrenden Schüler wissen auch die romanischen Quellen, dass es in erster Linie *Deutsche* sind, *deutsche* Schwarzkünstler, die ihn zu ihrem Reiseziel machen."<sup>21</sup>

Antonius de la Sale in his account of the mountain in Italy makes the astounding statement that it is a German knight who enters this kingdom or paradise of the Sibyl and that the queen greets him in *native German*.<sup>21a</sup> Surely the whole story has something fundamentally German about it, or else Germans have an affection for this love grotto and magic mountain greater than the Italians by whom, or at least in whose midst, it is said to have been conceived.

It will be seen, furthermore, that the spirit of this mountain

<sup>21</sup> *Bunte Blätter*, Venusb., p. 56 ff.

<sup>21a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40.

of the Sibyl in Italy is of a two-fold nature; it is both a mountain of love and a mountain of magic, but it seems that the former characteristic became connected with the mountain at a much later date. Kluge, being aware of the two-fold character of the Italian mountain, points out that there are two neighboring peaks and that the myth of the Sibyl and her magic clung to one peak while that of Frau Venus became attached to the other. His somewhat distressed attempt to reconcile either his myth to the topography or the topography to the myth would seem to be unnecessary when we recall that the Hørselberg in Germany was not only the seat of Frau Venus according to the tradition, but also a mountain of magic. In fact there is no feature of the legend, either as regards love or magic art, which has not its prototype in Germany.

From such evidence it is much safer to conclude that the myth is primarily of German origin; that thence it travelled south into Italy in the 15th century when the German mind was reaching out in its attempt to locate the place, and the revival of classical learning suggested a classical residence for Venus. The activity of the Germans in this search shows that the whole story had become for them a familiar one at home. That they searched so diligently further attests the fact that the myth had no definite local origin. It became possible, therefore, to attach it to many different mountains. Most conspicuous among these, because of the revival of classical interest, became the mountain in the southern country which, through a certain mystery clinging about it from an earlier day, made it an appropriate point to fix the story upon.

#### ARTHUR.

One of the most important links connecting the grail legend with the Venusberg is to be found in the history of the story of King Arthur and his knights. From a date shortly after the close of the crusades we find various indications of a change in the conception of the character of this famous hero and his round table. So far as has been observed, this change is



confined to Germany. To those acquainted only with the traditional accounts of Arthur, the claim of such a deterioration as will here be brought into the foreground must come as quite as great a surprise as the similar deterioration in the grail legend itself. And, indeed, we hope to show that the two went hand in hand in their downward course for the very reason that they were so closely associated in the popular mind. This change from the high and lofty to the low and debased, in the instance of the Arthur legend, seems to have compassed the whole gamut of human morals with surprising readiness and speed. Down to the 13th century all we hear of Arthur is good. He is the very embodiment of manly purity and virtue. Like the grail legend, however, this story of Arthur from about the middle of the 13th century takes a turn at once bizzare and unexpected.

Before I discuss some of the features of the later deterioration of the Arthur legend, I will mention here the story of Arthur's death as told by Layamon in his translation of Wace's *Roman de Brut* (1205). In this account Arthur is spoken of as an *English* king, showing that by this time the tradition of enmity existing between Saxon and Briton had largely died out. Layamon's account of the Round Table is much more detailed than that of Wace. But for us the chief interest lies in an addition which tells of Arthur's proposed retirement after his death to a place called Avalon. It runs as follows: (I use Maynadier's modern rendering) "And I myself will go to Avalon, to the most beauteous of women, to the queen Argante, an elf wondrous fair; and she will heal me of my wounds, and make me quite well with a healing drink. Afterwards I will come again to my kingdom, and dwell among the Britons in great bliss.' While he was saying this, a little boat came, borne by the waves. There were two women therein, of marvelous beauty. They took Arthur and laid him in the boat, and sailed away.....And the Britons believe yet that he is alive, and dwells in Avalon with the fairest of elves; and the Britons still look for his coming again." As Maynadier comments, "We see

here that the passing of Arthur has taken its first step towards the mystic poetry of Malory and Tennyson." In view of later developments this account of Layamon's is indeed an interesting bit of mysticism.

In Germany, as is known, the first writer who touched upon the theme of the Arthur legend was Wolfram von Eschenbach. In his *Parzival* he gives an account of the grail, and the Round Table which throughout is lofty in tone. But following Wolfram by a very few years comes a writer who hints, at least, at other things. Heinrich von dem Türlin in "*Diu Crône*" (1220) also gives a long account of Arthur and his knights and the grail quest.<sup>32</sup> Obviously he has copied largely from his predecessors. But one cannot help being impressed with the fact that here is a slightly different tone from that which is to be found in the earlier works on the same subject. The knights of the Round Table become involved, at times, in escapades of a very doubtful character. It is true that Arthur himself is not so represented, but a beginning is, I believe, to be noted here, particularly in view of what follows in a very few years.

About 1250\* there originated in Germany a remarkable poem, entitled "*Der Wartburgkrieg*".<sup>33</sup> Its authorship is unknown. The work is divided into two independent portions. In the second portion singers of fame are represented in a contest of song, alternately proposing and answering riddles. The subject matter seems to be drawn largely from traditions and legends supposedly well-known to the hearers, as in the popular *Wunsch- und Wettlieder*. Hence the poem is of unusual interest to the student of this remarkable period. Sections 82 to 87 of the poem read as follows:

Ein küninc was in Ankulis,  
kanstu mir des gaten vinden, meister wîs,  
der sine gâbe ot im gelîche schicke?

<sup>32</sup> Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crone*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 27.

<sup>33</sup> *Der Wartburgkrieg*, ed., Karl Simrock, 1858.

Sînen vürsten gab er wê;  
selbe muoste er einen visch in sîme sê  
erwerben: den gevienc er doch mit schricke.

Dô het er einen ambetman, der küninc, in hôhem prîse,  
den visch nam er in mit gewalt:  
ob du vür alle meister pfaffen sîs gezalt,  
Klinsôr, sô soltu michs ze verte wîse.

## 83.

Feliciâ, Sibillen kint,  
und Jûnô, die mit Artûs in dem berge sint,  
die habent vleisch sam wir und ouch gebeine.

Die vrâgt ich wie der küninc lebe,  
Artûs, und wer der massenîe spîse gebe,  
wer ir dâ pflege mit dem tranke reine,

Harnasch, kleider unde ros? si lebent noch in vreche  
die gotin bringe her vür dich,  
daz si dich berihte sam si tete mich,  
daz dir iht hôher meister kunst gebreche.

## 84.

Feliciâ ist noch ein maget,  
bî derselben wurde hât si mir gesaget,  
dazs einen abbet in dem berge saehe,

des namen hât si mir genant;  
taete ich iu sam, er waere iu allen wol bekant:  
der schreip mit sîner hant vil gar die spaehe

Wie Artûs in dem berge lebe und sîne helde maere,  
der si mir hundert hât genant,  
die er mit im vuorte von Britanien lant,  
die sint dekeinem vilân sagebaere.

## 85.

Artûs hât kempfen ûz gesant,  
 sît er von diser welte schiet, in Kristen lant.  
 Hôrt, wie die selben botschaft eine glocke

Wol über tûsent raste warp,  
 dâ von ein hôher grêve sît in kampf starp.  
 hôrt, ob sîn übermuot zuo valsche in locke.

Hôrt, wie ez umbe die glocke stât: Artûses klingsaere,  
 die muosten lân ir künste schal,  
 diu selbe glocke in allen durch ôren hal.  
 des wart diu massenîe an freuden laere.

## 86.

Sibillen kint Feliciâ  
 und Jûnô, die sint beide mit Artûse dâ:  
 daz hât mir Sante Brandan wol bediutet.

Der Klinsôr tuot uns niht bekant  
 wer sî der kempfe, den Artûs hete ûz gesant;  
 ern saget ouch niender wer die glocken liutet.

## 87.

Der Dürengen fürste sunder haz  
 sprach: wilt uns diu maere kunden fürebaz?  
 wir müezen nâch den frowen allen senden.

Kanst uns mit singen tuon bekant,  
 Wie Loherangrîn von Artûs wart ûz gesant,  
 Dâ von liez wir uns alle noete wenden;

A study of these references brings us face to face with a number of engrossing questions. In the first place, who is this King in Ankulis? What is the mountain in which Arthur is



living? How and why did he come there? What sort of life is going on here? What sustains this luxurious court?

Section 82 seems, after some scrutiny, to yield up the secret that it is the Fisher King who is meant. Perhaps Arthur is here intended to be that mythical personage. Ankulis, there is little doubt, means England. The references to the fish, the woe, and the torture in catching the fish, all seem to be mystical allusions to that episode which is usually connected with Anfortas. The remainder of the passage seems quite obscure.

The general character of the mountain where Arthur is here said to dwell is obvious enough. He is here with Felicia and Juno. Juno bears a reputation by no means spotless, according to classical mythology. Felicia is a somewhat obscure personage. Her name would indicate that she is perhaps the embodiment of good fortune and bliss. She is the child of the Sibyl. Our poet hastens to tell us that, "Felicia bleibt noch ein magt." Why? It would appear that he is either designing to forestall a misconception as to Felicia's character or to that of Arthur. The statement follows so closely after the initial line in which Arthur is said to dwell here as to make it probable that the writer feels it necessary to say specifically that Felicia is still a maid, because of what he knows of the general notion of Arthur's and Felicia's characters held by those about him. The account has a sober enough tone, otherwise we might read into the statement a desire on the poet's part to perpetrate a bit of quiet humor. The general impression is that of a place of sensual enjoyment, a sort of love grotto or hollow mountain of doubtful repute. Felicia seems to be identical with Frau Saelde, as Simrock points out.<sup>84</sup> Heinrich von dem Türlin in his "Diu Crone" speaks of Frau Saelde as living on a high mountain in a beautiful castle and of having relations with Arthur.<sup>85</sup> He furthermore mentions all in one breath: Frau Saelde and Frau Minne.<sup>86</sup> All this suggests strongly a sort of Venusberg. Here

<sup>84</sup> Wartburgkrieg, Simrock, p. 348.

<sup>85</sup> *Crone*, 11. 15660 ff.; 413 ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Crone*, 11. 1723 ff.

not only Arthur, but all his Round Table seem to be living.

How Arthur got into such a place becomes a matter of interest. In the legend of Arthur as given by Layamon we have already seen how he is carried away to a place called Avalon, where dwell beautiful women. May not this be the germ from which such a notion as this Wartburgkrieg account sprang? Here, too, we find Lohengrin, for mention is made of the fact that he has been sent out of the mountain by Arthur. Now Lohengrin is one of the chief knights directly connected with the grail-quest. Furthermore the poet asks how all this court is fed and clothed and otherwise provided for, leaving his question unanswered. The notion of unlimited supply here suggested is a plain reference to the grail. Arthur is the grail king in this account. And the bell? Is it not the bell of the Gralburg? The bell which the knights of the grail in Parzival hear ringing far off on Munsalvaesch?<sup>27</sup> Truly a mysterious bell and mentioned twice in the account as a thing of importance in the riddle.

We conclude, therefore, that the place is a confusion of Venus- and Gralberg, that the first is indicated by the presence of Felicia and Juno; the second, by the miraculous provision of food and raiment, the mysterious bell, and the presence of Lohengrin, as well as the obvious reference to the Fisher King.

The question arises, is there any further literary evidence to support the notion that this description in the Wartburgkrieg is not purely a fanciful composition of the poet. In 1280 in the Magdeburg Schöppenchronik we find, side by side with the account of the notorious Gralspiel, mention of *similar* games, among them one of the *Round Table*. The Chronik reads as follows: "In these times there were knights who were children of the richest citizens; they practised games at Whitsuntide, such as the Roland, Tree of Shields, *Round Table* and other games which only wise men might comprehend."<sup>28</sup> In a manuscript published for the first time by Caspar Abel and dating

<sup>27</sup> cf. *The Arthus of the English Poets*, p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*, 2d Ed. v. 2, p. 117 ff.

about 1490\* we are told that the writer thinks the Schwanritter has come out from the mountain where Venus is in the Gral.<sup>39</sup> Fischart in his "Erneuerte Beschreibung von Peter von Staufenberg" gives in lines 53-57 the following, "Oder aus Artus Mesenei So die Tafelrund bsetzen frei? Oder wollen wir wecken auff Inn Venusberg den schleffrigen Hauf?" Almost in the same breath he speaks of Arthur, Round Table, and Venusberg. An interesting bit of evidence.

The Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Hs. (1589-91) contain the following references to Arthur. "Artus in scham von wiben kam" (Nr. 15); "swaz Artus irgen frouwen het, daz ist ein wint." (Nr. 49); "Doch Artus muoste liden scham von wiben, sehent ob daz niht wunder waere." (Nr. 81.) The mention of women in the plural and of shame which came to Arthur is likewise suggestive.<sup>40</sup>

There seems, therefore, to be little room to doubt that Arthur had become in Germany, at least, a type of man quite different from what English writers would have us believe him to have been. The explanation of this condition is apparently to be sought, as has already been indicated, in his close connection with the grail legend and his consequent parallel fate with it in its downward course. In a long German romance of about 1280\*<sup>41</sup> Arthur himself is represented as Lord of the Grail Castle, and in all accounts some of his knights are concerned in the search for it, now Gawain, now Galahad, now Parzival or Lancelot or Lohengrin. The swan-knight had, furthermore, suffered a degradation similar to that of Arthur. On this point Hertz has the following to say in the notes to his Parzival: "Mehr und mehr wurde der Schwanritter, selbst in seiner niederrheinischen Heimat, mit misstrauischen Augen betrachtet; man spürte ihm instinktiv seine heidnische Herkunft an, und mit ihm erschien auch der Gral in unheimlichem dämonischem Lichte. Lohengrin wandelte auf des Tannhäusers Pfaden. So

<sup>39</sup> Hertz, *Parzival*, p. 466.

<sup>40</sup> *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Hs.*, Stutt. Lit. Ver., v. 68.

<sup>41</sup> Paul, *Grundriss*, ii, i, 292.

schreibt der holländische Chronist Veldenaer gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts: Einige Chroniken sagen, der Schwanritter sei aus dem Grale (dat grael) gekommen wie früher das Paradies auf Erden geheissen habe. Aber das ist das heilige Paradies nicht, sondern es ist ein sündiger Ort, wo man durch grosses Abenteuer hineinkommt und durch grosses Abenteuer und Glück wieder heraus."<sup>42</sup>

Dietrich a Niem's description may again be brought in at this point. Certain deluded Germans, says he, are seeking a mountain which they call the grail, where they say are men living a life of sensual indulgence to the crack of doom. May not these men in all probability include in the minds of these seekers Arthur and his knights of the Round Table? The fact that it is the grail which they are seeking makes such an assumption seem reasonable.

With the metamorphosis of the grail legend Arthur and his knights were dragged along. The facts which have been brought to bear in this chapter go to establish the connection of Arthur with a place bearing all the hallmarks of a Venusberg of later years. His connection with the grail is already well-known. The situation would indicate, in another quarter therefore, the relationship between grail and Venusberg.

#### CONCLUSION.

The three chapters on Grail, Venusberg and Arthur may be connected in a very few words. The whole history dates from the time of the crusades, 1095-1248. It was during these centuries that crusaders brought back from the Byzantine Mass the legend of the Holy Grail. It was first in these years (1150) that Arthur and the grail legend were connected. Before the close of the 13th century the grail legend had spread over France and Germany. Although the subject for the most lofty literary productions, it suffered degradation at the hands of the people, especially in northern Germany, until the name of the cup, transferred by an easy and natural process of metonymy

<sup>42</sup> Hertz, *Parzival*, p. 465.



to the castle where the cup was supposed to repose, came to mean a sort of sinful paradise out of which the Arthurian hero Lohengrin was said to come. With the legend of the grail in its downward course went the legend of Arthur, in the popular mind. The name Venusberg comes in a century later, after this deterioration had become firmly fixed. It is in North Germany also that this idea seems to get its first hold. The legend of such a mountain answers so closely to the mountain called *der Gral*, described by Dietrich a Niem, to the mountain of the Wartburgkrieg account, where Felicia and Juno dwell with Arthur, and is so confused by Fischart when he speaks of seeking den Grall oder Venusberg that we feel sure of a connection between them. Add to this what the chronicler quoted by Caspar Abel says, that Lohengrin comes out of the mountain where Venus dwells in the Gral and we have conclusive evidence that the two, the Gral and the Venusberg, are the same. The chronology shows, furthermore, that the grail is first in point of time and is, therefore, the source of the Venusberg legend.

To sum up. In point of time the grail legend is first to enter. About a century later we first meet the name Venusberg. During this time we find ample proof that the conception of the grail has greatly changed for the worse in Germany. In Germany, likewise, we are forced to conclude, the Venusberg began. In Dietrich a Niem's account we see indications of the idea of Venusberg in connection with the Grail. In Fischart we find expressed an actual confusion of the two names and ideas. And, most important of all, in the Wartburgkrieg and Caspar Abel's Chronik we find Arthur, the grail hero, in just such a mountain as the Venusberg was supposed to be, and his knight, Lohengrin, is said to have been sent out from the mountain where Venus sat in the Gral. In North Germany Lohengrin had come to be regarded as a mysterious and suspicious personage and the place from which he came, the Gral, had come to mean a place of evil, a place where, as we learn in Abel's Chronik, Venus and her pleasures were to be found. We may very fairly conclude, therefore, that the real relation of Gral and mountain

of Venus was expressed by Fischart when he speaks of visiting 'den Grall *oder* Venusberg.'

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## HEBBEL AS A LYRIC POET.

Many who concede Hebbel's intellectual preeminence deny him all genuine poetic endowment. Particularly with respect to his lyrical poems there is much stubborn unwillingness to concede to him the divine fire. Our object will be to show that Hebbel's genius is genuinely poetic; that precisely in the lyrical poems his greatness rests upon the evidence there of the poetic temper of his mind, not upon his transcendent personality nor yet upon his powers of profound reflection.

We are told that the mature Hebbel was incapable of self-criticism, because he composed everything in rigid accordance with a self-perfected theory of art that he considered authoritatively final. This is not quite the impression that the Hebbel of the *Tagebücher* makes upon one. Complacent self-adulation is not the keynote of the character there revealed to us. This rugged, turbulent nature struggling to find and perfect itself seems to us rather brutally candid, and recklessly self-critical. As we read the *Tagebücher* we become more and more impressed with Hebbel's discernment, his sense of the beautiful, his discrimination between genuine and spurious.

Now it is difficult to believe that so clear a head and so frank a heart should have failed in a whole life-time's persistent effort to note the lack of prophetic vision in himself. Can we readily suppose that Hebbel, the merciless detective and judge of sham in others would be blind all these years to the great sham in his own career? We contend that one of the safest guides in our estimate of Hebbel's genius is his own uncompromising conviction of his personality and his mission.

This auto-diagnostic testimony many may find unconvincing; they may demand more pragmatic evidence, proof that rests less upon antecedent probability and more upon actual performance. Granting Hebbel's critical acumen, his ethical sincerity, his unconquerable conviction, how does this brave promise agree with positive achievement?

Let us frankly concede at the outset two qualities said to mar Hebbel's poems: (1) relatively little of his lyric verse is adapted to song; (2) much of it lacks lucidity. Neither of these qualities is necessarily a poetic defect. That lyric poetry was originally sung to musical accompaniment does not justify the popular preference bestowed upon the "Lied". As the ancient drama must have ceased very early to perform a purely ritualistic office and must have become more and more a medium of impressing profound truths upon the minds of awed spectators, so lyric poetry soon must have embraced poetic forms of emotional or intellectual agitation other than the short passionate song accompanied by the lyre. The quality of primitive emotions, the primitive mode of life made singing the most appropriate method of communication. Life has changed; emotions have suffered modification. To the old stock of elemental emotions have been added many others of which the early bard knew nothing; emotions that send their roots into racial, epochal, temperamental experience. These are as real as any of the older simpler passions, though their complexity, intricacy often baffle the poet's gift of expression. Shall we say that these finer, subtler moods lack the lyrical quality because their poetic embodiment is not uniformly adapted to communication through the Song?

What we have just said explains, though it cannot fully excuse, Hebbel's alleged obscurity. A poet may not be at great loss for definite, tangible symbols to embody a simple elemental passion. Much more vague and evanescent must be his means in the portrayal of a mysterious elation of soul, or unaccountable melancholy referable to no visible source, yet profound and compelling. Where the thing itself is so obscure, the expression can hardly hope to attain lucidity. Indeed would not glaring lucidity make gross what is itself of such spiritual fineness? Precisely this class of moods often affords Hebbel a rich fund of poetic effects. And indistinctness is often the very thing that stirs within us that strange *Dämmerempfindung* so dear to him. It is the glory of modern lyric poetry to present to the imag-



ination those dull skies of emotion, those twilight moods that will not quite break into dawn. Such grey tones Walter Pater has in mind in this beautiful characterization: "The very perfection of lyric poetry often seems to depend in part on a certain suppression or vagueness of mere subject, so that the definite meaning almost expires or reaches us through ways not distinctly traceable by the understanding."

Such suppression abounds in Hebbel's poetry, proving the primacy of the emotions in his creative processes. Yet Hebbel seems doomed to the role of a *Gedankendichter* in popular opinion, a fate for which his own utterances upon poetry are in part responsible. But if he recognized "*Gedankenlyrik*", he unquestionably gave precedence to "*Gefühlslyrik*". "*Gefühl*", he said, "*ist alles, die Kunst es zu begrenzen macht den lyrischen Dichter*". We cannot go far astray in accepting the theory of an indispensable *Erlebnis* as the initial impulse, the lyrical first cause, which starts the emotional mechanism. There is probably general agreement that the sphere of lyric poetry is the emotional; that whatever the nature of the *Erlebnis*, whatever the specific lyric form in which this *Erlebnis* finds expression, the poem must convey strong emotion from the singer to those for whom he sings. This requirement Hebbel's lyric poetry generally fulfills. His initial impulse is frequently a *Gedankenerlebnis*; yet even then, emotion,—(to employ Stopford Brookes' metaphor) "rising through the intellectual imagery and setting it on fire redeems it from the cold abstraction of philosophy and makes it passionate poetry."

There is a further source of difficulty in Hebbel's poetry. Like Shelly he seeks to apprehend not the gross phenomena of things, but their inner essence, not the outer garb of nature but her soul. As Schiller has expressed it in the essay on the Greek Chorus: "Nature herself is but an idea of the mind, which never strikes the bodily senses. Underneath the visible she lies concealed, yet she herself never comes into view. Only ideal art can apprehend this soul of nature and bind it fast in a corporeal form, and this not by bringing nature before the senses

but before the creative imagination". Hebbel belongs preeminently to those poets who set for themselves this high spiritual task. Yet even here in the realm of the spiritual, Hebbel is not, as many claim, the reflective philosopher but the emotional, the imaginative poet.

In attempting to establish Hebbel's claim to poetic distinction we shall restrict our attention to one important class of his poetic qualities, his sensuousness. This he certainly possesses, though his lyric poetry does lack the elemental *Naturlaut* characteristic of the lyrics of Goethe, of Hölderlin or of Eichendorff. Vision alone does not make the poet. Bain says: "Susceptibility to the sensuous influences of nature and to the emotions suggested by them.....must exist in a high degree in a poet." And Walter Bagehot states with more fulness: "Vividness of sensation seems required to awaken, delicacy to define and copiousness to enrich the visionary faculty". It is clear that whatever may be the poet's theme, his media must be sensuous, he must communicate his thoughts through things. Accordingly the order of a poet's greatness depends to a considerable degree upon the sensuous quality of his diction; upon its power to stimulate through the employment of material qualities the associated moral and esthetic emotions.

As examples of Hebbel's sensuousness we submit from the number of his better known poems a few pieces chosen well-nigh at random. More exhaustive illustration would involve extended analysis and grouping and would necessitate increased space-expenditure without commensurately strengthening our textual evidence. The specimens here discussed in desultory fashion are honestly typical of Hebbel and may perhaps suffice to illuminate the reality of his peculiar poetic genius. For it may be said that the more reflective in character a poet is, the more he will emphasize the sensuous element of his poetry.

An *Erlebnis*, overtaking the poet in a high wrought mood, engendering some dominant emotion that glows about a simple scene or situation or character, and unfolds before the inner vision in palpable imagery—this is the process exhibited by so

many of Hebbel's poems of the simpler form. To this class belong "Schiffers Abschied", 1842, and "Der junge Schiffer", 1836. "Schiffers Abschied" suggests the naive abruptness of certain Volkslieder: a simple touch from nature as Stimmungsmittel, then undelayed transition to the love motif; throughout, tender pathos hidden beneath seeming unconcern. The poem is built up in a series of parallelisms, a series of emotional stages in a little heart-drama with which various aspects of nature are brought in symbolic relations. The concrete materials, the nature impressions are sharply defined:

"Hier stehn wir unterm Apfelbaum,  
Hier will ich von dir scheiden,  
Hier träumte ich so manchen Traum,  
Hier trägt sich auch ein Leiden.

Hier sah ich dich zum ersten Mal,  
In winterlicher Oede!  
Wie war der Baum so nackt und kahl,  
Wie warst du kalt und spröde!

Doch bald ergrünte Zweig nach Zweig,  
Und alle Knospen trieben.  
Da sprang dein Herz, den Knospen gleich,  
Da fängst du an, zu lieben.

Wie ist er jetzt von Blüten voll!  
Wie wird er reichlich tragen!  
Doch, wer ihn für dich schütteln soll,  
Das wüsst' ich nicht zu sagen.

Hei! Wie dich säuselnd jener Ast  
Mit rothem Schnee bestreute,  
Als ob er schon die schwere Last  
Der künft'gen Früchte scheute!

Wenn über's Meer der Herbstwind pfeift  
 Und an dem Mast mir rüttelt,  
 So denke ich: sie sind gereift,  
 Und er ist's, der sie schüttelt!

Und muss mein Schiff vor seinem Braus  
 Gar an ein Felsriff prallen,  
 So ruf' ich noch im Scheitern aus:  
 Die schönste will nicht fallen!

—*Schiffers Abschied.*

Der junge Schiffer" will be remembered as the song sung by Karl in Hebbel's "Maria Magdalene", Act III, Scene 8. The Stimmung in this poem is the passion for the adventurous life at sea and this is achieved by the lively images which the poem evokes before our minds: the ship about to put out to sea, is waiting for a favorable wind; now the first gust whistles through the rigging and fills the sail; there is the stir and bustle of sailors weighing anchor; the ship skims through the water not yet roughened by the breeze; a sea gull circles about the mast; the sun beats hot and bright upon the blue; bright colored fishes dart and glance about the keel:—

Dort bläht ein Schiff die Segel,  
 Frisch saust hinein der Wind;  
 Der Anker wird gelichtet,  
 Das Steuer flugs gerichtet,  
 Nun fliegt's hinaus geschwind.

Ein kühner Wasservogel  
 Kreist grüssend um den Mast,  
 Die Sonne brennt herunter,  
 Manch Fischlein, blank und munter,  
 Umgaukelt keck den Gast.

Wär gern hinein gesprungen,  
 Da draussen ist mein Reich!



Ich bin ja jung von Jahren,  
Da ist's mir nur ums Fahren,  
Wohin? Das gilt mir gleich!

*Der junge Schiffer.*

Ein Dithmarsischer Bauer, (1853,) a ballad written seventeen years after the "Schiffer," exhibits the same recourse to nature-symbols. The substantiality of the Dithmarscher's character, his giant-physique, his splendid unselfishness, his life of toil and exposure, all this is impressed so indelibly because Hebbel avoids abstractions and works with concrete ingredients.<sup>1</sup>

In the poem "Opfer des Frühlings, 1845, we enter a realm of pure fancy in which Hebbel achieves a sensuousness almost Shelleyan. The glory of Italian skies greets us in the opening stanzas:

"Sah ich je ein Blau, wie droben  
Klar und voll den Himmel schmückt?  
Nicht in Augen, sanft gehoben,  
Nicht in Veilchen, still gebückt!

Leiser scheint der Fluss zu wallen  
Unter seinem Widerschein,  
Vögel schweigen, und vor Allen  
Dämmert meine Seele ein.

Doch, es gilt auch eine Feier!  
Schaut den Lenz im Morgenglanz!"

*Das Opfer des Frühlings, 1-10.*

With nearly if not quite Shelley's mastery Hebbel suggests that mesmeric interweaving of all sense impressions that soothes the soul into a trance in which sensations seem to dissolve and flow and mingle with all that is felt and heard and seen. So magical is the blending of delicate odors, delicate impressions of contact, subtle qualities of atmosphere and texture and sur-

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Hebbel. *Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe* besorgt von Richard Maria Werner, Berlin 1902; Volume VI, 160.

face that the sensibilities seem to merge and to receive as one complex faculty the waves of impression. And finally that gorgeous burst of colors and lights in the lines:—

“Doch nun löst sich, alle Farben  
 Zu erhöh’n und allen Duft,  
 Das verschluckte Licht in Farben  
 Reinen Goldes aus der Luft.  
 Sind das Stralen? Sind das Sterne,  
 Die der Tag in Flammen schmolz?  
 Alles funkelt, nah und ferne,  
 Berg und Wald, ja Stein und Holz!”

Lines 41-48.

Shelley’s sunsets cleaving chasms through the cloud and pouring boiling gold upon the sea are more elaborate but hardly more suggestive of the optical splendors of Springtime.

Such poetic treatment of sensuous qualities was not mere verbiage with Hebbel. These pleasures of sense through contact with the life of nature afforded him positive inspiration. A passage of the *Tagebücher* runs thus:—“Ich sitze in stiller Nacht im Zimmer, Es ist schwül, ich öffne die Fenster. Ein rascher, kräftiger Regenguss, wie ein Strom erfrischenden Lebens. . . . . Süsse Kühle und die erfrischten Blumen des Gartens senden ihre Düfte herauf.” Above this Hebbel had written: *Erlebtes Gedicht*. What wonder the poem “*Der Kranke*”, 1838, takes up with little change these qualities of touch, of atmosphere, of vernal odors, only weaving in the reveries and dreams of the sufferer, and at the close, his painful awakening.<sup>2</sup>

The striking poem “*Die Odaliske*” 1853, is very significant for its bearing upon the subject with which we are here engaged. The subject-matter of the poem is of the simplest: an odalisk whose passionate nature needs no artificial stimulation refuses the cup proffered by the Pasha and so escapes the poison that had secretly been mingled with the wine. Thus the Pasha was wont to test the fibre of every new female slave. This situation the poet wishes to develop through poetic media,

<sup>2</sup> Werner, VI, 262.

unaided by any explanatory title. Hence the earlier title "Pasha-Prüfung" was changed to "Odaliske." Six stanzas or exactly one-half of the poem are devoted to a portrayal of the maiden's fiery nature. She, as the embodiment of the dramatic idea, becomes the poet's chief concern. There is constant recourse to sense qualities; these properties with their emotional associations apparently fascinated the poet as things beautiful in themselves:

"Es harrt auf weichem Purpursammt  
Die jüngste Selavin ihres Herrn,  
Und unter dunkler Braue flammt  
Ihr Auge, wie ein irrer Stern.

Sie stammt aus jenem Lande nicht,  
Wo ehrbar-blond der Weizen reift,  
Und stachlicht-keusch die Gerste sticht,  
Wenn man sie noch so leise streift.

Sie ist der Feuerzone Kind,  
Wo jede Frucht von selber fällt,  
Weil sie der Baum, der zu geschwind  
Die zweite zeitigt, gar nicht hält."

*Die Odaliske, 1-12.*

Wonder and awe, often bordering on the weird and fantastic, was a congenial mood with Hebbel. This may partly account for the success of his poems which deal with the emotional life of childhood. Hebbel tells us in the *Tagebücher* that he once dreamed he saw God, and once when wide awake he actually thought that God entered his home. He was naturally given to such fancies, so that "Bubensonntag", 1836, treats a spiritual experience which had actually come to him in boyhood. Hebbel was himself very proud of this poem. The strength of it seems to me to reside in its emotional imagery quite as much as in its psychologic verity. With perfect mastery he diffuses over the scene an atmosphere of terrified awe,

of ominous solemnity. There is the Sabbath quiet broken by toling church-bells; the mysterious silence that ensues when the bells cease, as though all nature were listening with bated breath; the hush that lies like a heavy shadow upon the altar and the tombs. Then the sudden sounds floating from some unseen source, fanning the silence into more awful intensity, all of which is imaged in the agitated trembling of the boy:—

“Wenn ich einst, ein kleiner Bube,  
Sonntags früh im Bette lag,  
Und die helle Kirchenglocke  
All das Schweigen unterbrach:

\*       \*       \*       \*

Fiel die Kirchenthür nun knarrend  
Hinter meinem Rücken zu,  
Sprach ich furchtsam-zuversichtlich:  
Jetzt allein sind Gott und du!

\*       \*       \*       \*

Auf dem hohen Thurm die Glocke  
War schon lange wieder stumm,  
Der Altar warf düstre Schatten,  
Gräber lagen rings herum.

Drang ein Schall zu mir herüber,  
Dacht' ich: jetzt wirst du ihn schaun!  
Aber meine Augen schlossen  
Sich zugleich vor Angst und Graun.

Und dies Zittern, dies Erbangen,  
Und mein kalter Todesschweiss—  
Dass der Herr vorbei gewandelt,  
Galt mir Alles für Beweis.

Still und träumend dann zu Hause  
Schlich ich mich in süsser Qual,



Und mein klopfend Herz gelobte  
Sich mehr Muth für's nächste Mal."

*Bubensonntag*, 1-4; 17-20; 29-44.

In the two poems which shall next engage us we pass over into a realm which is peculiarly Hebbel's own. In spiritual content and in manner of expression the two poems epitomize Hebbel's poetic nature and art. Through many an Erlebnis both of fact and fancy Hebbel must have been pierced with a strong sense of the pathos of change. Especially did the incapable changefulness of things beautiful fill him with a deep melancholy. But instead of bloodless reflection, the Erlebnis enters the flesh, assumes substantial form, becomes embodied in a definite situation and receives a realistic setting. And so we have the poem "Das Mädchen Nachts vorm Spiegel", 1845, which is not merely the picture of a maiden disrobing before her mirror, nor yet an allegory on Vergänglichkeit, but rather an indissoluble union of the two.\*

Even more effectually in the second of the two poems does an Erlebnis enter a bodily habitation, live and move among tangible things. "Magdthum" was the name first given to the poem, only to be changed later to the livelier if longer "Das Mädchen im Kampf mit sich selbst", 1839. Nothing would better show the poetic fibre of Hebbel's nature than to compare this poem with a passage in Schiller's "Braut von Messina", ls. 1164-69.

Schiller:

"Schamhafte Demut ist der Reize Krone,  
Denn ein Verborgenes ist sich das Schöne,  
Und es erschrickt vor seiner eignen Macht.

Ich geh und überlasse dich dir selbst,  
Dass sich dein Geist von seinem Schrecken löse,  
Denn jedes Neue, auch das Glück, erschreckt."

\* Werner, VI, 280.

And now Hebbel's poem, of which we quote only enough to bring out the contrast between Schiller's stately sobering reflection and the quickening imagery of Hebbel. The situation is similar to that in "Mädchen Nachts vorm Spiegel," namely a maiden disrobing before her mirror by lamplight:\*

Schüchtern nun bei seinem Strahle  
 Schaut sie in des Spiegels Rund,  
 Und ihr thut zum ersten Male  
 Ihrer Schönheit Macht sich kund.  
 Tief erröthend, dennoch zaudernd,  
 Blickt sie fort und fort heinein:  
 Dann, wie vor sich selbst erschauernd,  
 Löscht sie schnell der Lampe Schein.

Leise in sich selbst versinkend  
 Und aus eignen Zaubers Glanz  
 Inniges Genügen trinkend,  
 Ist sie still und selig ganz.  
 Doch sie will die Lust bezwingen,  
 Weil sie aus ihr selber quillt,  
 Da verklärt dies holde Ringen  
 Mailich süß ihr frommes Bild.

Und sie sieht's mit halbem Bangen,  
 Dass, je mehr sie sich verdammt,  
 Ihr's von Stirn und Mund und Wangen  
 Immer sternenhafter flammt.  
 Gottes eigner Finger leuchtet  
 Golden durch ihr Angesicht,  
 Und so wie ihr Blick sich feuchtet,  
 Löscht ihr Hauch zugleich das Licht.

\* Contrast with these two poems the lines entitled "Die Unschuld", 1842, (Werner, VI. 265). Here abstraction is transformed into poetry by the concrete symbols employed; yet the poet's imagination was not sufficiently stirred to supply the Erlebnis with a distinct human setting, a definite emotional situation.

We have purposely left unmentioned the love-poems proper, that is, the poems in which a personal passion supplies the dominant motive; these poems naturally suggest themselves in support of our position on Hebbel's poetic distinction. The eleven gems composing the cycle "Ein frühes Liebesleben" would in themselves be sufficient to confound those who regard Hebbel as at heart a moralist. The unique love-ballad "Liebeszauber" with its intense dramatic fire and movement owes its effect in large measure to the predominance of sense-qualities. The altogether lovely ballad "Schön Hedwig", (1838), with its plasticity, its suggestion of the atmosphere of virgin purity, its simple yet vivid portrayal of secret, loyal devotion, charms by the deft handling of lights and colors in its opening stanzas:

"Im Kreise der Vasallen sitzt  
Der Ritter, jung und kühn:  
Sein dunkles Feuerauge blitzt,  
Als wollt er ziehn zum Kampfe,  
Und seine Wangen glühn.

Ein zartes Mägdlein tritt heran  
Und füllt ihm den Pokal.  
Zurück mit Lächeln tritt sie dann,  
Da fällt auf ihre Stirne  
Der klarste Morgenstrahl.

Der Ritter aber fasst sie schnell  
Bei ihrer weissen Hand.  
Ihr blaues Auge, frisch und hell,  
Sie schlägt es erst zu Boden,  
Dann hebt sie's unverwandt."

Schön Hedwig. 1-15; Werner VI. 172.

Of an utterly different type are the two poems "Auf die Deutsche Künstlerin", 1850 and "Auf die Sixtinische Ma-

donna", 1851. Though critical in scope they are both genuinely poetical in substance, for both are inspired by the contemplation of concrete beauty. Aesthetic pleasure fanned into an emotional glow in the poet's exalted mood naturally fuses with impassioned imagery:

"Ich will den Funken aus den Höhn,  
Der sanft der Seele sich verbündet  
Und langsam wachsend, immer schön,  
Zuletzt zur Flamme sich entzündet:  
Zur Flamme, die den Leib durchstrahlt,"

Werner, VI. 282.                      Auf die Deutsche Künstlerin, 5-10.

"Als einst die Himmelskönigin sich zeigte,  
Als sie von ihrem Throne, sanft und mild,  
Sich auf die dunkle Erde niederneigte,  
Da seufzte jedes Herz nach ihrem Bild.

Und sieh: des Aethers reinste Tropfen fallen,  
Der Sonne hellste Stralen schimmern drein,  
Und, wie sie blitzend durch einander wallen,  
So fangen sie den holden Widerschein."

Werner, VI, 283.                      Auf die Sixtinische Madonna, 5-12.

More impressive does such sensuousness become when the poet through this medium gives palpable substance to emotional experience that we may have keenly felt yet have apprehended but vaguely, or at best have sought to define with the abstract symbolism of science. Such an imaginative transmutation of the spiritual we have in the following epigram:

"Heilige Töne, verstummt! Mir ist, als wäre schon Alles

Aufgelöst in Musik, nur nicht mein eignes Herz,

Und Ihr strebtet vergebens, auch diesen Klumpen zu schmelzen,  
Aber durch den Versuch litt ich unendliche Qual."

Beim Anhören einer Musik.

Fortunately for our purpose we have in the language of a philosopher the scientific observation of an emotional situation that constitutes the theme of Hebbel's poem "Auf eine Violine".



A comparison of the observation with the poem brings out perfectly the contrast between scientific definition and poetic imagination. In the following prose passage Bain throws light upon a psychic state by separating it theoretically from other states: Hebbel in his lines on the violin humanizes this same state by bringing it into personal relations with life and by naming it after such personal relations:

"When a series of tones is effectual in stimulating human passions....it suggests a living soul behind, partly revealed and partly mysterious, with which we enter into a kind of sympathy".

Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, pp. 236-7.

"Wenn deine Wunderklänge  
Den Saiten rasch entfliehn  
Und rauschend im Gedränge  
An mir vorüber ziehn:

Da wird's in Herzenstiefen  
So wohl mir und so bang,  
Als ob da drinnen schliefen  
Viel Brüder zu jedem Klang."

Hebbel, *Auf eine Violine*, 1-8.

That many find Hebbel's poetry obscure is not surprising. In his poems as in his dramas one master-theme engages him: life, the function of human existence in the cosmic organism. His tragedies and his poems are emotional embodiments of this master-theme, as from time to time under varying circumstances phrases of the cosmic revelation came to him. The scenes, the situations, the characters that brought him inspiration and light were none of them last words. He had not solved, he was still solving when Death came. When life ceases to be a problem, poetry may no longer be read, perhaps because poetry may no longer be written. Because Hebbel would not affect a finality that he did not feel, therefore, or chiefly

therefore, many of his poems appear indefinite. If we are not content with the poetic presentation of emotions fraught with deep symbolic import; if the achievement of an atmosphere charged with dramatic possibilities of joy and sorrow does not suffice, but we must have our emotions nicely defined and classified—then Hebbel has no message for us. He does undeniably leave much for reflection to grapple with, for ardent *Nachempfinden* to brood over. His rare flashes of intuition, his splendid feats of constructive and interpretative imagination often merely fashion new setting for familiar questionings, open deeper and more luring vistas in the encircling unknown. The one thing unmistakable in most of Hebbel's poems in the subordinate importance of the mere objects with which they deal. We may read such a poem as "Hermelin", Jan. 3, 1856,<sup>5</sup> and merely allow the depicted scene to pass mentally before us. We may read the same poem in a more suitable mood and become haunted with the sense of a symbolic presence imperfectly divined if not altogether apprehended. According to temperament and experience we shall hail the poet for precisely such pictures from common life, which flash to the soul obscure yet stirring signals.

This element of Hebbel's poetry, the sense which it imparts of a living essence passionately felt through imperfectly revealed, is not secured without a price. This very quality is largely to blame for the charge freely made and accepted that Hebbel's poems are excessively reflective. The critical principle upon which this charge is based is misleading, in our opinion. Reflection is not *ipso facto* deadly to pure poetry. Shakespeare does not descend to the level of philosophic prose in the soliloquy spoken by Hemlet. Similarly Hebbel's reflection is for the most part not the philosopher's colorless abstractions, not the moralist's sobering maxims or the speculations of the metaphysician. Hebbel's thoughts are instinct with life-principle; conceptions that ordinarily have but a trance-existence, intuitions that commonly live in a subconscious world of shade be-

<sup>5</sup> Werner, VI, 264.

come realities, vital processes parallel with human experience.

It cannot be minutely determined how far such models as Schiller, Uhland and Kleist are directly responsible for Hebbel's sensuousness. That the quality was not engrafted, however, is reasonably certain. To be sure, evidence is adequate that Hebbel's natural tendencies here were fostered by his favorite authors. The radiant imagery in his "Drei Schwestern", 1859, compares the successive bloom of three sisters with snow peaks successively gilded by the rising sun; and Schiller's picture of mighty princes towering like mountains touched by Aurora may have afforded the germinal idea.<sup>6</sup> So, too, the assumption is fair that the underlying fancy of Hebbel's "Sixtinische Madonna" may in a measure be traced to such a passage as:

"O du, die eine Glanzerscheinung mir,  
Als hätte sich das Aetherreich eröffnet,  
Herabsteigst, Unbegreifliche, wer bist du?"

Kleist's *Penthesilea*, 1809-1811.

But Hebbel's sensuousness is too uniform and persistent to arouse the suspicion of imitation. The profusion of sense qualities is conspicuous in his early pieces, while well-ordered sensuous opulence characterizes his later, indeed his very latest lyrical poems.<sup>7</sup> Very instructive upon this point are the three editions of Hebbel's poems which appeared during his life.<sup>8</sup>

\* "Aber der Fürsten  
Einsame Häupter  
Glänzen erhellt,  
Und Aurora berührt sie  
Mit den ewigen Strahlen  
Als die ragenden Gipfel der Welt."

Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, 288-293.

<sup>7</sup> A careful tabulation of Hebbel's light-and-color terms based upon the poems in volumes VI and VII of the Werner edition, yielded these approximate proportions: average frequency of light-and-color terms for entire period of production (1828-1863), one to 9 lines; for period 1828-1838, one to 8 lines; for 1848-1858, one to 12 lines; for 1858-1863, one to 10 lines. Not included in the count were pp. 326 to 378 of Vol. VI, containing "Epigramme und Verwandtes."

<sup>8</sup> A. *Gedichte*, 1842; B. *Neue Gedichte*, 1848; C. *Gedichte Gesamtausgabe*, 1857.

The complete edition of 1857 (edition C) contained many new pieces as well as old ones that had been pruned of all foreign elements; so that Hebbel regarded the collection of 1857 as made up of the very fibre of his being. ("mit meinem innersten Wesen verwachsen.") A comparison of the three editions makes it clear that Hebbel tended on the whole toward increased sensuousness. In the materially revised poems, (those shortened as well as those lengthened) there is seldom if ever a loss, often no change, and not infrequently noticeable proportionate gain in sensuous expression. *Waldbilder*, Nos. 3 and 4; *Das Mädchen im Kampf mit sich selbst*, No. 1; *Die Odaliske*; *Ein nächtliches Echo*; *Frühlingslied*, and *Die Weihe der Nacht* are but a few among the poems of which the final forms show distinct sensuous gain. The last mentioned, "*Die Weihe der Nacht*", first entitled "*An meine Seele*, (Hamburg, 1840), was originally composed of thirty-two lines and contained at a liberal estimate twelve sensuous terms, or a percentage of one term to 2.66 lines. As published in edition C, the poem was reduced to eighteen lines, but with the loss of only three sensuous terms, thus raising the percentage to one term for every two lines. Frequently in the new poems we note a striving for concreteness. The poem "*Herbstbild*", 1852, is an exquisite nature picture, conjuring up through sensuous associations the strange spell of autumnal stillness accentuated by autumnal sounds. Two lines of the poem ran at first: "... dennoch fallen Früchte fern und nah, als würde unsichtbar gepflückt am Baum": by the later addition of a single sensuous term Hebbel secures a picturesque suggestiveness quite lacking in the earlier reading:

"Und dennoch fallen raschelnd fern und nah

Die schönsten Früchte ab von jedem Baum."

One further consideration in conclusion. Hebbel's poetic process is not, as a rule, from concept to image; not always an idea, an abstract principle and then a happy parallel drawn from the world of nature. Rather often does Hebbel become conscious,

\* Cf. Werner, Vol. VI, 232; Vol. VII, 285.



immediately an image strikes his senses, of a soul hidden in the gross body. Thus image and concept, or at least the intimation of a concept, often seem to rise simultaneously. A pre-existent identity of sense and symbol haunts the poet with a meaning that dawns upon him perhaps only after prolonged brooding, in a moment of fine exaltation. We look upon a printed page and receive impressions of line, space, form and the like; these impressions, registered upon the brain, set the mind at work to gather, group and judge. Hebbel looks upon a page of Nature, interprets its living symbols, and sings the message in the idiom and the alphabet of the revelation. Thus the snow-flake melting on the window-pane haunts him with its revelation of elusive truth until in some muse-favored mood the hidden message emerges with soul-stirring intensity.<sup>10</sup> At the same time it cannot be denied that his poems often show the traces of his labor in trying to find the sensuous embodiment for his abstract ideas.

In the various types of his lyric compositions, in the simpler songs whose naive appeal seems more direct, in those graver utterances of deeper though calmer spiritual vision, throughout the greater mass of his poems, there is the same persistent and sustained employment of the sensuous.<sup>11</sup>

"Two things," said Schiller, "are required of the poet and the artist: that he should rise above reality and yet remain within the sphere of the sensuous."

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<sup>10</sup> R. M. Werner, *Lyrik und Lyriker*, Erstes Kapitel, 5.

<sup>11</sup> To this rule the epigrams are an exception; these are characterized as a class by a relatively low degree of sensuousness.

## THE OLD NORSE HÁVAMÁL IN MODERN NORWEGIAN FOLK SONG.

For students of Old Norse literature it is of great interest to note how the different mythical and heroic legends contained in the Poetic Edda continued to live in folk song long after the Edda had been compiled. O. N. poetry was essentially epic, rather than lyric. The ancient Norsemen seldom gave full expression to their emotions. They were not a lyric people. They were, however, extremely well versed in the art of narration. Therefore, O. N. literature reached its highest development in epic poetry and in narrative prose. At the close of the O. N. period, however, a delightful literature of folk song developed. The legends contained in the Elder Edda became familiar themes which were treated in many different ways according to folk conception. The O. N. alliterative verse was hardly suited for song. The end rhyme instead of the alliterative was, on the other hand, adopted in the folk song together with the refrain (*stev*), which was used either at the end or both in the middle and at the end of each verse. The '*stev*' generally indicated either the theme or the general atmosphere of the poem. O. N. poetry was probably never sung, at least, never in the modern sense of the word. The folk song, on the other hand, was never delivered without an actual melody which had its origin in and was from the very beginning connected with the poem. O. N. poetry was, therefore, moulded over into a new form to meet these new conditions with the inevitable variation in motif to which all folk literature is subject. Together with the song developed the folk dance which plays such an important roll in the history of the Scandinavian people. The Scandinavian folk dance reaches its fullest development upon the Faroe Islands. There are fifteen folk songs, accompanied by dancing, on the Faroe Islands today all of which treat the life and adventures of the great O. N. hero, Sigurd

Favnesbane. In Norway and Denmark Thor lays and Odin lays appear in folk song in a most interesting form. 'Torsvisen' was sung up to 1870 in Jutland. The Norwegian form was taken down in writing about the year 1750. Both the Norwegian and the Danish ballads go back to an original version, written in Norway at least as early as the year 1400, which describes how Thor got his hammer back, his journey to Jotunheim and his disguising himself as the bride, Freya, just as in the famous þrymskviða of the Elder Edda. The modern versions show, of course, variations according to modern conceptions. Other lays of the Elder Edda appear in folk song, one of the most interesting of which is evidently a reflection of the famous ethical poem of O. N. literature, the Hávamál. This lay came to my attention in an edition of folk songs published by Hulda Garborg,\* Oslo 1903, with an introduction, written in the 'landsmaal', concerning folk song in Scandinavia. This song, entitled "*Aka paa isen haale*", the editor says is very well suited to "*bandadansen*". "*Bandadansen*" in the 'landsmaal' is the Dano-Norwegian "*Kjædedansen*" or ring-dance in which the participants form a ring by clasping hands and all join in the refrain as a united chorus. The song is written in a dialect of Western Norway, with 7 verses of 8 lines each. The 'stev' is supplied by Ivar Aasen, the great father of dialect study in Norway. The poem reads as follows:

\*Norske Folkeskrifter Nr. 8.

Norske folkevisor. B. I.

Med ei utgreiding um visedansen av

Hulde Garborg. Oslo, 1903.

Aka paa isen haale.

Stev av Ivar Aasen.

1. Aka paa isen haale  
med uskodd øyk og kaat,  
beita i stormen stride  
med styrelause baat,  
renna i kapp med reinen,

um raasi er tung og vaat:  
det maa ein galning vera,  
som so vil fara aat.

2. Ganga og gjera seg fager  
og fara so fint og smaatt,  
løyna sitt rette lynde,  
til maalet fyrst er naatt,  
gjeva deg gode voner  
og svika deg sidan braatt:  
det hev eg høyrte so ymse  
skal vera kvende-haatt.
3. Ganga og gjera seg smeikjen  
og fria tidt og traatt,  
freista dei arme vækjor  
til baade stort og smaatt,  
lata deim sidan fara  
og ha deim til glis og laatt:  
det hev eg høyrte so ymse  
skal vera karmanns-haatt.
4. Ganga so byrg og krøsa  
og skifta sin hug kvar dag,  
kappast um største stasen  
og kaupa av alle slag,  
lata ein annan syta  
for enden paa slikt eit jag:  
det hev eg høyrte so ymse  
skal vera kvende-lag.
5. Ganga so bratt og skrøyta  
og laast vera høv og hag,  
sitja i drikkarstemna  
og sumla natt og dag,  
koma so heim og dundra



og truga med hogg og slag:  
det hev eg høyrte so ymse  
skal vera karmanns-lag.

6. Endaa lyt eg no segja:  
der er so ymse slag,  
Raakar ein paa det gode,  
so ser ein eit anna drag;  
møter det gode hjarta  
eit hjarta med same lag:  
ja, daa er der ljose voner  
som sol paa ein sumardag.

7. Ja, naar det rette møtast,  
so før det sitt rette lag.  
Trutt paa vegen dei fylgjast  
alt utan kiv og klag.  
Ungdom og venleik vika,  
men hjarta slør friske slag;  
kjøleiken held sin varme  
og varer til siste dag.

The first five verses of the poem reveal the falseness of both women and men in relation to each other. 'Such is the heart of woman, such is the heart of man.' The revelation of woman's inner nature is met with as equally a convincing argument that man's nature is fundamentally no better. In the last two verses of the poem, however, an optimistic tone is assumed in contrast to the prevailing pessimistic sentiment with which the song opened. Here at the close we hear of the ideal union of two loving hearts and of the enduring quality of true love.

There are several verses in this poem which remind one very vividly of certain verses in the *O. N. Hávamál*. In fact the first verse, which seems to be used as a text for the sentiment expressed in the whole poem, is almost a literal translation of verse 90 in the *Hvm.* (Sophus Bugge. *Norroen Fornkvæði*.

Christiania, 1867). Previous to v. 90 in the Hvm. Odin has spoken of those things which one should not trust. One of these things is a maiden's word: v. 84. In this verse he speaks about the fickleness of woman and in verse 90 he resumes the subject, comparing the love of a false woman to driving an unshod and frisky colt upon the slippery ice or to sailing without a rudder in a raging storm or to a lame man's trying to catch the deer upon the mountain where the snow has begun to melt.

## Hvm. 90.

Sva er friþr qvenna  
 þeirra er flát hyggia,  
 sem aki io obryddom  
 a isi hálom,  
 teitom tvevetrom  
 oc se tamr illa,  
 eþa i byr óþum  
 beiti stiorlauso,  
 eþa scyli halltr henda  
 hrein i þáfialli.

If we compare this verse in the Hvm. with verse 1 of the folk song we see that the folk song is almost a literal translation of the O. N. There are three similes involved: namely, that of 1) the colt, 2) the ship, 3) the rein-deer.

1) The simile of the colt is literally preserved. *tvevetrom* and *oc se tamr illa* are omitted, being only extensions of *teitom*. med uskodd øyk og kaat=Hvm. io obryddom.....teitom.

2) The simile of the rudderless ship is also literally preserved.

beita=Hvm. beiti  
 i stormen stride=Hvm. i byr óþum.  
 med styrelause baat=Hvm. stiorlauso.

3) The simile of the lame man trying to catch the deer upon the mountain where the snow has begun to melt has assumed a slightly different form in the folk song. Here the picture is that of a man running a race with the deer when the race-course is heavy and wet (viz., from the melting snow).

renna i kapp med=race. Hvm. scyli hend=(as if he) should try to catch. um raasi er tung og vaat=if the race-course is heavy and wet. Hvm. i þafialli=on the mountain where the snow has begun to *thaw*.

The last two lines of the first verse of the folk song:

det maa ein galning vera,  
som so vil fara aat.

seem to have no counterpart in the verse in question (90) in the Hvm. But in the preceding verse of the Hvm. (89), after concluding the enumeration of those things which no man ought to trust, Odin says, as a warning to all men: 'let no man be so secure that he trust any of these things'.

Hvm. 89.

(last two lines)

verþit maþr sva trygggr,  
at þesso trui þllo.

This seems to be the same sentiment as that expressed in the last two lines of this first verse of the folk song: 'he must be a mad man who would do this' (Cf. the three similes equivalent to trusting a woman's word).

The second verse of the folk song now proceeds to delineate the character of woman. This theme is suggested in the Hvm., v. 90, the first two lines:

sva er friþr qvenna  
þeirra er flát hyggja.

'such is love of women who think falsely'. The same theme is treated in this second verse of the folk song although no formal introduction to it is given as in the Hvm. The theme itself, however, is identical in both poems. When Odin, v. 84, first speaks of not trusting a woman's word he gives as his reason for this mistrust the fact that women are so fickle: 'because their hearts are fashioned upon a whirling wheel and fickleness fills their breasts'.

## Hvm. 84.

Meyiar orðom  
 scyli manngi trua,  
 ne því er qvedr kona;  
 þvíat a hverfanda hveli  
 voro þeim hiorto scöpuð  
 brigð i briost um lagit.

This is the general theme of verse 2 in the folk song, though developed in a much more modern atmosphere. Woman's fickleness is portrayed much more in detail and much more definitely than in the Hvm. It is, in fact, a delineation of the modern vain and petty woman.

## Folk Song.

## V. 2.

Go and make themselves pretty,  
 Act so dainty and sweet,  
 Hide their true feelings,  
 Till their goal is reached,  
 Give thee fair hopes,  
 But deceive thee then suddenly:  
 That I have often heard  
 Is *woman's* way of doing.

In verse 3 of the folk song a retort is made to the accusations (heaped upon woman's head) in verse 2 by an equally potent arraignment of the weaknesses of man. After Odin in the Hvm. has given woman her full share of blame he becomes (v. 91) very frank about his own sex. In order to do woman justice he feels he must not fail to mention the faults of men, who are likewise not without deceit. He says:

Now I shall speak openly,  
 For I know both man and woman:  
 The heart of man is fickle toward women,  
 We talk fairest when we think most falsely;  
 That deceives even the heart of the wise.



## Hvm. 91.

Bert ec nu mēli,  
þviat ec þēði veit,  
brigðr er karla hugr konom;  
þa ver fęgrst melom,  
er ver flast hyggiom,  
þat tēlir horsca hugi.

In the very next verse Odin tells how a man is to win a woman's love. This, though very practical advice for a young Viking, is from the modern view point not altogether creditable to the character of either the young man or the woman. Flattery and wealth are the chief means of success: 'he who would have a woman's love must use fair words and offer money; he must praise the form of the fair maid. He will get her who woos her'.

## Hvm. 92.

Fagrt seal mēla  
oc fę bióþa  
sa er vill flíods ast fá,  
líki leyfa  
ens líosa mans;  
sa fęr er friár.

These two verses (91, 92) in the Hvm. form the basis of verse 3 in the folk song, the general theme of which is the deceitful and dishonorable conduct of men towards women. But the folk song is much more modern in its denunciation of man's immorality than was Odin in the Hvm. There is a distinct accusation here which was only general in the Hvm. The folk song says that men get into the good graces of women, then tempt the poor creatures and after they have seduced them, abandon them with laughter and scorn. The generalities of the Hvm. are particularized with telling effect.

## Folk Song.

## V. 3.

Go and get in their graces,  
 Woo often and obstinate,  
 Tempt the poor things  
 To both small and great sins,  
 Then let them go  
 With scorn and laughter;  
 That I have often heard  
 Is *man's* way of doing.

The next two verses in the folk song are merely extensions of verses 2 and 3 respectively. Verse 4 is a retort to the accusations made against man in verse 3 and is a continuation of the same theme treated in verse 2. Verse 5 is a retort to the accusations made against woman in verse 4 and is a continuation of the same theme treated in verse 3. There are no new elements introduced from the Hvm., the old ones being merely extended and diversified. The poem here assumes more of the nature of a 'flýting', in which the vituperation of the other sex seems to be the main object. But the enumeration of these faults and vices brings the reader more and more out of the medieval world of the O. N. Hvm., into the modern home of an immoral husband and whimsical wife. No such detailed account of woman's weakness for finery, or her extravagance and her whimsicalness, nor of a drunken husband's brutal conduct, as portrayed here, could be found in O. N. poetry. This is a reflection of modern life which might be characteristic of Holberg but not of the Hvm.

## Folk Song.

## V. 4.

Be deceitful and whimsical,  
 And change her mind every day,  
 Vie in the highest finery,  
 And buy of every kind,  
 Make someone else lament

As the result of such conduct:  
That I have often heard  
Is *woman's* nature.

V. 5.

Be so quick to brag,  
Claim he is fit and skilled,  
Sit in a drinking bout  
And guzzle night and day,  
Come home then and thunder  
And threaten with cuffs and blows:  
That I have often heard  
Is *man's* nature.

With the 5th verse this spirit of vituperation ceases and the poem, in the two concluding verses, assumes a positive and optimistic tone. The faults of both sexes suggested by Odin's practical wisdom in the Hvm., are found true, but true only of certain people in the world. When one pure heart meets another in true love these faults disappear. The fair hopes which were before deceived (V. 2) are now realized. When the right soul meets its mate then the course of love is as it should be. Youth and beauty perish but true love endures even unto the end.

Folk Song.

V. 6.

Yet now I hear it said:  
There are many different kinds,  
If one makes a happy find  
One sees things differently,  
When one good heart meets  
Another of the same kind,  
Yes, then there are hopes as bright  
As the sun upon a summer's day.

## V. 7.

Yes, when the right hearts meet,  
Then love takes its right course.  
They follow each other confidently  
Upon the way, without quarrel or lament.  
Youth and beauty may pass away,  
But the heart-beats still are warm;  
Love keeps its warmth and lasts  
Even unto the last day.

In these last two verses we see a pleasant and affecting conclusion of the folk song. This natural outburst of affection between man and wife, characteristic of the healthy and sound spirit of folk song in general, does not accord with the selfish and deceitful love which Odin in the *Hvm.* ascribes to men and women. This quality of natural affection is the most distinctively folk phrase of the poem and serves most effectively in bringing out the difference between the two types of love. The spirit of these last two strophes is also in keeping with the modern conception of life so vividly portrayed in the preceding stanzas. In fact the whole poem is modern in its thought and in most of the pictures which it presents. The only actual O. N. elements are (1) the suggestion of the general theme, (2) the first verse (in imitation of the *Hvm.* V. 90), (3) The fickleness of woman in verse 2 (based upon the *Hvm.* V. 84), (4) the deceitful attitude of men towards women in verse 3 (based upon the *Hvm.* V. V. 91, 92). The general theme, although suggested by the O. N. *Hvm.*, is developed in the light of modern Scandinavian life and thought. The further we progress from verse 1 the more evident this becomes. After verse 3 the poem is absolutely modern, without a suggestion of O. N. influence save the mere theme itself which one never would suspect of having an O. N. origin if one were not already acquainted with the first three verses of the poem. Only the structure of the poem, therefore, rests upon an O. N. basis. Its spirit and the development of the theme, on the other hand,



are entirely modern. This is an interesting example of the survival of O. N. poetry in modern Norwegian folk song.

But the survival of this folk song, valuable as it is in itself, may throw light also, as Professor Goebel suggests to me, upon the original relation to each other of the various stanzas in the *Hávamál*. The question of the composition of the *Hvm.* has long been contested. No other poem in the *Elder Edda* is of such a composite nature or contains so many interpolated stanzas. The general division of the poem into five parts, which Karl Müllenhoff has suggested, has been almost universally accepted. Müllenhoff's division is as follows:

1. Spruchgedicht. 1—78. 80.
2. Odin's Beispiel. 79. 81—102.
3. Odin's Beispiel. 103—110.
4. *Loddfáfnismál*. 111—137. 164.
5. *Rúnatal*. 138—145.
6. *Ljóðatal*. 146—163.

Finnur Jónsson (*Den Islanske Litteraturs Historie tilligemed den Oldnorske*) says of this arrangement: 'han har vist fundet det rigtige forhold'.

It is evident from the analysis of the O. N. elements upon which this modern Norwegian folk song is based that we are concerned here with Odin's first 'Beispiel' or the well known story of Billing's daughter. These O. N. elements in the folk song are based upon V. V. 84, 90, 91 and 92 of the *Hvm.* all of which according to Müllenhoff, belong to the story of Billing's daughter. It is striking that in his analysis of this story, Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*. B. V. S. 261ff. Berlin, 1908.) brings V. 91 and V. 84 in direct connection with each other on the ground that they are the original verses from which the story of Billing's daughter was developed. V. 91 serves as a retort to V. 84: 'im unmittelbarsten, stärksten gegensatze zu V. 84, als trutz-und gegenstrophe dazu, ist V. 91 gedichtet, wo einer nach seiner kenntnis sich offen dahin glaubt erklären zu müssen, dass die schuld der unzuverlässigkeit und

treulosigkeit viel mehr auf seite der männer sei'. This is exactly the same condition of things which we find in the Norwegian folk song in question. The deceitful attitude of men towards women in verse 3 of the folk song (based upon the Hvm. V.V. 91, 92.) is a direct retort to the accusations of fickleness made against woman in verse 2 (based upon the Hvm. V. 84.). In these two strophes of the Hvm. (84, 91.) we have, therefore, (according to Müllenhoff) the original nucleus from which was developed the whole story of Odin's personal love-experience with Billing's daughter. All other strophes are either extensions or later interpolations of these two original strophes. V. 90 also, which forms the basis for the first verse of the folk song and suggests its general theme, Müllenhoff places directly after V. 84, bringing both verses in direct connection with each other, just as is done in V.V. 1 and 2. of the folk song. Müllenhoff's theory is, further, that the story of Billing's daughter must have existed before the time of the composition of the original strophes, 84 and 91. These two strophes were later added as a sort of introduction to the story in question. Both of Odin's 'Beispiele' are illustrations of some ethical principle taken from his own personal experience in life. The question raised here is *false love on the part of woman*. V. 84, which the story of Billing's daughter is used to illustrate.

If we note Müllenhoff's arrangement and eliminate the interpolated and extended verses we have not only the nucleus from which the story of Billing's daughter was developed but also the O. N. basis of the Norwegian folk song. His arrangement is as follows:

79. 81-83. 84. 90. 85-87. 89. 88. 91. 92-95.

V. 79 serves as a mere transition-strophe from the previous theme, treating the attainment of wealth (fé), to this new theme which involves the question of love as exemplified by the story of Billing's daughter. V. 80 is misplaced and should follow directly after V. 77, in that it serves as a mere conventional ending to the previous theme and has nothing to do with the story in question. V.V. 81-83 as well as V.V. 85-90 are later

interpolations. V.V. 92-95 are extensions of V. 91. This leaves only verses 84 and 91 which, as we have seen, form the basis of the Norwegian folk song. The order of verses developed from the first original strophe, 84, (79. 81-83. 84. 90. 85-87. 89. 88.) is an arrangement which Müllenhoff contends has its literary precedent in the *Völuspá* (S. 235f.) and especially in the *Grimnismál* (S. 236f.) and therefore these verses probably did not exist without a written original. But the verses extended from the second original strophe, 91, which serves as a retort to V. 84, probably owe their origin solely to verbal tradition. The original strophe, 84, was at least partly cited as a proverb by a slave (*verkthráell*) in Greenland in the year 1025. It seems quite probable that not only the original strophe, 84, but also the whole story of Billing's daughter which was developed from it existed as oral tradition in Scandinavia.\*

\*Compare Bugge's opinion as to the origin of the 'Odinic fragments' on the Shetland Islands, (*Studier over de nordiske Gude=og Heltesagns Oprindelse*. Sophus Bugge. Christiania. 1881-1889. 1, 312. Foot note.)

"Vigfusson (Corp. poet. 1, LXXIV) remarks: 'The discoveries of 'Odinic fragments' in the Shetlands are utterly illusory—. Let us remember, putting aside all other possibilities, that Resenius' printed text, with a Latin translation, has been accessible for more than two hundred years.' I cannot share Vigfusson's opinion. The poetic form of the Shetland verses, their mode of expression, and especially the fact that the conception, to which they give expression, stands midway between the conception in the *Hvm.* and that of the orthodox Christian religion seem to me to be a proof of the fact that they are genuine folk productions and that they originated before Resenius' translation of the *Hvm.* appeared, from an altered form of either the strophe in question in the *Hvm.* or of a strophe very much akin to it. That such a strophe in an altered form could have been preserved in the mouths of the people up to the present time, is not any more remarkable than that magic verses, coinciding almost word for word with the 'Merseburgerspruch' written in the 10th century, should have been familiar to the people in many localities even up to the present time. Besides, we have many witnesses to the fact that poetic fragments of a very early origin have been preserved in the mouths of the people on the Shetland Islands. Finally, I call attention to the fact that the poems *Thrymskvíða*, *Grógaldr*, *Fjölsvinnsmál* have been worked over into ballads with rhymed strophes."

Just as the many stories about Sigurd Favnesbane lived on in the folk songs upon the Faroe Islands so this story of Odin's personal experience with Billing's daughter may well have found its echo in the folk song of Norway. This seems all the more probable from the fact that the two original strophes (84, 91) in the Hvm. (according to Müllenhoff) which lead up to this story are the very same as those which form the basis of the Norwegian folk song. The immorality and selfishness of Odin's love would naturally find no ultimate sanction in folk philosophy. The naiveté and naturalness of folk conception would be instinctively repulsed by such a doctrine of life as Odin advances. In the story of Billing's daughter Odin seeks by numerous devices to seduce the object of his passion, but in each instance is cleverly repulsed. In the last two verses of the folk song the spirit of natural repulsion for immorality corresponds exactly to the spirit in which Billing's daughter treats the immoral advances on the part of Odin. This lends additional evidence to the contention that the folk song is a survival of the story of Billing's daughter. The folk dance was often used as a sort of court in which wicked or immoral deeds were condemned and punished. If a man was found guilty of some misdemeanor two of his companions would seize him and drag him to the dance where he was compelled to hear verses sung telling the story of his shame and making him an object of scorn and ridicule. Such a punishment was not uncommon on the Faroe Islands. Especially in the life of the youth the folk dance with its song was a strong moral factor. Through these stories told in the folk song he became acquainted with the glorious deeds of his forefathers, learned a deeper love for his native land and for his home and came to a better appreciation of those virtues which the folk song upheld as the highest ideals in life; namely, courage, honesty, fidelity, friendship, and love even unto death. But shame was heaped upon the head of the cowardly, the dishonest and the impure. The folk song, therefore, was a distinctly moral production. Such a theme as the story of Billing's daughter would naturally find a decidedly



strong moral repulse in the folk song. This explains the positive and optimistic tone in the last two verses of the folk song in direct contrast to the prevailing pessimistic tone with which the song opened. The story of Billing's daughter is, therefore, indirectly reflected in these last two strophes, in that the folk song here, in contrast to Odin's immorality, gives expression to the natural and sound philosophy of life, which is the character-giving element of folk song in general.

From the foregoing analysis, therefore, there can be no doubt but that this folk song, 'Aka paa isen haale', owes its origin directly to the O.N. Hvm. and also to the same verbal tradition (according to Müllenhoff) from which was developed the story of Billing's daughter or Odin's first 'Beispiel,' as it exists in its present written form in the Elder Edda. Further, this analysis not only confirms Müllenhoff's theory as to the original sequence of strophes in Odin's first 'Beispiel' but it also throws new and very important light upon the continued life of the Poetic Edda in the folk song of Scandinavia.

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*Kansas University, April 9, 1910.*

## CONVENTIONALISM IN HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLE.

## CHAPTER I.

RALPH HOLINSHED.

One who glances carefully through the first volume of Holinshed's Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> undaunted by page after page of dry topographical detail, will not fail, at last, to be struck by the impression he gets of a fair and fertile country, well-wooded and well-watered, a pleasant place wherein it is good to dwell. The language at times grows quaint and picturesque, giving us vivid glimpses of hill and forest, and making the rivers, especially, seem almost living creatures; such rivers, for instance, as the energetic little Boscastell, which, "but a small thing, running at the most not above two miles into the land, yet....passeth by foure townes";<sup>2</sup> or the friendly Frome which, on its course to the sea, "whither all waters by nature doo resort", "receiveth [here] a pretie brooke descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie;....joineth [there] with a rill rising by north from Littleton drue"; hasting to Coston "taketh in....[another] by the waie from Markesburie....and....meeteth with....[another]....soone west of Northstocke".<sup>3</sup> The aspect of the land is, for the most part, sunny and peaceful; yet we grow gradually aware of uncanny places, where the peasant halts and holds his breath. There is the "well in the forrest of Gnaresborow, ....which water, beside that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, converteth wood, flesh, leaves of trees, and mosse into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape";<sup>4</sup> and the "little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie....which hath a rift or clift next the first shore; whereunto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare such noises as are commonlie made

<sup>1</sup> The edition referred to is the London edition of 1807.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. I. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Hol. I. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Hol. I. 218.

in smiths forges";<sup>5</sup> and we have also the two lakes in Snowdonie, "whereof one beareth a moovable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth".<sup>6</sup> Thus there is gradually evolved for us, if we have time and patience to distinguish its elements from masses of unsuggestive material, a fresh and fascinating landscape which, aloof from the smoke of modern train or factory, is shadowed only by the superstitious spirit that filled its solitary places, as in the time of Beowulf, with monsters and with marvels.

The experience described in the foregoing lines is typical. Just as from the dry geographical data one reconstructs a distinct and characteristic landscape, so, in reading on through the massive volumes of the *Chronicle*, one becomes more and more conscious of a personality informing and vivifying, for the patient and sympathetic reader, pages that at first seem mere dusty, pompous accounts of royal births, marriages, and deaths; of municipal affairs with their network of intrigue and corruption; of foreign alliances and treaties; of monotonous, savage campaigns domestic and foreign. At the outset, one does not realize this vitalizing force as a personality. The slow-evolving charm seems to lie merely in the accidental embodiment of certain floating notions concerning the religion, politics, and domestic life of the day, notions that pique and interest the modern mind by resemblance to, and difference from, our own. But one finds, at last, these floating notions gathering themselves together, cohering, uniting, gradually assuming form and consistency, as elements in a more and more clearly defined personality. This personality is that of the *Chronicler* himself, Ralph Holinshed, concerning whom Sidney Lee, in "The Dictionary of National Biography," briefly remarks, "All that seems certain is that he came to London early in Elizabeth's reign and obtained employment as a translator in the office of Reginald Wolfe." So much, or so little, for biographical data. Yet Ralph Holinshed must have been, first and last, a man who,

<sup>5</sup> Hol. I. 217.

<sup>6</sup> Hol. I. 217-8.

in an age of upheaval, was singularly untouched by the turmoil of contemporary opinion. He seems to have lived in an atmosphere of tradition, even of hereditary convention; to have been a scholarly recluse untouched by newer lights. Sometimes, not often, he betrays recognition of a new point of view. But this recognition leads, apparently, to so little of the active, intellectual deliberation which marks alike enlightened conservatism and enlightened radicalism, that we can scarcely apply the term Conservatism to Holinshed's persistent adherence to the traditional view. By the term *Conventionalism*, therefore, we have chosen to designate the subject of our study.

It may be interesting to consider for a moment the process of self-revelation by which our Chronicler has enabled us to form our impression of him. Intent as he is upon giving us merely an account of the history of England, "beginning at Duke William the Norman, commonlie called The Conqueror; and descending by degrees of yeeres to all the kings and queenes of England in their orderlie successions",<sup>7</sup> his self-betrayal is quite spontaneous and unconscious. It comes sometimes through the mere emphasis he throws on certain features of the incident he is describing; or through spontaneous exclamations scattered here and there; or, most frequently, through his liability to stray away from the matter in hand into digressions more or less significant. He is aware of this tendency to digress, a tendency which, though he deprecates, he cannot resist. "But whither am I so suddenlie digressed?"<sup>8</sup> or "Whither am I slipped?"<sup>9</sup> are favorite expressions by which he calls us back to the question in hand. Sometimes he diversifies his apologetic formula by giving to it a figurative turn. "But how farre have I waded in this point, or how farre may I sail in such a large sea?"<sup>9</sup> or "But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse?"<sup>10</sup> or "But whither am I digressed, from lead unto crowes, & from

<sup>7</sup> Hol. Title Page, Vol. III.

<sup>8</sup> Hol. I. 343.

<sup>9a</sup> Hol. I. 281.

<sup>9</sup> Hol. I. 276.

<sup>10</sup> Hol. I. 340.



crowes unto divels?"<sup>11</sup> Not only are these digressions interesting in themselves, but they are valuable hints for the study of the Chronicler's character.

So much, then, for Holinshed in general. It now remains to present in systematic classification all the data upon which a just estimate of his personality may be founded.

## CHAPTER II.

### HOLINSHED'S PROVINCIALISM.

The characteristic of our Chronicler which we will first notice is his stolid, insular spirit, a spirit evinced very strikingly in his treatment of the French, the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Irish. This provincialism is especially evident in his dealing with the French.

The Anglo-French wars occupy, of course, the chief place in the Chronicle controversies. From first to last, war follows war in monotonous sequence. The causes are mainly two: first, quarrels over the possession of Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine; second, English claims to the French throne through Edward the Third's descent from Isabella the Fair. The relations between the two countries resolve themselves, for the most part, into dreary interchanges of challenge and counter-challenge, the claims of France to the suzerainty of English provinces on her soil being met by the claim of England to the suzerainty of France herself.

Deep-rooted racial antipathy smoulders forever, in Holinshed, round the fuel afforded by these two never-ending disputes. We grow weary of the constant friction, the mutual bluster, the war begun, continued, and ended to the glory of the English and the humiliation of the French. The force of his racial prejudice reaches its climax in the contrasted figures of the English and the French monarchs. With amusing consistency, magnanimous Edwards and Henrys are thrown effectively against a background of perfidious Philips and Lewises. The French king ever

<sup>11</sup> Hol. I. 400.

hovers on the horizon, hostile and alert, his eye fixed greedily on the tempting little island; setting royal son against father, princely brother against brother, siding now with young Arthur, now with the Pope. In contrast with this cunning "fox",<sup>11a</sup> the English monarch is conceived of as a curious mixture of the lion and the lamb. Very valiant he is, of course; but also an extraordinarily simple-minded, not to say stupid, person, who in spite of various unpleasant experiences continues, like Edward the Fourth, in the persuasion "that the sunne should have fallen from his circle, [sooner] than that the French king would have dissembled or broken promise with him."<sup>12</sup>

The constant clash of arms is broken at times, it is true, by brief seasons of peace and amity. The French king's obstinate malice occasionally gives way, and it is pleasing to read that in 1255 King Lewis of France sent to King Henry "an elephant, a beast most strange and woonderfull to the English people", and also "an ewer of pearle like to a peacocke in forme and fashion, garnished most richlie with gold, silver, and saphires".<sup>13</sup> The Black Prince's treatment of his royal captive, King John of France, is exquisite in its delicate chivalry.<sup>14</sup> There is also a delightful description of the manner in which, at the Peace of Amiens, the English and the French soldiers feasted amicably together, the French king having sent into the English armie "a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten", thus making them "good cheere....of his owne costs."<sup>15</sup>

Turning to the historical drama, to be used merely as furnishing supplementary or illustrative data, we find it reproducing faithfully enough the motives and incidents of the various wars, its main object being to represent literally before

<sup>11a</sup> Hol. III. 336.

<sup>12</sup> Hol. III. 348.

<sup>13</sup> Hol. II. 435.

<sup>14</sup> Hol. II. 668.

<sup>15</sup> Hol. III. 338.

our eyes the events of a reign from beginning to end.<sup>16</sup> The plays differ from their chronicle-source in this fact: that into the relations of the French and the English there has entered not one gleam of grace or amenity. It is strange that the dramatists should not have seized the opportunity, so strikingly suggested, of lightening their monotony of insult and brute force. The story of the French wars, as treated by our playwrights, is stupid enough reading. Kings and ambassadors exchange an endless amount of braggadocio and bluster, and then fall to their bloody work. The most signal instance of this blindness to the notion of international courtesy as an effective dramatic motive is the episode already referred to where, in "Edward the Third," the Black Prince captures King John of France.<sup>17</sup> Instead of the quaint, respectful homage which, in the Chronicle, the boy pays to his royal prisoner, we have here a callow insolence that reminds us of Gratiano's treatment of Shylock in "The Merchant of Venice." The dramatists seem, indeed, systematically to have shut their eyes to any chance of varying their row of wax-works. Take, for instance, the little herald who, the Chronicler tells us, was sent by Lewis to Edward the Fourth when the latter landed in France in 1474. He was a mere yeoman whom the king "caused. . . . to be put in a coat of armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewes was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honor".<sup>18</sup> Yet he delivers his oration with such "boldnesse of face and libertie of toong", talking so sensibly and picturesquely about how the French and English ought to cleave together as "fine steele. . . . to the adamant stone", that King Edward is charmed with him, "highlie" commending "his audacitie, his toong, and his sobernesse, giving to him. . . . a faire gilt cup, with a hundred

<sup>16</sup> I would say that in regard to the plays I have used freely the suggestions made in various studies of the Elizabethan drama by Mr. Felix Schelling, Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne, Mr. John Addington Symonds, Mr. A. W. Ward, Mr. W. G. Boswell-Stone, and other writers, whose services are gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Hol. II. 668 with "Edward the Third", Act IV, Sc. 7, ll. 1-9.

angels", and sending him gaily off arm in arm with an English herald presumably dressed in conventional garb.<sup>18</sup> Turning to "Edward the Fourth", we look in vain for our lively little friend. He is transformed, alas, into a gentleman and a scholar named Mugeroun, and takes his place in line with all his dull predecessors. Heywood has also entirely neglected, in this play, the comic possibilities of the Constable of France, who becomes an ordinary stock-villain; while in the Chronicle he is a picturesque person, a kind of development of the Morality Vice, who alternately rails at King Edward and hurls chairs<sup>18a</sup> around in a manner that would have delighted an Elizabethan audience.

The drama, then, furnishes interesting supplementary evidence concerning the uncompromising hatred for the French that we find in the Chronicle, differing only from the Chronicle in the fact that into its pages there enters not a gleam of friendly intercourse between the two nations such as lends, now and then, to Holinshed's chapters of war and carnage, a gracious charm almost redeeming them from dullness.

The Scotch, at the hands of the Chronicler, fare even worse than the French. He does, indeed, grudgingly admit their courage, but only that he may impugn their motives. "For albeit that the Scots have beene often and verie greevouslie overcome by the force of our nation", he says, "it hath not beene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on us, and his justice upon them, sith they alwaies have begun the quarels, and offered us meere injurie with great despite and crueltie".<sup>19</sup>

It is noticeable in Holinshed's Chronicle that, when his personal feeling gets the better of the writer, the marginal notes abandon their legitimate function of summarizing the text, or referring us to sources. This is especially evident when he deals with the Scotch or the Catholics. From the time of the first recorded foray of the Scotch over the English border, to the un-

<sup>18</sup> Hol. III. 332-4.

<sup>18a</sup> Hol. III. 336.

<sup>19</sup> Hol. I. 192.



ion of the kingdoms under James, the history of the Scotch is accompanied by a running comment of exclamations: "Scotch honestie",<sup>19a</sup> (sarcastically). "Oh, Scottish crueltie and more than barbarous bloudthirstinesse."<sup>19b</sup> Their ferocity in border warfare is described as unspeakable, a certain raid in John's time, when they spared not even women in childbirth,<sup>19c</sup> being made an almost standing example in the Chronicle accounts. As for their honor,—after glossing a piece of double dealing by the sidenote, "This is a common fault in the Scots", he comments as follows: "Thus did they by practise justify the opinion that strangers to them have long conceived of their dealing: . . . and which he saw full well that said of the Scottish nations untrustinesse, etc.;

—grave pectus abundat

Fraudibus ingenitis & non eget arte magistra."<sup>19d</sup>

In the plays the Scotch are, like the marginal epithets, mere abstract qualities, "Cruelty," "Dissimulation," etc., expanded, of course, dramatically. They appear in two of our plays, "Edward the First" and "Edward the Third," on each occasion in alliance with the French, a historical fact that suggests the comment in the Chronicle, "For where should the Scots lerne policie and skill to defend themselves, if they had not their bringing up and training in France? If the French pensions maintained not the Scottish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take awaie France, and the Scots will soone be tamed; France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the tree, which, being taken awaie, the tree must needs die and wither."<sup>20</sup> Their first appearance in the plays marks the beginning of that interchange of service against the English that distinguishes the relations of the French and the Scotch till the

<sup>19a</sup> Hol. IV. 246.

<sup>19b</sup> Hol. II. 797.

<sup>19c</sup> Hol. II. 554.

<sup>19d</sup> Hol. IV. 246.

<sup>20</sup> Hol. III. 66.

union of the English and the Scotch crowns. This first appearance is in "Edward the First," where the three claimants to the Scotch throne, raised up by the death of the "little Maid of Norway," appear dutifully before Edward the First, as their liege lord, that he may settle the question. He decides for Balliol. It is characteristic of the prepossessions of the playwright that, in one part of the play, the motive for Balliol's rebellion (namely, the exaction of certain humiliating feudal services), is completely suppressed, and he is represented merely as ungrateful and over-ambitious. The second appearance of the Scotch is in "Edward the Third," where King David and his army are besieging the Countess of Salisbury in Roxburgh Castle. The Scotch nation is derided in the lady's opening soliloquy. They even woo "with broad untuned oaths", she says; and, if the English army does not arrive in time, their conquest over a woman will be brayed forth "in vild, uncivil, skipping jigs". The tone throughout is even more insulting and contemptuous than that of the Chronicle. Holinshed admits, at least, their bravery, treacherous, savage villains though they be; but in our plays the gallant little nation appears only as an army of feeble-minded phantoms, flocking and gibbering in the wake of the French army.

We find, also, in the Chronicle significant dealing with the English wars waged against that other gallant little nation, the Welsh, in whose fiery heart burned on forever the dream of King Arthur who should one day come to deliver it from the oppressor. It is interesting to compare Holinshed's tone with both that of modern history and that of glowing Welsh tradition. Turning to the Welsh bard, we find as we might expect a rhapsodic ecstasy of praise. Luellan ap Jorwerth is "the Eagle of men that loves not to lie nor sleep," the hero "towering above the rest of men with his long red lance, [whose] red helmet of battle [was] crested with the fierce wolf." "The sound of his coming," we read, "is like the roar of the wave as it rushes to the shore, that can neither be stayed nor hushed." Yet he is gentle, too, and "pours his gold into the lap of the

bard as the ripe fruit falls off the trees."<sup>21</sup> The most notable eulogy of his grandson Luellan is found in a fine ode on his death by Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch,<sup>21a</sup> who runs into wildest riot of hyperbole.

Turning away from this poetic rapture to the Welsh Chronicler, we find him exalting these men with quaint and sober praise. "And thus", we read, "in the ensuing year, Maredudd, son of Gruffudd, son of Rhys, the king of Ceredigion and the Vale of Tywi and Dyved, died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, a man who was extremely compassionate to the poor, and of noble prowess against his enemies, and rich in righteousness."<sup>22</sup> Again, "One thousand two hundred and forty was the year of Christ when Llywelyn, son of Jorwerth, Prince of Wales, died, the man whose good works it would be difficult to enumerate,"<sup>22a</sup> Again, "And then a year after that, the battle of Pwll Gwdyg took place, when Trahaiarn, king of Gwynedd, prevailed, and, by the grace of God, avenged the blood of Bleddyn, son of Cynoyrn, who was the mildest and most merciful of the kings, and would injure no one unless offended, and when offended it was against his will that he then avenged the offense. He was gentle to his relations, and was the defender of the orphans, the helpless, and widows, was the supporter of the wise, the honor and stay of the churches, and the comfort of the countries; generous to all, terrible in war, and amiable in peace, and a defense to everyone."<sup>22b</sup>

Glancing away from the patriotic approval of Welsh bard and Welsh Chronicler, we dip into the pages of a modern historian to steady our judgment before abandoning ourselves to Holinshed. We find there a soberly-told story of the three gallant little Welsh states which long kept up the unequal

<sup>21</sup> This collection of quotations was taken from Green's "History of the English People" (Harper & Brothers, 1879), bk. III, ch. III, p. 288.

<sup>21a</sup> Jones's "Bardic Museum" (London, 1802), p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> Brut Y Tywysogion (London: Longman and Green, 1860), p. 183.

<sup>22a</sup> Brut Y Tywysogion, p. 327.

<sup>22b</sup> Brut Y Tywysogion, p. 49.

struggle against the Saxon invader. Gradually the Mercians tore away tract after tract till there was left only a flaming core of what had been the British nation, the land that is now modern Wales. For six centuries or thereabouts it preserved itself, save for an occasional feudal pledge, a separate nation. Welsh history for these six centuries forms a thrilling story. Again and again the country was on the point of utter subjugation; again and again, just at the critical point, the nation in the energy of despair turned back the tide of invasion. Hero after hero arose to the succor of his country, the favorite being Luellan ap Jorwerth. From him sprang two sons; the elder, though the popular candidate, was set aside on the ground of illegitimacy, the younger son, David, succeeding to the throne. At his death the throne fell to the illegitimate branch of the family, which had three sons, Luellan, Owen, and David. Luellan succeeded to the throne, "the last and to the Englishman the most illustrious of the long line of Welsh princes." This Luellan, in all ways worthy of his renowned grandfather, had been for Edward the First an antagonist against whom that energetic monarch had been obliged to use his utmost force and strategy. But, despite his efforts, the English king wrested away the land piece by piece, till only the cantrefs constituting Snowdonia were left to Luellan's heirs. The chains now formally riveted on Wales, the king's bailiffs were left to their own pleasure; and to Luellan's ears, in his seclusion in Snowdonia, came cries of distress and indignation. For the last time he roused himself. Never was there a more gallant or a more hopeless fight. In the end, his head was fixed upon the point of a lance and carried triumphantly through the streets of London to the gate of the Tower.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout this impartial story, we feel the writer's thrill of sympathy and admiration for the long line of Welsh heroes of whom Luellan is the type. Turning now to Holinshed, we are surprised at their figures as they meet us in his pages. Of the magnanimity that thrills at the gallantry of a foe, one of the

<sup>28</sup> Summarized from Green's "History of The English People."



few creditable sensations distinguishing human beings in war, we find not a trace. The motives of the Welsh leaders are willfully misconstrued. We read, "Leolin...being summoned to come to a parlement holden by King Edward,...disdained to obeie, and upon a verie spite began to make newe warre to the Englishmen, in wasting and destroieng the countrie".<sup>24</sup> The politic concessions made to him by Edward are constantly dwelt upon as fatherly benevolences, with the evident intention of making Luellan appear a monster of ingratitude. He acts thus and so, says the Chronicler, "notwithstanding king Edward had so manie waies doone him good, and had given him just cause of thankfulness, which is the common reward of benefits, and which little recompense whoso neglecteth to make, being but a little lip-labour, Non est laudari dignus, nec dignus amari."<sup>25</sup> Some times the racial dislike expresses itself in mere spitefulness. On one occasion we read that "Leolin nothing dismaied, therewith...began foorthwith to rob and spoile within the English marshes with paganish extremitie".<sup>26</sup> The word "paganish" is gratuitously spiteful.

If the Chronicle slanders the gallant Welsh hero by making him brutal, malicious, and ungrateful, we find in Peele's play, "Edward the First", an even more sadly distorted conception. Here provincial prejudice has done its worst. We find Luellan an absolutely graceless figure,—boaster, masquerader, trickster combined. He and his companion, the buffoon-harper, are respectively as complete travesties of brave prince and inspired bard as can possibly be conceived.

The Chronicler's attitude towards the Irish can, of course, be easily divined. The English are represented as perfectly just and benevolent rulers whom the Irish cannot endure because of "their corrupt nature",<sup>27</sup> their "inconstant...mind",<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Hol. II. 482.

<sup>25</sup> Hol. II. 482.

<sup>26</sup> Hol. II. 369.

<sup>27</sup> Hol. VI. 404.

<sup>28</sup> Hol. VI. 231.

and because they are entirely "false by kind".<sup>29</sup> "Wherefore", we read concerning one of the governors, "great good cause had he to be glad and joifull, that he was to be delivered from so ungratfull a people and unthankfull a nation.... It is a fatall and an inevitable destinie incident to that nation, that they cannot brooke anie English governor; for be he never so just, upright, & carefull for their benefit, they care not for it; let him be never so beneficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of it; let him be never so circumspect in his governement and advised in his dooings, they will discredit and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be severe, they will curse him; and let him doo the best he can, he shall never avoid nor escape their malice and spite."<sup>30</sup> The writer has his own theory concerning the unhappy peasants living on "limpets, orewads, and such shelfish as they could find". There is no suspicion in his mind that they may be victims of treacherous climate and oppressive masters. "The land it selfe", he says, "...before.... populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentiful of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yeelding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yeelding nothing.... A heavie, but a just judgement of God upon such a Pharoicall and stifnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serve God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mazim to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, unto the utter overthrow of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the goodnesse that commeth from that great citie upon the seven hils, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations upon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, maister pope, the

<sup>29</sup> Hol. VI. 265.

<sup>30</sup> Hol. VI. 404-5.

sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie unto the crosse of Christ, whose bloodthirstinesse will never be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the servants of God; and whose ravening guts be never satisfied, but with the death of such as doo serve the Lord in all godlines,...as it dooth appeare by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he dailie exerciseth throughout all christian lands."<sup>31</sup>

In his attitude towards all these nations, then, Holinshed strikingly exemplifies the force of provincial prejudice. He is apparently quite incapable of comprehending that another man's view may be tenable; or that truth, honor, and magnanimity can possibly exist in any nation hostile to the English.

### CHAPTER III.

#### HOLINSHED'S KING-WORSHIP.

We will consider in the next two chapters respectively the spirit displayed by Holinshed towards the king and his entourage, and towards the common people.

The Chronicler's interest lies wholly with the chiefs and the nobles, in whose achievements consist those "manifold matters of recreation, policie, adventures, [and] chivalrie",<sup>32</sup> which Holinshed considers it his duty to record. We watch king and knight sweeping gloriously across the channel to victory in France, and witness their triumphant return through "streets...hanged with rich cloths of silke, arras, and tapestrie,...[whose] conduits ran plentifully with white wine and red."<sup>33</sup> This glittering figure of the knight it is, whether in silk or armor, that fascinates our writer; and only now and then does he turn aside to sketch hastily the peasant as he steals out from the gate of some sacked town, one of a pathetic group "with heavie hearts, (God wot)",

<sup>31</sup> Hol. VI. 460.

<sup>32</sup> Hol. IV. 342.

<sup>33</sup> Hol. II. 479.

"parents with their children, yoong maids and old folke",<sup>34</sup> or sweats wearily beneath the burden of crushing taxation.<sup>35</sup>

The first evidence of the Chronicler's devotion to royalty and its satellites is his almost passionate interest in its pomps and festivities. This propensity is somewhat amusing, considering the manner in which in one place he disclaims interest in any such vanities. "I could also set downe", he says, "what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which being filled with them dooth yeeld the contemplation of a noble varietie unto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diversitie of pleasant floures. But I passe over the rehearsall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be."<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, he lays unreservedly open to us the life of the court with its fêtes, its balls, its festivals.

The interior of the palaces is described in lavish detail, the Chronicler revelling in gorgeous tapestries and hangings. We read of chambers "large, and wellproportioned, to receive light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber, sieled, and covered with cloth of silke, of the most faire and quicke invention that before time was seene; . . . the ground . . . whiteingraild, embowed, and batoned with rich clothes of silkes, knit and fret with cuts and braids, and sundrie new casts, that the same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned gold"; and of other chambers in the same palace, wherein "hanged rich & marvelous clothes of arras wrought of gold and silke, compassed of manie ancient stories, with which clothes of arras everie wall and chamber were hanged and all the windowes so richlie covered, that it passed all other sights before seene. In everie chamber and everie place convenient were clothes of estate, great and large of cloth of gold, of tissue, and rich embroderie, with chaires covered with like

<sup>34</sup> Hol. III. 74.

<sup>35</sup> Hol. II. 39, 371.

<sup>36</sup> Hol. I. 331.



cloth, with pommels of fine gold, and great cushins of rich worke of the Turkie making".<sup>37</sup> (For a passage of gorgeous description the reader is recommended to the account of the marvelous little chapel in the palace at Guisnes, the rich gloom of which was lightened by "the copes and vestments" of the priests, of "cloth of tissue. . . powdered with red roses purpled with the fine gold."<sup>38</sup>) The banquet tables glow with "peacocks, swans, [and] phesants. . . in their naturall fethers, spred as in their greatest pride",<sup>39</sup> while the courses of "gellie coloured with columbine flowers, white. . . creame of almonds, breame of the sea. . . white leach flourished with hawthorne leaves"<sup>40</sup> make a modern menu seem tame indeed. The descriptions of the fêtes, with their wonderful ladies "apparelled in. . . crimson & purple sattin, embrodered with a viniet of pomegranats of gold", with "rich & strange tiers on their heads",<sup>41</sup> accompanied by cavaliers, a "band of gentlemen freshlie apparelled, and pleasant to behold, all apparelled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of damaske, & poudered with roses",<sup>41</sup> dazzle us like an up-to-date stage pageant. In short, the whole brilliant life of the palace is dwelt upon with a circumstantial and loving minuteness that quite refutes his previous protestations of indifference to worldly vanities.

Even more intensely, however, is Holinshed's interest concentrated upon the most conspicuous figure in this dazzling environment, namely, that of the king. Seldom has there been a blinder advocate of the doctrine of the Divine Rights of Kings. The monarch is "the sun, which is as king among the stars . . . the eagle among birds, the lion among beasts, the whale in the sea, and the pike in pooles among fishes. . . To enter either into consultation or action against a person of such excellencie, what is it else but to pull the sunne out of heaven, and to

<sup>37</sup> Hol. III. 647-8.

<sup>38</sup> Hol. III. 648.

<sup>39</sup> Hol. IV. 659.

<sup>40</sup> Hol. III. 126.

<sup>41</sup> Hol. III. 555-6.

teare the heart out of the bodie?"<sup>42</sup> He makes, as we shall see later, not the slightest discrimination between justifiable uprisings of the people, such as Jack Cade's or Jack Straw's rebellions, and those centering around such arrant pretenders as Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel. These all alike are "monsters of men", transgressing "the limits of all loialtie in such an outrageous sort", since "God establisheth no principallitie, but he will by his power support the same, even to the confusion of all them that seeke either directlie or indirectlie to supplant the same."<sup>42</sup> In cases of personal argument between a king and his servants, there is never any doubt as to where Holinshed stands. Of the quarrel between Henry the Second and Becket, for instance, Miss Kate Norgate says, "Thomas thus appears to have stood forth as the champion of justice, first in behalf of the sheriffs, and secondly in behalf of the whole English people," when "he opposed a project mooted by the king for transferring from the sheriffs' pockets to the royal treasury a certain 'aid' which those officers customarily received from their respective shires as a reward for their administrative work," basing his opposition on two grounds: "first, the sheriffs had a claim to the money by long prescription, and as earning it by their services to the people of the shire; second, the enrolment of these sums among the king's dues would create a written record which would make their payment to him binding on all generations to come."<sup>43</sup> Holinshed's sentiments in regard to the affair are based not at all upon the merits of the case. His characteristic comment is, "Thus you have heard the tragicall discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the prince's favour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the benevolence of so gracious a sovereigne by his insolencie and presumption."<sup>44</sup> Somewhat analogous we find the case of the very delightful Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, "noted to be of a verie perfect life, namelie, bicause he would not sticke

<sup>42</sup> Hol. IV. 910.

<sup>43</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog. Vol. LVI, page 166.

<sup>44</sup> Hol. II. 136.

to reprove men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the favour or disfavour of any man, in somuch that he would not feare to pronounce them accursed, which being the kings officers, would take upon them the punishment of any person within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forrests and chases, yea (and that which is more) he would denie payments of such subsidies and taxes as he was assessed to paie to the uses of king Richard and king John, towards the maintenance of their wars, . . . alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one christian prince, upon private displeasure and grudge, made against another prince of the same religion." We learn also that "when he came before the king to make answer to his disobedience shewed herein, he would so handle the matter, partlie with gentle admonishments, partlie with sharpe reproofes, and sometime mixing merrie and pleasant speech amongst his serious arguments, that often times he would so qualifie the kings mood, that being driven from anger, he could not but laugh and smile at the bishops pleasant talke and merrie conceits."<sup>45</sup> Not by any means, however, is our Chronicler "driven to laugh and smile" at the saving humor of the kindly bishop. His manly opposition to royal mood and whim elicits from the Chronicler only the disapproving exclamation, "A presumptuous part in a bishop."<sup>45a</sup>

So much for his opinion concerning opposition to royal policy or willfulness. When it comes to the question of deposition on account of weakness or bad government, his point of view may be easily deduced. Whether in the case of Henry the Sixth whom he exalts as a saint, or Richard the Second whose youth and charm win from him indulgent tenderness, the violence done to the appointed of God, whom "God. . . . will by his power support. . . . even to the confusion of all them that seeke

<sup>45</sup> Hol. II. 281.

<sup>45a</sup> Hol. II. 281.

either directlie or indirectlie to supplant" him,<sup>46</sup> is what chiefly strikes him. This is especially evident in the case of Richard, where his feelings are very fervently engaged. He extolls him in spite of his delinquencies. "Thus", he says, "was king Richard deprived of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so given to follow evill counsell, and used such inconvenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgovernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwise a right noble and woorthie prince."<sup>47</sup> The responsibility for his vices he throws on those immediately surrounding the young king. "He was seemelie of shape and favor, & of nature good inough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it."<sup>48</sup> These vices he unwillingly rehearses, discrediting his own account by a doubtful, "Thus have ye heard what writers doo report touching. . . . the doings of this king. But if I may boldlie saie what I thinke", he goes on, "he was a prince the most unthankfullie used of his subjects, of any one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (thorough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned. . . . himselfe more dissolutelie than seemed convenient for his roiall estate, & made choise of such counsellors as were not favoured of the people, . . . yet in no kings daies were the commons in greater wealth, if they could have perceived their happie state: neither in any other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen lesse wronged."<sup>49</sup> His indignation at Richard's death is unbounded. "What unnaturalnesse, or rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be content with his principallitie? not to be content with his treasure? not to be content with his deprivation? not to be content with his imprisonment? but being so neerelie knit in consanguinitie, which ought to have moved them like lambs to have loved each other, woolvishly to lie in wait for the distressed creatures life, and ravenouslie

<sup>46</sup> Hol. IV. 910.

<sup>47</sup> Hol. II. 868.

<sup>48</sup> Hol. II. 868.

<sup>49</sup> Hol. II. 869.



to thirst after his bloud".<sup>50</sup> The whole tragedy rose, thinks Holinshed, not from the logic of events, whereby the nation threw down a vicious and incompetent ruler, but from the "ingratitude towards their bountifull and loving sovereigne" of "those whom he had cheeflie advanced".<sup>51</sup> And the supreme iniquity of these faithless people, which he, along with King Charles of France, "detested and abhorred", was that violence of any sort should be offered "to an annointed king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realme".<sup>52</sup>

In short, his unvarying principle is that he who, from any motive, rises against his prince, defies the Almighty who alone has a right to judge or reprove a man he has endued with regal power.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### HOLINSHED'S CONTEMPT FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE.

We have said that the Chronicle is chiefly concerned with the doings of the king and his entourage. For the common people,—their interests, their joys, their sorrows,—he does not care. In contrast to the king, who is, as we have seen, "the sun among the stars, the lion among beasts," etc., they are as "sheepe by flocks, kine, oxen, harts and hinds feeding by heards . . . . .fishes both in fresh and salt waters following one another in sholes; bees dwelling in hives, pigeons in doove-houses, ants in little hills".<sup>53</sup> Once only do we find both the heavens and Holinshed vengeful on account of the oppression practised upon them. Concerning the conduct of The Conqueror in his preparation of land for the breeding of deer, Holinshed says, "He pulled downe townes, villages, churches, and other buildings for the space of 30. miles, to make thereof a forrest, which at this daie is called New forrest. The people as then sore bewailed

<sup>50</sup> Hol. II. 869.

<sup>51</sup> Hol. II. 869.

<sup>52</sup> Hol. III. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Hol. IV. 910.

their distres, & greatlie lamented that they must thus leave house & home to the use of savage beasts. Which crueltie, not onelie mortall men living here on earth, but also the earth it selfe might seeme to detest, as by a woonderfull signification it seemed to declare, by the shaking and roaring of the same, which chanced about the 14. year of his reigne".<sup>54</sup> As a rule, however, the common people are left out of account. Their negligibility is indicated in the first volume of the Chronicle. "The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie-labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which have no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailors, shomakers, carpenters, brick makers, masons, &c. . . . This fourth and last sort of people therefore have neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other".<sup>55</sup> There is nonchalant reference to them now and then in his descriptions of customs in England, as when, after discussing the dinner hour of the nobility, the gentry, the students, the merchants, and the husbandmen, he adds carelessly, "As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter".<sup>56</sup> As a rule, however, they are simply forgotten.

It is really wonderful how seldom we come across little genre pictures of the common man in cottage, field, or inn. Occasionally, however, the door of hovel or shop flies open, and we catch a glimpse of the fire within, or a snatch of village talk; and it is noticeable that these glimpses are usually introduced for one special purpose: namely, the revelation of popular opinion concerning some matter of public interest. In *Rose Tavern*, for instance, we see Robert Farrer, a haberdasher, "falling to his common drinke" along with "one Laurence Shirriffe grocer. . . . and. . . . having in his full cups, . . . [he] began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladie Elisabeth";<sup>57</sup> and from his talk we

<sup>54</sup> Hol. II. 23.

<sup>55</sup> Hol. I. 275.

<sup>56</sup> Hol. I. 288.

<sup>57</sup> Hol. IV. 135-6.

judge the dislike of the Catholics for Elizabeth, their dread of her succession to the throne in event of Queen Mary's death, and their hope that she "shall hop headless" ere she come to the crown.<sup>57a</sup> On another occasion we read how "the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Mistlebrooke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcross-streete without Creplegate; and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed unto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. 'By my truth man' quoth Pottier, 'then will my maister the duke of Glocester be king.'"<sup>58</sup> This opinion, breathed by one old man to another in the silence of midnight, well expresses the atmosphere of hushed, uneasy suspicion that set the people whispering "among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of bees",<sup>59</sup> on the day when they dared not otherwise protest in Westminster Hall against the charlatan speech of the Duke of Buckingham in favor of Richard as king. It is strange to find the mind of this neglected class thus often used by Holinshed as the mirror in which we may note the ebb and flow of current feeling. We see even Richard the Third, disturbed by suspicion of conspiracy, determined "by the rumour of the common people...to search out all the counsels,...intents, and compasses of his close adversaries;"<sup>59a</sup> and even deciding, on the ground of information gained in like manner, upon an important line of state policy.<sup>60</sup>

This function of the common man, namely, for the revelation of public opinion, is well reflected in the drama. Typical instances are those in "Edward the Third" and "If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody", respectively, in the first of which we learn from the disjointed gossip of some French fugitives of the Black Prince's barbarous pillage of the country; while,

<sup>57a</sup> Hol. IV. 136.

<sup>58</sup> Hol. III. 363.

<sup>59</sup> Hol. III. 394.

<sup>59a</sup> Hol. III. 416.

<sup>60</sup> Holinshed III. 429.

in the second, Elizabeth's popularity may be gathered from the talk of clowns and soldiers.

It has often been very truly pointed out that in the Elizabethan drama the common man finds his place not only in mirroring popular opinion, but also in supplying humor. This fuller dramatic development of the figure we have seen gliding obscurely through the Chronicle is significant in two ways: first, the contempt for the common man, tacit in the Chronicle and shown only by consistent neglect, has become in the plays active and aggressive; second, the dramatic conception of him as clown and butt, however insolent in itself, has turned him often into a vivacious figure which serves to emphasize the utter ignoring of him in the Chronicle.

There remains to be noted in the Chronicle cases in which the common people, rallying about a leader, rise fiercely from their tame acquiescence, a many-headed monster,<sup>60a</sup> only to be resolved again shortly into sheep awaiting tremblingly "till it pleased the shepherd to appoint foorth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels."<sup>61</sup> Typical instances are those which center round Jack Cade and Perkin Warbeck. The one was a patriot leading a revolt legitimate and inevitable; the other, an impostor deluding his followers by false representations.

The figure of Warbeck, by the way, is especially interesting as the most significant of a series of adventurers, who, as tools in the hands of intriguing statesmen, or on their own initiative, aspired at intervals to the English throne. There was Maudelen, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, "a man most resembling king Richard", whom Henry's enemies "adorned....in.... princelie vesture, and named....to be king Richard, affirming that by favour of his keepers he was escaped out of prison".<sup>62</sup> Also, there was the friar's scholar, "named Rafe Wilford, (a shoemakers sonne of London....)" whom the "Agustine frier

<sup>60a</sup> Hol. II. 317.

<sup>61</sup> Hol. II. 741.

<sup>62</sup> Hol. III. 11.



called Patrike....framed....to his purpose, that in hope to worke some great enterprise, as to disappoint the king of his crowne and seat roiall, tooke upon him to be the earle of Warwike, insomuch that both the maister and scholer....went into Kent, & there began the yoong mawmet to tell privilie to manie, that he was the verie earle of Warwike, and latelie gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this frier Patrike."<sup>63</sup> In the reign of Queen Mary we hear of "William Fetherstone, a millers sonne about the age of eightene yeares, [who] named and bruted himselfe to be King Edward the Sixt, whereof when the queene and the councell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southworke....And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe? To which he counterfetting a manner of simplicitie, or rather frensie, would make no direct answer....wherefore he was committed to the Marshalseie as a lunaticke foole."<sup>64</sup> We read also of Lambert Simnel, a priest's scholar, "one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit,...[whom] at Oxford, where their abiding was, the said preest instructed....both with princelie behaviour, civill maners, and good liaterature",<sup>65</sup> in order to pass him off as the Duke of York, second son of Edward the Fourth. Bacon in his "Life of Henry the Seventh" describes this boy as "a baker's son, of the age of some fifteen years; a comely youth and well favored, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspects, who, trained by a wily priest to personate Edward Plantagenet, the son of the Edward the Fourth, played his part well, doing nothing that did betray the baseness of his condition."

Of this line of handsome, precocious boys drawn by intriguing politicians from cottage and shop into a brief heyday of excitement and popularity, this Perkin Warbeck is by far the most interesting. We have mentioned him in contrast with Jack Cade, the patriot, as a palpable impostor. It may be in-

<sup>63</sup> Hol. III. 523.

<sup>64</sup> Hol. IV. 75.

<sup>65</sup> Hol. III. 484.

teresting to dwell for a moment on these two leaders as they appear in the Chronicle; the one prudent, dignified, austere, the very man to guide the swelling current of popular discontent; the other pliant, attractive, admirably calculated to win for a time the enthusiastic homage of the people. Holinshed describes Cade as "sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolve his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. . . . Being advertised of the kings absence, [he] came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robbrie; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people."<sup>66</sup> In the last clause, with its unjust thrust, we recognize the blindness of partisan bias. In sharp contrast with this somber figure, we see the brilliant Warbeck, "a certeine yoong man of visage beautifull, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie and subtill".<sup>67</sup> Bacon, in his "Life of Henry the Seventh", deals with him in greater detail. "This was a finer counterfeited stone than Lambert Simnel; better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of France and a King of Scotland, not a Duchess of Burgundy only. As for Simnel, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this one was such a mercurial as the like has seldom been known; and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out." As Holinshed has quite unfairly, we feel, robbed Cade of the credit due him for his admirable discipline of his soldiers, so he throws upon this boy a taunt unjustified by anything we know of his career. "This youths name", he says, "was Peter Warbecke, one for his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in derision called Perkin Warbecke, according to the dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yoonglings and

<sup>66</sup> Hol. III. 224.

<sup>67</sup> Hol. III. 504.

little boies, which for want of age, lacke of strength, and man-like courage, are not thought worthie of the name of a man."<sup>67a</sup>

The point that we would make concerning Holinshed's treatment of these two men and the causes they represent is a striking one. He includes both them and their followers in a wholesale, sweeping condemnation that discriminates not at all between the patriot rousing the people to just defense of their rights and the impostor deluding them into support of a false claim to the throne. The heinous and unpardonable sin in both alike consisted in revolt against the anointed of God. As he who wounds or kills his prince is guilty not only of "homicide", but also "of parricide, of christicide, nay of deicide",<sup>68</sup> so he who, for any cause, raises his hand against Him is the sinner next in order. The general principle, without modification, is that the darkest doom is deserved, "by the inevitable decree of God, [by] all such as insurge and rise against their sovereigne . . . nature spurning against such malicious minds, whose ordinance tendereth the preservation of all creatures *in their kinds*,<sup>68a</sup> whether earthie, waterie, aierie, or flieng tame or wild".<sup>69</sup>

In his treatment of Warbeck there is for our purpose yet another point to notice. His arraignment of him is scathing. In spite of his previous condemnation of him as a milksop, he yet paints him a few pages further on as a most pernicious and aggressive villain. "For he had a woonderfull dexteritie and readinesse to circumvent, a heart full of overreaching imaginations, an aspiring mind, a head more wilie (I wisse) than wittie; bold he was and presumptuous in his behaviour, as forward to be the instrument of a mischeefe as anie deviser of wickednesse would wish; a feend of the divels owne forging, nursed and trained up in the studie of commotions, making offer

<sup>67a</sup> Hol. III. 504.

<sup>68</sup> Hol. II. 385.

<sup>68a</sup> The italics are mine. C.F.F.

<sup>69</sup> Hol. IV. 910.

to reach as high as he could looke; such was his inordinate ambition, wherewith he did swell as coveting to be a princes peere: much like the tode that would match the bull in drinking, but in the end she burst in peeces and never dranke more".<sup>70</sup> Yet it is to be noted that the chief sentiment that animates him in regard to the boy is contempt for his low birth. This note recurs again and again. "Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now that he was called the familiaritie of kings",<sup>70a</sup> he exclaims ironically. He likens him to "the jay that would be called a swan, . . . the crow that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a pe-cocke, would seeme Junos bird".<sup>71</sup> "But Jacke will bee a gentleman, the longeared asse will be taken for a leopard, and the pelting pismire for a lion",<sup>72</sup> he says insultingly. It is not the gigantic fraud which Perkin perpetrated that chiefly impresses him, but the "heart full of overreaching imaginations", the "aspiring mind", with which Warbeck was endowed. No sorrow moves him at the spectacle of wasted gifts which properly directed might have proved of noble service to Church or State. Men humbly born like Warbeck were, in his opinion, foreordained to be "turnebroches" or falconers,—menials such as Lambert Simnel actually became after the ignominious close of his meteoric political career.<sup>72a</sup>

What Holinshed has failed utterly to do, namely, to comprehend or sympathize with this misdirected genius, Ford has done admirably in his play "Perkin Warbeck." The most noticeable point in Ford's conception is the manner in which, as Mr. Schelling first pointed out, he contrives to combine in Warbeck the elements of delusion and imposture. "In the end the tragic fortitude of Perkin, who accepts death rather than acknowledge himself an impostor, is artfully contrived to leave us alike unconvinced of his genuine royalty and yet compassionate of an

<sup>70</sup> Hol. III. 523.

<sup>70a</sup> Hol. III. 504.

<sup>71</sup> Hol. III. 505.

<sup>72</sup> Hol. III. 519-20.

<sup>72a</sup> Hol. III. 488.



imposture which from inveteracy has become a delusion." This treatment of him in the play transforms the figure in the Chronicle into one both tragic and commanding, and is so plausible and natural that we, to whom modern science has revealed the fatal power of a fixed idea, cannot help wondering that the Chronicler was so utterly untouched by the gentle charity of the poet.

In Holinshed, then, we find the common people as a rule ignored save as their gossip serves to illuminate the doings of king and nobles, their occasional uprising from submissive acquiescence being judged not at all on the merits of the case, but invariably condemned on the ground of the heinousness of any kind of protest against divinely-instituted authority.

## CHAPTER V.

### HOLINSHED'S DEPRECIATION OF WOMEN.

We have spoken of the fulness with which the Chronicler treated the brilliant court-life with its balls, fêtes, and masques, —a brilliancy which we see well reflected in the drama in such descriptions as those in "Edward the Second" of the ideal fantastic courtier, Piers Gaveston, and the charming entertainments he planned for his king; or as that of the masque in "Woodstock", which is distinctly typical of the quaint shows with which the reigns of Edward the Third, Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth were full. What of the Chronicler's attitude toward the women who either moved in the midst of this glittering environment, or gazed longingly at it from afar?

Two types of women appear in the Chronicle. The first class, to whom the Chronicler affords a measure of patronizing praise, is well represented by Lady Scot,<sup>72b</sup> "a most vertuous and noble matrone, and a lively paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of sir John Baker knight, and the mother of seventeene children". Elisabeth, "daughter of John Copinger, of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent", is another of these

<sup>72b</sup> Hol. IV. 866.

lively patterns, "being a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as hir verie enimies must needs confesse the same".<sup>72c</sup> These exemplary persons appear so often in obituary notices, genealogies, etc., that it is a pity they are not more interesting.

The other class is that of the aggressive women, every specimen of which is made the subject of a bitter gibe at the sex. Margaret of Burgoyne (the patroness of Perkin Warbeck), for instance, calls forth the following trenchant comment: "Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) give over an enterprise, which of an envious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward".<sup>73</sup> "Alas", he meditates concerning Isabella of France, "what will not a woman be drawne and allured unto, if by evill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leave undoone, though never so inconvenient to those that should be most deere unto hir, so her owne fansie and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she revoked from proceeding in an evill action, if she have once taken a taste of the same?"<sup>74</sup> As for Elinor of Aquitaine, her conduct provokes the following censure: "So hard it is to bring women to agree in one mind, their natures commonlie being so contrarie, their words so variable, and their deeds so undiscreeit."<sup>75</sup> On no occasion can he refrain from this satire on the sex; the unique achievement of an audacious girl who dressed in men's clothes and celebrated mass elicited the following comment in brackets, possibly the first direct masculine protest in England on the woman question. "It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be meddling in matters impertinent to their degree, and inconvenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their privat conventicles of such things as wherabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commen-

<sup>72c</sup> Hol. IV. 553.

<sup>73</sup> Hol. III. 507.

<sup>74</sup> Hol. II. 578.

<sup>75</sup> Hol. II. 274.

dation".<sup>76</sup> He must also have instinctively disliked "the countesse of Bierne (a woman monstrous big of bodie)....[whose service] if to hir making and stature [had been added] the courage of Voadacia....or the prowesse of Elfedra....[would have] beene no lesse beneficiall to the K. than anie skilfull capteins marching under his banner."<sup>77</sup>

Such, then, is his attitude toward women. In regard to only three can we discern in these volumes the least sensitiveness to charm and beauty. One instance of such sensibility is the really charming description of Lady Mary Sidney, whom "none could match....either in the good conceipt and frame of orderlie writing....or facilitie of gallant, sweet, delectable, and courtlie speaking".<sup>78</sup> The other is the quaint little miniature of Elizabeth Grey as she appeared with her petition before King Edward the Fourth, her future husband, "a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and favour, that with hir sober demeanour, sweete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant toong and trim wit, she so alured and made subject unto her the heart of that great prince, that ....he finallie resolved with himselfe to marrie hir".<sup>79</sup> So sweet a mignonette fragrance of old-time womanhood breathes out from these descriptions, that we can almost forgive Holinshed the insipidity of his "lively patterns" and his spite against women in general. There is one scene in which his treatment of Elizabeth Grey is exquisite in its tenderness. We refer to the episode which occurs when, after the king's death, she as queen has fled to sanctuary with her youngest son, the little king having been already seized by his tyrant-uncle. The scene is full of pathetic beauty. The Chronicler reveals to us first the sanctuary where "the queene hir selfe sate alone alow on the rushes

<sup>76</sup> Hol. II. 829.

<sup>77</sup> Hol. II. 397-8.

<sup>78</sup> Hol. IV. 879.

<sup>79</sup> Hol. III. 283-4.

all desolate and dismaid",<sup>79a</sup> listening to the tramp of the lords through the hollow spaces as they came to take from her her second boy. The workings of her passionate motherhood are well depicted: first the defiant refusal, then the breaking down into a pitiful little plea, "I saie not naie, but that it were verie convenient, that this gentleman, whome yee require, were in companie of the king his brother; [yet he]....(besides his infancie....) hath a while beene so....vexed with sicknesse, and is so newlie rather a little amended....that....albeit there might be founden other that would happilie doo their best unto him, yet is there none that....is more tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother that bare him."<sup>79b</sup> And when she at last saw that all was useless, "therewithall she said unto the child; Fare well mine owne sweet sonne, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once yer you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe. And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie, leaving the child weeping as fast."<sup>80</sup> The whole passage describing this parting, as we read it at full in the Chronicle, reminds us of the classical simplicity and beauty of the parting of Ruth and Naomi in the King James version of the Bible.

The third instance of Holinshed's forbearance from his usual gibes is in the case of a woman of a far different type, Jane Shore, the mistress of Edward the Fourth. Systematically austere though he is towards women, he has not been proof against the charm of this woman and the gentleness and largeness of spirit distinguishing her who never abused the kings favor "to anie mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort and releefe"; and "where the king tooke displeasure....would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of favour....would bring them in his grace. For manie that had highlie

<sup>79a</sup> Hol. III. 368.

<sup>79b</sup> Hol. III. 374.

<sup>80</sup> Hol. III. 377.



offended shee obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission." "Proper she was and faire", he says. "Nothing in hir bodie that you would have changed, but if ye would have wished hir somewhat higher. . . . Yet delighted not men so much in hir beautie, as in hir pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of answer, neither mute, nor full of bable".<sup>81</sup> Even in her penance he is very gentle, telling us how, when she passed through the streets with a taper in her hand, "she went in countenance and pase demure so womanlie, . . . so faire and lovelie, namelie while the woondering of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misse) that. . . manie good folks also that hated hir living. . . yet pitied. . . more hir penance, than rejoised therin".<sup>81</sup>

Such, then, is the attitude of the Chronicler towards women, the time-worn tradition of their malice, their deceit, their innate perversity remaining unaltered in his hands. It is strange to see how this conventional conception of womanhood governs the playwrights who turn to the Chronicles for their material. It would seem natural that dramatic exigency or artistic ideal should oftener have changed these wooden dolls or wrangling shrews into figures more colorful and lifelike, as in the case of the Countess of Salisbury who, barely mentioned in the Chronicle,<sup>82</sup> appears in "Edward the Third" as a delightful picture of dignified and intellectual womanhood; or of Kate Gordon, also a mere name in the Chronicle,<sup>82a</sup> who becomes in "Perkin Warbeck" one of the most charming sketches of spirited girlhood in our literature. As a matter of fact, such cases are very few. We may note briefly that, out of the nearly two-score women appearing in the pages of the Chronicle Play, we may dismiss about half of them as of the entirely colorless variety without a single salient characteristic. These are the Princess Katherine of France ("Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth");

<sup>81</sup> Hol. III. 384-5.

<sup>82</sup> Hol. II. 629.

<sup>82a</sup> Hol. III. 511.

Elizabeth Grey ("The Contentions"); Joan of Arc and Elinor de Montfort ("Edward the First"); Queen Phillipe ("Edward the Third"); Anne a Beame ("Woodstock"); Anne of Warwick ("True Tragedy of Richard the Third"); Jane Seymour, Mary Tudor, and Katherine Parr ("When You See Me, You Know Me"). These are the model Chronicle women; and closest to them in mere conventionality, guarded by their royalty as others by their virtue, stand the Queens Mary and Elizabeth ("If You Know not Me"). In Elinor of Aquitaine and Constance (the old "King John" of Bale), we have merely the exhibition of two wrangling women, unrelieved by any trace of womanliness save a touch of passionate motherhood in Constance. Elinor ("The Contentions"), the wife of the good Duke Humphrey, is a mere ambitious schemer. Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, beginning as a model of domesticity, is driven at last into a fiendish cruelty which prepares us for the incarnate devils we subsequently encounter in Margaret of Anjou ("The Contentions"), and Elinor of Castile ("Edward the First"), the last two being cruel dramatic slanders on the part of the playwright.

Of the two women receiving from Holinshed sympathetic and detailed treatment, it is interesting to find one stepping—breathing and vivid—out of the pages of the Chronicle into the play of Thomas Heywood. It seems odd that this poet, with his wonderful capacity for dealing with the pathetic in domestic life, having found Jane Shore and Elizabeth Grey so strikingly drawn and so closely connected with the story he was telling, should have taken only one for his "Edward the Fourth" and have left the other buried alive in the ponderous tomes.

In Holinshed's treatment of women, then, we find a mere echo of the virulent abuse of them by classical writers and Christian Fathers alike, his severity softened now and then, in individual cases, by his susceptibility to some peculiar quality of feminine attractiveness.

CHAPTER VI.

HOLINSHED'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

Holinshed's attitude towards religious questions may be studied under three aspects: his hatred of Catholicism; his belief in God's manifestation of Himself through signs, omens, and dreams; his belief in the devil's manifestation of himself in variety of shapes, human or otherwise. This last point will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

The hatred of Catholicism, evident in every portion of these books, is inconceivable to our age; and it is the Pope as representative of this hated system who bears the brunt of the Chronicler's invective. "[The Pope]," he says, "hath more varietie of" "deceits and crafts . . . than the cat of the mounteine hath spots in his skin, or the pecocke hath eies in his taile."<sup>83</sup> "He must have his ore in everie mans bote, his spoone in everie mans dish, and his fingers in every mans pursse".<sup>84</sup> "Note here", he says of Alexander the Third, "the intollerable pride of this anti christian pope . . . and the basemindednesse of these two kings in ascribing unto that man of sinne such dignitie . . . But what will this monster of men, this Stupor mundi, this Diaboli primogenitus . . . not arrogate for his owne advancement; like yvie climbing aloft, & choking the tree by whose helpe it creepeth".<sup>85</sup> And then he expatiates in Latin on "the end of this seavenhorned beast . . . lifting it selfe up to heaven". Pope Gregory is his special *bête noire*; but Pope Julius also comes in for abuse as "a porkish pope";<sup>86</sup> while the marginal expression, "Pope Julius blasphemeth God for a peacocke"<sup>87</sup> sums up two little stories delightful in their naive malice. Possibly the most interesting bit of the marginal abuse of the Catholics occurs when, having told us of the Catholic who died at the stake

<sup>83</sup> Hol. II. 401.

<sup>84</sup> Hol. II. 173.

<sup>85</sup> Hol. II. 118.

<sup>86</sup> Hol. IV. 77.

<sup>87</sup> Hol. IV. 77.

exclaiming, "In manus tuas Domine", he inserts a side note, "He should have said Demon."<sup>88</sup>

In the first place, the stress that the Chronicler lays upon the Protestant open Bible especially strikes us. The "malice" of the Catholics against the Scriptures is vividly denounced. One Pavier, in Henry the Eighth's reign, expressed himself to the following vigorous effect: that "if he thought the kings highnesse would set foorth the scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, . . . he would cut his owne throat". Holinshed goes on to tell us with glee, however, that "he brake promise, for . . . he hanged himselfe; but of what mind and intent he so did, maie be soone gathered. For God had (no doubt) appointed him to that judgement, no lesse heauey than his offense was heinous; namelie the contempt of Gods word, the knowledge whereof David desired, preferring it before gold and silver, yea before pearles & pretious stones in richnesse; and before honie and the honiecombe in sweetnes".<sup>89</sup> As an instance of Catholic perversity, he also tells us how a certain artist had painted, as part of a pageant in honor of the marriage of Philip and Mary, a figure of Henry the Eighth "in harnesse having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a booke", on which was written "Verbum Dei", whereupon there "was no small matter made, for the bishop of Winchester . . . sent for the painter, and . . . called him knave for painting a booke in king Henries hand . . . [marked] Verbum Dei". It is interesting to learn that the painter was so frightened that, lest he should leave some part either of the book or of the "Verbum Dei" in King Henry's hand, "he wiped awaie a peece of his [the King's] fingers withall."<sup>90</sup>

We are all familiar with the abuse of the Catholics found in Bale's play, "King John", and in "The Troublesome Reign of King John". More interesting is it to see how Holinshed's glorification of the Bible, and especially of Queen Elizabeth's

<sup>88</sup> Hol. IV. 494.

<sup>89</sup> Hol. III. 788.

<sup>90</sup> Hol. IV. 62-3.



reverence for it<sup>90a</sup> finds similar expression in the play "If You Know not Me." It is to this book that Elizabeth turns for comfort at her doleful entrance into the Tower. It is a Bible that the angels put into her hands when she has fallen asleep worn-out with care; and finally the play ends with the speech in which the Queen, on receiving from the citizens at her coronation a purse and a Bible, discants at length to the crowd on the priceless value of the latter gift. On the other hand, in this play, Elizabeth's Catholic jailer, Benningfield, picking a Bible up by chance from a bench in the garden where the Princess has been walking, exclaims in horror, "Marrie a God! What's here? An English Bible! Sancta Maria, pardon this profanation...! Water, Barwick, water! I'll meddle with't no more!"

The second distinguishing mark of the religion of the Chronicle lies in the profound sense of the religious significance attached to the wonders and prodigies of nature, as indicative of God's judgment on mankind or his warnings to them. Occasionally the Supreme Being is represented in a more gentle aspect, as where in "a place by the sea side, all of the hard stone and pibble...where never grew grasse, nor any earth was ever seene, there chanced in this barren place suddenlie to spring up without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of peason, whereof the poore gathered...above an hundred quarters; yet remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as manie as ever there were before".<sup>91</sup> As a rule, however, the tender mercies of the Lord are fairly represented by what the Chronicler terms "a freendlie warning", "whereby the old and underpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden...fell suddenlie downe, whereby to the number of eight persons...were slaine, and manie other sore hurt and brused",—all to teach us not to watch bears on Sunday.<sup>92</sup>

Imbued as the times were with such beliefs, it is not strange that we find in the Chronicle a series of most wonderful stories.

<sup>90a</sup> Hol. IV. 176.

<sup>91</sup> Hol. IV. 79.

<sup>92</sup> Hol. IV. 504.

"[In] 1097", Holinshed asserts, "neere to Abington at a towne called Finchamsteed in Barkshire, a well or fountain flowed with bloud in maner as before it used to flow with water".<sup>93</sup> On another occasion, "it rained bloud in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies together, so that linen clothes that hoong on the hedges were coloured therewith".<sup>94</sup> Also "appletrees and peare trees, now after the time of yeelding their ripe fruit, began againe to blossome as if it had beene in Aprill".<sup>95</sup> In Henry the Third's reign, "not farre from the abbie of Roch. . . ., there appeared comming foorth of the earth companies of armed men on horsebacke, with speare, shield, sword, and baners displaid, in sundrie formes and shapes, riding in order of battell, and incountering togither".<sup>96</sup> And afterwards the marks of their feet appeared in the ground and the grass was trodden where they had skirmished. These uncanny warriors sometimes issued instead out of castles in the air,—“that host which sailed out of the castell in the southeast seemed white, and the other blacke”.<sup>97</sup> The sea was as full as the earth or the sky of her own peculiar wonders. Fish fought weird battles in the ocean,<sup>98</sup> and in Henry the Sixth's reign a cock came “out of the sea, having a great crest upon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yard long: he stood on the water & crowed foure times, and everie time turned him about, and beckened with his head, toward the north, the south, and the west, and was of colour like a fesant, & when he had crowed three times, he vanished awaie”.<sup>99</sup> This prodigy gains significance, when we reflect that elsewhere in the Chronicle, in pageants, etc., the cock is a symbol of the genius that protects the land from its enemies.

<sup>93</sup> Hol. II. 39.

<sup>94</sup> Hol. II. 174.

<sup>95</sup> Hol. II. 424.

<sup>96</sup> Hol. II. 379-80.

<sup>97</sup> Hol. II. 677.

<sup>98</sup> Hol. II. 390.

<sup>99</sup> Hol. III. 244.

There is no doubt in the Chronicler's mind as to the significance of these phenomena. "These reports" he says, "might seeme incredible, speciallie to such as be hard of beleefe, and refuse to give faith and credit to anything but what their owne eies have sealed to their consciences, so that the reading of such woonders as these is no more beneficiall to them, than to carrie a candle before a blind man, or to sing a song to him that is starke deafe. Neverthelesse, of all uncouth and rare sights, . . . we ought to be so farre from having little regard; that we should rather in them and by them observe the event and falling out of some future thing".<sup>100</sup> In another place after reading pretty tales about melodious cries floating down from "hounds perfectlie to be discerned" in the air,<sup>101</sup> and of a "showre of haile, amongst the which were found stones of diverse shapes marvellous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks, swords, horsse shooes, nailes . . . skuls . . . &c",<sup>102</sup> we are told that "God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rod in hand".<sup>103</sup> It may be added here that immense importance is attached to monstrous births. We learn after reading a quite unquotable description, that such sights signify "our monstrous life which God, for his mercie, give us grace to amend".<sup>104</sup>

We have, then, the view of Holinshed concerning prodigies. They are mysterious warnings of events to come, generally calamities and sometimes punitive calamities. These foreshadowed disasters may possibly be avoided by prudence or repentance, but, according to his gloomy view, they seldom are avoided. Under the first class we may note the blazing stars and comets which generally preceded the death of a sovereign. Sometimes, however, the omen appeared in the sea, as when the death of Henry the Second was foreshadowed in Normandy "by a mar-

<sup>100</sup> Hol. II. 290-91.

<sup>101</sup> Hol. IV. 431.

<sup>102</sup> Hol. IV. 431.

<sup>103</sup> Hol. IV. 432.

<sup>104</sup> Hol. IV. 432.

vellous strange woonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certeine meere . . . in Normandie, leapt foorth on land in the night season, and fought together with such a noise, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the woonder, and could not find on fish alive in the meere.”<sup>105</sup> As an example of lack of prudence our attention is called, in one place, to James the Fourth of Scotland, who attacked the English “nothing moved with these extraordinarie accidents”, that “the buckle leather . . . of the kings helmet was gnawne with mise, and the cloth or veile of his inner tent of sanguine red”.<sup>106</sup> Of course they were defeated and their king killed. Tempest and storm bore with them a significance quite apart from their mere natural terror; while even the flowing of the Thames in its spring fullness was enough to strike William Rufus into remorse for his riotous excesses.<sup>107</sup> The heavens, however, were especially scanned for signs and warnings, such appearances as the following being, according to Holinshed, a not uncommon occurrence: “On the sundaie before the nativitie of S. John Baptist . . . there appeared a marvellous sight in the aire . . . For whereas the new moone shone foorth verie faire with his hornes towardes the east, streightwais the upper horne was divided into two, out of the mids of which division a burning brand sprang up, casting from it a farre off coles and sparks, as it had beene of fire. The bodie of the moon in the meane time that was beneath, seemed to wrest and writh in resemblance like to an adder or snake”.<sup>108</sup> On the occasion of such another lunar manifestation, the air was “full of clouds of diverse colours, as red, yellow, green and pale”.<sup>108a</sup> All these sights are perfectlie comprehensible, thinks Holinshed, since “the people so estrange themselves from God by using manie strange fashions, and clapping on new conditions and natures, that except he shew some miracles, his

<sup>105</sup> Hol. II. 198-9.

<sup>106</sup> Hol. IV. 896.

<sup>107</sup> Hol. II. 44.

<sup>108</sup> Hol. II. 177.

<sup>108a</sup> Hol. II. 177.



godhead would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men would beleeeve there were no other world but this".<sup>106b</sup>

Turning to our plays, we find them full of similar illustrative data concerning the significance attached to striking phenomena of nature. To the ears of the bastard, in "The Troublesome Reign of King John", the very trees and waters whisper the secret of his birth.

"Methinks I hear a hollow echo sound  
That Philip is the son unto a king;  
The whistling leaves upon the trembling trees  
Whistle in consort I am Richard's son;  
The bubbling murmur of the water's fall  
Records Philippus Regius filius;  
Birds in their flight make music with their wings,  
Filling the air with glory of my birth:  
Birds, bubbles, leaves, and mountains, echo, all  
Ring in mine ears that I am Richard's son."

To the guilty conscience of Richard the Third, in "the True Tragedy of Richard the Third", all nature is "on tiptoe and aware."

"The sun by day shines hotly for revenge;  
The moon by night eclipseth for revenge;  
The stars are changed to comets for revenge;  
The planets change their courses for revenge;  
The birds sing not, but sorrow for revenge;  
The silly lambs sit bleating for revenge;  
The screeking raven sits croaking for revenge;  
Whole heads of beasts come bellowing for revenge;  
And all, yea, all the world, I think,  
Cries for revenge and nothing but revenge.

When the little Princes are murdered in "Edward the Fourth," the conscience-struck Tyrell exclaims,

"The very night is frightened, and the stars  
Do drop like torches to behold this deed";

<sup>106b</sup> Hol. IV. 431.

a passage which seems almost an echo of one in the Chronicle where "starres were seene fall from the skie after a marvellous sort, not after the common manner, but thirtie or fortie at once, so fast one after another and glansing to and fro, that if there had fallen so manie verie starres in deed, there would none have beene left in the firmament."<sup>108c</sup> Possibly, however, the most interesting development in our plays of the motive of prodigious manifestations of nature connected with the commission of crime is found in the evolution of the stage ghost. In "The Troublesome Reign of King John", we have only the vivid conscience-pangs of the guilty man betrayed in his passionate dying speech. In "The Contentions" we have advanced a step. The Cardinal Beauford, guilty of the good Duke Humphrey's death, cries out in his dying delirium,

"Oh, see where Duke Humphrey's ghost doth stand,  
And stares me in the face! . . . Comb down his hair!  
And now he's gone again!"

Still we have only the delirious fancies of a fevered man. With "The True Tragedy of Richard the Third", a bonafide ghost of the Duke of Clarence appears as prologue, and, though he does not appear again to the audience, is distinctly visible to the guilty Richard, as is evident from the latter's hysterical exclamations. In "Edward the Fourth," the fully developed ghost is introduced bodily into the heart of the play, Doctor Shaw being haunted not by Clarence himself, but by a proxy in the shape of Friar Anselme.

The other above-mentioned function of striking phenomena of nature, namely, that of foretelling calamity, but without any suggestion of punitive visitation, is handled very strikingly in "Woodstock." We glance into the vast room with its motheaten curtains and mouldering walls, a gloomy place where wanders restlessly "a poor old man thrust from . . . native country, kept and imprisoned in a foreign kingdom". "Lighten my fears, dear Lord", he prays, and then lies down to his fitful sleep. A storm arises, and in the crash of the tempest there glides to his

<sup>108c</sup> Hol. II. 400.

bedside the ghost of his brother, the Black Prince, roused "from . . . tomb elate at Canterbury" by "the horror and th' eternal shrieks of death" that "shook fair England's great cathedral".

"Thomas of Woodstock, awake. Thy brother calls thee!

The royal issue of King Edward's loins,

Thou art beset with murder! Rise and fly!

Oh yet, for pity, wake! Prevent thy doom!"

He vanishes into the storm and another ghost, that of King Edward the Third, glides into his place moaning,

"The murderers are at hand! Awake, my son!

This hour foretells thy sad destruction!"

In intervals of the storm we catch the whispers of the ruffians creeping through the long corridors. And Woodstock awakes to find himself in the hands of his murderers.

An interesting use of these portents is that whereby the playwright, selecting them from the Chronicle, attaches to them his own dramatic interpretation. Thus "about the moneth of December, there were seen in the province of Yorke, five moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the midst of the other". This, in the Chronicle, foretells a "winter . . . extreamelie cold".<sup>108d</sup> In the play, "King John", these moons appear hovering over the head of the hero, and are made the center of Peter of Pomfret's prophecy. Also "on Candlemasse daie in the morning . . . the sunne . . . appeared . . . like three sunnes, and suddenlie joined altogether in one."<sup>109</sup> These suns are borrowed by the writer of "The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York" to burst upon the young Duke of York (afterwards Richard the Third), and his brothers as they come together by chance on the battlefield, and are interpreted by Richard as a sign that "they three shall join and overpower the world." Just before the battle of Cressy, Holinshed tells us, "there fell a great raine, and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came flieng over both armies a great

<sup>108d</sup> Hol. II. 232.

<sup>109</sup> Hol. III, 269-70.

number of crows, for feare of the tempest comming".<sup>110</sup> This incident is most tellingly expanded in "Edward the Third"; and as a result of "the sudden darkness....[that] defaced the sky", and a flight of ravens croaking and hovering in the air, the French soldiers in a panic let fall their arms and "stood like metamorphosed images bloodless and pale, one gazing on the other". The quick-witted French king is equal to the emergency. He cries,

"Return and hearten up those yielding souls.  
Tell them the ravens, seeing them in arms,  
So many fair against a famished few,  
Come but to dine upon their handiwork,  
And prey upon the carrion they kill."

It is upon dreams, however, that our Chronicler lays special stress. "Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked", he says, "which contemne dreames as meere delusorie....For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physical) are not greatlie to be relied upon; yet those of the metaphysicall sort having a speciall influence from above natures reach are not lightlie to be over-slipped."<sup>111</sup> Thus, Lord Stanley, on the night before he was attacked and Lord Hastings arrested and executed, had a fearful dream of a boar that "with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their shoulders";<sup>112</sup> King Henry the First saw in his sleep "a multitude of ploughmen with such tooles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approching towards him with their crozier staves readie to fall upon him";<sup>113</sup> and was thereby warned to amend his former life. It may be said, however, that in those days the gods busied themselves, in dreams, with matters also of minor moral importance. We are informed,

<sup>110</sup> Hol. II. 638. Compare "Edward the Third" Act. IV.

<sup>111</sup> Hol. II. 74.

<sup>112</sup> Hol. III. 381.

<sup>113</sup> Hol. II. 74.



without a gleam of conscious humor, how in those days when "men forgetting their owne sex and state, transformed themselves into the habit and forme of women, by suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouslye, after the maner of damosels", there was one young gentleman "that tooke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to have a verie terrible dreame. For it seemed to him in his sleepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke, the impression whereof sanke so deepe into his mind, that when he awaked out of his sleepe, he streightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his commendable example".<sup>114</sup>

We find the importance of dreams as dwelt on by the Chronicler reflected likewise in our plays. The dream of the Duchess in "Woodstock" on the night before her husband's arrest, an arrest that resulted in his execution, is curiously vivid.

"Methought as you were ranging through the woods,  
An angry lion with a herd of wolves  
Had in an instant round encompassed you;  
When to your rescue, gainst the course of kind,  
A flock of silly sheep made head against them,  
Bleating for help; gainst whom the Forest King  
Roused up his strength and slew both you and them."

It is an interesting point in this connection, that, while the dramatist has carefully adapted this dream from the actual circumstances of Woodstock's capture as related in the Chronicle, in the actual presentation of the scene of that capture he has unfortunately entirely altered these Chronicle circumstances. The scene in the Chronicle, which is figuratively expressed in the dream of the play, is full of simple beauty.<sup>114a</sup> The unsuspecting Duke receives in his Essex country house the treacherous young King (his nephew), with his courtiers, who ride in ap-

<sup>114</sup> Hol. II. 77-8.

<sup>114a</sup> Hol. II. 836-38.

parently wornout with hunting. King Richard, after chatting a moment with the Duchess in the court, refuses to dismount till he shall have had some business talk with the Duke whom, on a plausible pretext, he lures out from his group of retainers into the leafy woods. There, once outside "the gate of the base court", the king and his courtiers disarm the Duke, just as in the Duchess's dream the lion and the wolves fell upon him. The very striking quality and atmosphere of this scene, with its exhibition of loyal trust and royal perfidy, entirely vanish in the glitter and bustle of the play-episode, where the king and his courtiers arrive in the guise of masquers, arresting the Duke in his own hall instead of in the woods outside.

In "If You Know not Me," the dreams of the Princess Elizabeth and her maid concerning weddings and gardens are curiously reminiscent of the old superstition of the ill-luck attending such dreams. At first blush, too, it seems strange that these ominous dreams should not have come at the first of the play rather than at the point where Elizabeth's troubles are about to end in the death of her sister Mary. A little later we see, however, that the writer has dramatic intention in their introduction just here. Elizabeth exclaims, "Oh God! My last night's dream I greatly fear! It doth presage my death!" Just at that moment she sees from her balcony some horsemen speeding towards the castle. Her attendant, Gage, says, excitedly,

"Madam, I see from far a horseman coming;  
This way he bends his speed. He comes so fast  
That he is covered with a cloud of dust;  
And now I have lost his sight. He appears again,  
Making his way o'er hill, hedge, ditch, and plain.  
One after him, they two strive  
As on the race they wagered both their lives.  
Another after him!"

Eliz.: "Oh God! What means this haste?"

Pray for my soul; my life cannot long last!"

Gage: "Strange and miraculous! The first being at the gate,  
The horse hath broke his neck and cast his rider."

Eliz.: "This same is but as prologue to my death.

My heart is guiltless, though they take my breath";  
and straight in upon this tumult of doubt and fear rushes Sir  
Henry Carew, crying,

"God save the Queen! God save Elizabeth!

God bless your Grace! God bless your Majesty!"

The thrilling effect of this whole episode is immensely enhanced by the misconception caused in Elizabeth's mind by the ominous dream and the stumbling of the horse at the gate.

It is only just to Holinshed to say that, in his attitude towards religious questions, he displays a little less than usual of his customary conventional bias. As to the significance of unusual phenomena, he at least recognizes another point of view. Touching celestial apparitions he says, "The common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be meere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration."<sup>115</sup> In another place, he even goes so far, in regard to certain phenomena, as to state that he would be almost inclined to say that "they proceeded of some naturall cause", except that "he might be thought to offend religion."<sup>115a</sup> This blind groping towards more enlightened views is even more marked in the chapter where he treats of the Marvels of England.<sup>116</sup> He begins with the statement that, having the fear of God before his eyes, he purposes to set down no more than either he himself knows to be true or is "crediblie informed to be so by such godlie men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit themselves by lieng."<sup>116a</sup> Whereupon, nevertheless, follow the most astonishing tales of "a manor in Gloucestershire where certeine okes doo grow, whose rootes are

<sup>115</sup> Hol. II. 177.

<sup>115a</sup> Hol. I. 496.

<sup>116</sup> Hol. I. 216.

<sup>116a</sup> Hol. I. 217.

verie hard stone";<sup>116b</sup> of the two lakes in Snowdonie "whereof one beareth a moovable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth";<sup>116c</sup> and he doubtless also believes implicitly in such other marvels as that of a "certeine swallow [i. e. pool], so deepe and so cold in the middest of summer, that no man dare dive to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter never found to have beene touched with frost, much lesse to be covered with ise";<sup>117</sup> and as that of the "well in Paphlagonia whose water seemeth as it were mixed with wine", and of the "river of Thracia upon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traveller or other sleeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor."<sup>118</sup> He has naturally not dreamed yet of explaining by natural causes such phenomena as "the stones dailie found" "in part of the hilles east southeast of Alderelie, . . . perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame have lien there ever since the floud";<sup>119</sup> or the "welles and water-courses . . . which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie";<sup>119a</sup> or other phenomena which modern scientists have no trouble in explaining. On the contrary, when he says, "In the cliffs betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine cave, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same",—good warrant to the vulgar to consider it haunted,—he is quick to add, "[This] I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals, readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were used."<sup>120</sup> And after telling us of the "poole in Logh Taw among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire . . .

<sup>116b</sup> Hol. I. 218.

<sup>116c</sup> Hol. I. 217-8.

<sup>117</sup> Hol. I. 171.

<sup>118</sup> Hol. I. 354.

<sup>119</sup> Hol. I. 218.

<sup>119a</sup> Hol. I. 219.

<sup>120</sup> Hol. I. 218.



which hath such a propertie, that it will breed no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recoverie", he is evidently combatting some popular superstition concerning enchanted lakes when he adds, "But this peradventure may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe."<sup>120a</sup> And he explains in a very rationalistic way those "three little pooles, a mile from Darlington, . . . which the people call the Kettles of hell, . . . as if [the devil] should seeth soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also that the spirits have oft beene heard to crie and yell about them. . . . The truth is. . . that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other unctuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so dooth leave a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cleere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadam deepe".<sup>121</sup> It must be said, however, that on the whole these attempts at rationalistic explanations are rare.

In Holinshed's attitude towards religious matters, therefore, we find uncompromising inherited hatred of the Catholics, and a belief, only faintly colored with doubt, in the religious significance of any unusual occurrences in the realm of nature. His attitude towards witchcraft remains to be discussed; but we shall find it indicating distinctly his adherence to the religious conventions of his day.

CHRISTABEL FORSYTH FISKE.

<sup>120a</sup> Hol. I. 218.

<sup>121</sup> Hol. I. 219.

(To be continued.)

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF PIERS PLOWMAN.

"Only when we know what is the 'diction, metre and sentence structure' of the original A-text, can we argue with certainty whether these are, or are not, materially different from those of the B-additions, or decide whether B's treatment of the A-text is really inconsistent with unity of authorship."<sup>1</sup> These words argue strongly for a conservative attitude toward the theory of multiple authorship, and if Mr. Chambers is right, as I think he is, in saying that there is "no ground for disturbing the MSS. in so far as Robert the Robber is concerned",<sup>2</sup> and "that the element of certainty, which is necessary before we can use the 'shifted leaf' theory as a basis on which to build other theories, is wanting",<sup>3</sup> the old tradition of a single author seems to be not yet seriously disturbed.

It may, nevertheless, be interesting to attack this question from quite a different point of view. Leaving aside the A1 and A2 theory, which, as far as I know, has been nowhere accepted and with which I have dealt elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> let us turn to the chief point of the discussion: whether A has or has not written the B-text.

To prove A's authorship of the B-text we must understand the poet's object in writing A2 and the combining idea of all these visions of Dowell, Dobetter and Dobest, which are said to be often without connection and partly even to "defy analytical explanation" (Manly). That may be true in a certain way, and is only too natural a conclusion with those who are strong in criticizing, but unable to put a definite positive truth

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Chambers, T. H. G. Grattan: The Text of 'Piers Plowman'. *Modern Language Review*, Vol iv. No. 3. April, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Chambers: The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman'. *Mod. Lang. Review*, Vol. v, No. 1, Jan., 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.*, XVIII, 10ff.

in the place of the shattered gods. It does not follow, however, that one leading thought is not carried out systematically, though it is very often pushed aside for episodes and details, which for the time being monopolized the whole interest of the author's impetuous nature. What, then, is this leading thought? Here it is: The Visions of Dowell, etc., contain experiences and confessions of the author in autobiographical chronology, where the different periods appear disguised as allegorical figures and following each other from passus to passus in the same order as they had followed each other in the actual life of the author.<sup>5</sup> This theory may be *a priori* refuted as too far-fetched and altogether too fantastic. But it can be proved<sup>6</sup> that the author had an astonishing and very accurate knowledge of medieval psychology, which shows that, apart from the introspective turn of his mind everywhere visible in his poem, he had a decided psychological interest, resting moreover on as sound a scientific basis as was possible in his day. So I think we need not be surprised at his working together into a sort of biography his ethical purposes with his own spiritual and moral development and the personal experiences of his own life.

They appear personified in various allegorical figures, such as Thought, Wit, Imagination, etc. And what do they personify? An allegory, we are told, is a description of a subject under the guise of some other subject of aptly suggestive resemblance (Murray). What subject, then, we ask, is disguised under the figure of Thought? Or whom does Imagination resemble? 'Ymaginatyf' has generally been rather superficially rendered by fancy. But 'Ymaginatyf' means *ars commemorativa* according to Bacon, and Bartholomew Anglicus in his 'De Proprietatibus Rerum' speaks of it as the faculty of seeing things not present and bringing back what lies in the past, so that we

<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed argument of this theory I must refer to my book: "Charakterentwicklung und ethisch-theologische Anschauungen des Verfassers von *Piers the Plowman*," Leipzig, 1900, on which this article is more or less based.

<sup>6</sup> Compare my above mentioned article in *Ztsch. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.*

must take 'Ymaginatyf' not only as fancy but above all as a reproductive imagination. But whose fancy is personified in the allegory of 'Ymaginatyf' and whose past is reproduced? I venture to say that to put these questions leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is the author himself who appears under the guise of 'Ymaginatyf', as he does under that of 'Thought', 'Wit', indeed of almost all those various characters which, as I take it, represent different phases of his own life in consecutive order. So then: 'Thought' will reveal *his* thoughts, 'Wit' will give us *his* knowledge, 'Dam Study' will acquaint us with *his* studies, 'Clergy' with *his* experiences when in clerical order, and so forth.

This must be the meaning of the type of allegorical figures used by the individualistic English poet who is able to visualize even the inner workings of the soul. What we have thus found deductively, we shall now have to corroborate and to prove by the contents of the various visions and the explanation they give of Dowell, Dobetter and Dobest.

The poet intends "to seehe Dowel",<sup>1</sup> A ix, 2. Naturally he first turns for information to the friars (ibid. 8ff.), famous for their learning and knowledge; but since he cannot "conceyve" their words he falls back on his own thoughts, reflecting on what he heard and experienced, dreaming and sleeping. 'Thought' addresses him first, A, ix, 61ff. The author himself states in plain words that 'Thought' is identical with his own personality, describing him as "a mucche mon, lyk to my-selven", and to his question who he is, he gets the appropriate answer "that thou wost wel and no wijt betere", and "I haue suwed the this seven yer, seze thou me no rathere." So this is evidently only a dialogue between the poet and himself. Accordingly the explanation of the meaning of Dowell, etc. here given can contain nothing but what we must expect: the conventional opinion of any average man in those days, therefore also of the author at some time of his life and certainly in his

<sup>1</sup> I cite from Piers the Plowman in three parallel texts, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxf., 1886.



childhood. It is the threefold standard of life as universally accepted in mediaeval christianity: Dowell is the active life of the honest labourer; Dobetter the charitable life of a man in religious orders; Dobest that of a bishop.

Agreeing that 'Thought' can only mean the author himself, and that the explanation of Dowell, etc. must have been once accepted by him, at least when a child, let us pass on to the next vision, that of 'Wit', A ix, 109ff. 'Wit', he says, a man gets "whlon he childhode passeth", x, 73, and that he and 'Thought' met with 'Wit', "er we weoren war", ix, 109, and that he came from 'Thought' to 'Wit', being covetous of "more kynde knowynge", ix, 103. These quotations show that in this vision we have to expect a development of 'Thought', equal to "I" and to the author, after he passed childhood, getting wit and becoming a young man, perhaps, ix, 110ff:

a long and lene. to loken on ful symple,

Was no pride on his apparail. ne no pouert nother,  
not yet quite sure of himself, ix, 113:

I durste mene no mateere. to make him to jangle,  
but already instinctively desirous, ix, 115:

To putte forth sum purpos. to preuen his wittes —

undoubtedly a very fitting description of a youngster developing into mature age. That we are right in assuming that this vision of 'Wit' covers the poet's period of life as a young scholar is further proved by the wisdom 'Wit' puts forth in x, 1ff: First elements of authropology, as we should call it nowadays, and of physics and ethics, which, as we know,\* were taught in the mediaeval grammar schools or in the grammar faculty at or before the beginning of the *trivium*, to give the first schooling in Latin and in logical thinking. Besides, the first line of a latin distich, x, 95, "cum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum", found in the collection of moral maxims used in mediaeval schools,<sup>9</sup> and the amusing exegesis of x, 86, "virga tua et baculus

\* For instance, Blakiston's essay in Traill: *Social England*, ii. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Bernh. Pez: *Thesaur. Anecd. noviss.* iii. 2. 487.

tuus ipsa me consolata sunt (thy rod and thy staff comfort me) as meaning, being beaten with “ȝerdes” “maketh men meoke and mylde of heore specke” and “alle kunne scolers in scoles forte lerne”,—such passages can leave no doubt that school reminiscences are interwoven into this vision, as also into the curious explanation of Dowell, etc. given by ‘Wit’, so utterly different from that given by ‘Thought’, x, 211-213:

Thenne is Dowel to dredren. and Dobet to suffren  
And so cometh Dobest aboute. and bringeth about modi  
And that is wikkede Wil. that mony werke schendeth.

The “betynge of ȝerdes” in x, 85 and this high valuation of “dredren” and “suffren” may perhaps recall the mediaeval custom of conferring the degrees of the grammar school or faculty “by the grant of a rod and a birch” and that the first act of every new Master of Grammar was to beat “openly in the schools a shrewd boy.”<sup>10</sup> From all this we may be justified in taking the allegorical figure of ‘Wit’ as personifying the experiences which the poet had while a young scholar in the grammar school or faculty.

From ‘Wit’ we pass straight on to the next vision, that of ‘Dam Study’, A xi, 1ff. We are not obliged to walk a long distance, passing by all sorts of places and sideroads as we generally do when we go with the poet. This time he simply says: “Thenne hedde Wit a wyf,” and since we were just talking to ‘Wit’ we naturally are also in presence of his inseparable wife. This is quite in accordance with actual conditions, and that the poet leads us on just in this manner seems again to strengthen our argument. For he acquired wit in the grammar course which in England was an independent faculty, though, on the other hand, in close connection with the *studium generale* and part of the course in the seven arts.<sup>11</sup> So listening to ‘Wit’s’ grammar and moral advice he also had to do with ‘Dam Study’, his less obliging wife.

<sup>10</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte: A Hist. of the Univ. of Oxford. London, 1886, p. 235.

<sup>11</sup> Among others in Carl Ad. Schmid: Gesch. d. Erziehung. Stuttg. 1884, ii. 1. p. 397.

She is very hard on the shy young scholar and generalizing, as women are said sometimes to do, counts him at first sight among "fayturs or fooles that frentik ben of wittes", xi, 6. She jumps at conclusions, taking it for granted that 'Wit' introduced him to different theological problems then in vogue in English universities and that he, the little student of grammar, did not of course, care a bit about wisdom, xi, 17, but that he, too, belonged to that great number of students who valued knowledge only so far as it could be turned into money and earthly welfare, xi, 13 ff. How does madame know all this? How can she say xi, 3, "Wit me thus tauhte"? For "thus" cannot refer to what the young man had actually learnt from 'Wit', that infants must be educated to self-responsibility, to have "wys understandinge", x, 71, and to know, what many people do not know, that by Dowel and Dobetter they may overcome "wekkide Wil that mony werke schendeth," x, 213. Surely this advice, purely moral and for anybody most necessary, she cannot mean when she grumbles with her husband that he "me thus tauhte." What she does mean and what she really aims at is to be inferred from *her own* words in which she complains of the frivolous turn studies have taken of late and of the materialistic tendency among the scholars. There was no allusion, however, to this in 'Wit's' words, and so we feel inclined to say that 'Dam Study' did not listen properly and attacks what she *thought* 'Wit' said or that she is not very accurate in her statements and joins to her other qualities that of being illogical. But it is not she who is illogical, it is a man this time, the author. He cannot speak and write systematically. He presupposes that we, the readers, also know what he knows about the conditions of learning at the colleges and halls in his days and refers with his little illogical "thus" not to what he actually had said and related, but to what he felt and experienced when he first came in touch with studies and scholars. We thank him this time, if not always, for the unsystematic bent of his nature. For he thus proves to us that here again we have a piece of autobiography, the poet's own *studium*

*generale* personified in the allegorical figure of 'Dam Study'.

We can well understand that the young fellow with his ardent desire for knowledge and right conduct was very much surprised at what he saw in academic life. He had hoped to learn wisdom there, and now he finds "clerks and kete men", xi, 56, disputing the gospel, applying their logical witticisms to the most holy dogmas of the church—"fyndeth forth fantasies ur feith to apeyre," xi, 63,—and cracking jokes at the most venerated stories of the bible—"tellet of the trinite hou two slowen the thriddle," xi, 40,—whilst an earnest man "that holy writ hath ever in his mouthe and con . . . prechen of the penance . . . luytel is he loved." We quite agree now with the author that it is not wise—to use 'Dam Study's reproachful terms—"wisdom to telle, to fayturs or to fooles that frentik ben of wittes", xi, 5ff, and "with such wyse words to wisse ony fooles," *ibid.* 8. But the poet vows that he will be different, saying to Dam Study':

joure mon schal I worthe

To worchen joure wille. while my lyf dureth;

Kenne me kuyndely. to knowen what is Dowel, xi, 100ff.

'Dam Study' therefore recommends him to her "cosyn that Clergye is i-hoten" and his wife "that Scripture is i-nempnet", xi, 104ff., and tells him "the heiȝe wey wher Clergye dwelleth", xi, 111. This time it is a long journey "from hennes to soffre-bothe-wele-and-wo"; and he must "ryd forth bi Richesse" and "eke the longe launde that Lecherie hette", etc., etc., xi, 113-122. That is very remarkable. There is a distinction made between study and clergy. How is this since all studies were clerical or at least called so? And how is it that only now we hear of something like the monastic vows? Generally we assume that from the beginning the young scholar belonged to some sort of clerical institution and so, in a way, to a religious order, received the tonsure and was under certain rules resembling those of the monks and the regular clergy, though not so strict as these. But our attention has been drawn to



some manuscript illuminations from which we gather the fact that the pupils of the faculty of grammar "had not been admitted to the tonsure",<sup>12</sup> and since the shearing of the tonsure was the very first thing done to a man entering clerical orders, he could only *after* this performance commence to be obedient to the monastic rules. We therefore must admit that here again all that our poet says very accurately agrees with the curriculum of a mediaeval university. At first he seems to have been a pupil in the faculty of grammar "accounted the first of the seven liberal arts" but "at best an inferior faculty",<sup>13</sup> belonging, however, to the *studium generale*. After that he took the tonsure, and thereby submitted to regulations more or less monastic in character—to be honourable, chaste, peaceable, humble, teachable, and anxious for improvement; and so he becomes now a clericus, as 'Dam Study' said: "so shalt thou come to Clergye," xi, 123.

The young man evidently was very happy that he had come thus far. Still in later years he gives vent to this joy in the beautiful lines, xi, 109-110:

Thenne was I as fayn. as foul on feir morwen  
Gladdore then the gleo-mon is, of his grete jiftes.

And so he began to study the seven arts, as we rightly infer from what we have heard of his life so far. Our conclusion is correct, for in the following lines he gives an account of them. This account is evidently taken from personal experience. He does not cite the official names of the subjects treated: *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric), *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy), and the three philosophies (physics, metaphysics and ethics), but he names them very differently, xi, 127ff:

Lo! logyk I lered hire. and at the lawe after,  
And alle musons in musyk. I made hire to knowe  
Plato the poyete. I put him furste to boke,

<sup>12</sup> Lyte: Hist. of Oxf., p. 234.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Aristotle and other mo. to arguen I tauzte;  
 Gramer for gurles. I gon furste to write,  
 And beot hem with a baleys. but jif thei wolde lernen, etc.

Why does he mention logic first instead of grammar? It is for a very good reason. Logic, the all prevailing logic, was the real subject taught in the grammar lectures. "Grammar properly speaking was hardly touched upon," especially at Oxford, "where logical disputations, more and more, took the place of the training in Latin grammar",<sup>14</sup> and what should have been the object of the faculty of grammar<sup>15</sup> was sometimes so entirely left aside that, for instance, at Vienna a statute of 1429 tried to force the regent masters "to carry out their lectures for grammatical and not for metaphysical and logical purposes."<sup>16</sup> So the author very appropriately calls grammar logic.

With equal right he speaks of "lawe" instead of rhetoric. For under the headmark of rhetoric "the elements of Roman law were often added and all schoolboys were exercised in writing prose and what passed for verse"<sup>17</sup> and in learning *ars dictaminis, modus epistolandi* and those formulas used in chancery courts,<sup>18</sup> called *dictamen prosaicum* i.e. to draw up letters and documents for judicial and other purposes;<sup>19</sup> so that one feels inclined to think that very often the courses in rhetoric only embraced exercises in *dictamen* and the reading of legal decisions,<sup>20</sup> in short taught the forensic terminology or "lawe."

The poet inserts "musyk", which belonged to the *quadrivium*, because music was practised from beginning through-

<sup>14</sup> Schmid: ii, 1, p. 440.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*.

<sup>16</sup> Schmid: *ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> Hastings Rashdall: *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Oxf., 1847, I, p. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Schmid: *ibid*. p. 441.

<sup>19</sup> F. A. Specht: *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland bis zum. 13 Jahrh.* Stuttg. 1885, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*. p. 120.

out the whole education, and adds "Plato the poyete" since poetry, as we have just heard, belonged to rhetoric or law.

"Aristotle" he says instead of logic. This is obvious since Aristotle ruled supreme in logic with his writings comprehended under the titles of *ars* or *logica vetus* and *logica nova*.<sup>21</sup> Here the pupil learnt to argue on sophisms and to discuss *pro* and *contra*<sup>22</sup> so that "Aristotle to arguen" is also a very well chosen term for the training the pupils received in the courses of logic.

Then grammar is added but as necessary for "gurles" who get beaten "but jif thei wolde lernen."

As to the *quadrivium* and the three philosophies he speaks, xi, 152 ff., of the very little value then attributed to them at Oxford, where they gave seven weeks to geometry and three to arithmetic,<sup>23</sup> and science he calls "nigromancye" with which men like Roger Bacon and Bishop Grosseteste had been charged.<sup>24</sup>

"Bote Teologye hath teoned me" he begins, xi, 136ff, and we readily believe him. It was mere scholastic philosophy, barren ground, purely speculative,—“the more I muse thereon, the mistiloker it semeth.” It began to separate itself from the new spirit of life poured into mediaeval philosophy by the genius of William Occam, and it vainly tried to hold its own with its obsolete terminology, proved void and meaningless by the new theory of perception of the great English nominalist, who clearly said that theology is no science, since science has to do with what we know and not what is. So our author accurately states the estimation in which theology was held when he says: "Hit is no science forsothc." Had it not been combined with Aristotle's ethics,<sup>25</sup> teaching happiness as the natural consequence

<sup>21</sup> Rashdall, *ibid.* p. 37. Schmid, *ibid.* p. 441.

<sup>22</sup> Lyte: *ibid.* p. 205 and p. 226.

<sup>23</sup> Schmid, *ibid.* p. 448.

<sup>24</sup> Lyte, *ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Schmid, *ibid.* p. 443.

of virtue—"neore the loue that lyhth therinne a lewed thing hit weore," xi, 140.

May I venture to say that it is highly probable that in these lines about the seven arts and the three philosophies the poet refers to his own studies and that we have good reason to take also this part of his poem as autobiographical, 'Dam Study' representing his own personal experience—being in fact almost a personification of himself as a scholar at the *studium generale*?

From 'Dam Study' he proceeds to 'Clergy', "the goode mon", and 'Scripture', "his wyf", xi, 166ff. The poet distinguishes between study, clergy and scripture. Scripture is learning and scholarship as taught by the *studium generale*, therefore "sib to the seuen ars", xi, 106, and is closely related to clergy, representing clerical skill and learning as a preparation to and part of the clerical state and order,—clergy, properly speaking. This distinction leads us to assume that the author, having finished the preliminary arts course, and having reached mastership in the seven arts and the three philosophies, was now permitted to read for his theological degree. The contents of this vision proves that we are not mistaken.

He is kindly welcomed by clergy and scripture "so sone as heo wuste, that I was of Wittes hous and with his wif Dam Studie," xi, 172. Indeed this welcome must have been a most hearty one leaving a very pleasant memory still in later years, xi, 170:

Was neuer gome upon grounde. seththen god made heuene  
Feiroke vndurfonge. no friendloker maad at ese.

It is, therefore, the more astonishing that we find very soon a serious disagreement between him and Clergy and Scripture, and it seems noteworthy that this discussion begins in Clergy's words. 'Clergy' first gives the conventional explanation of Dowell, etc., continues by severely criticizing some members of the religious orders, and finishes up in giving a very different meaning to Dowell, etc. At first in xi, 179ff., he said that Dowell was *vita activa*, Dobetter living in charity, and Dobest to be prince over God's people, and now he says:



I wende that kinghed and kniȝthed. and caiseris with erlis  
Wern Do-wel and Do-bet. and Do-best of hem alle, xi. 216.\*

For this 'Clergy' is attacked by 'Scripture' who says that "kinghed and kniȝthod helpith nouȝt to heuene", xi, 212, and that poor people will easier go to heaven than rich. Against this the poet finds an argument in the words of the Bible, "qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit," xi, 229. But 'Scripture' answers that this does not follow in all cases and that also a Christian may go to hell "for his misdede", xi, 249.—This makes the poet very angry and now he breaks forth, xi, 250:

ȝet am I neuere the ner. for nouȝt I have walkid  
To wyte what is Do-wel. witterly in herte  
For how I worke in this world. wrong other ellis  
I was markid withoute mercy. and myn name entrid  
In the legende of lif. longe er I were.

Everything is ruled by predestination. It is quite useless and unimportant for him to know what is Dowell and without consequence for the future what a life he tries to lead in this world.

This sounds most extraordinary! What a curious answer to give when we justly expect now that the poem is drawing to an end to get from 'Clergy' or 'Scripture' a definite definition of Dowell, etc. Instead of which, 'Clergy' disagrees with himself, is rebuked by 'Scripture', and the poet tells them both that they know nothing about it and gives a slashing theological refutation of their arguments, based upon an heretical conception of the dogma of predestination. It is hard to understand this vision unless we take it strictly biographically as referring to the religious problems which our poet had to face at this period of his academical career, problems which his common sense found very difficult of solution. This position we think is confirmed by the restless questioning tone and the excited dialogue in this passus which evidently carry the stamp of a personal ex-

\* Perhaps these and the following lines—220 in the original—were not meant to contain 'Clergy's' words, but that would not affect the rest of the argument.

perience and clearly represent the *debate* of a man at odds with himself, full of doubts and uncertain of his attitude towards the authority which offers a solution. So we take it: 'Clergy' stands for the author's clerical life while reading for his theological degree, and comprises the clerical world around him and himself as a member of a clerical order and a student of clerical doctrine, which he first repeats as far as it answered to his question about Dowell, etc., and which he then refutes by bringing up the argument:

Super cathedram Moisi sederunt principes

For-thi I wende that thō wyes, wern Dobest of al'e! xi, 219, and through 'Scripture', that is his knowledge of theological doctrine, he gives such a turn to his argument that it leads to the dogma of predestination, which since the days of Occam once more puzzled many an honest and religious heart in England and evidently also was the stumbling block in the theological development of our author. Finding a flaw in one of the dogmas of Holy Church he turns against the clergy in general, depreciating with youthful rashness all their teachings as worthless, misleading wisdom. "Ecce ipsi ydioti," he says, "rapiunt celum, ubi nos sapientes in infernum mergemur," xi, 295.

How are we to account for such an incongruity between the beginning and the end of this vision? There he praised 'Clergy' and his wife in the highest terms, with words full of love and admiration, sure of learning from them "Dowel and Dobest and seththen afturward to seo sumwhat of Dobest", xi, 175; and here, only a few lines later, he contradicts and condemns all that 'Clergy' says and even regrets that he ever took the trouble of seeing him, xi, 250ff. And all this under the heading: What is Dowell? Surely, the only possible explanation here as in the rest of these visions is that the author relates experiences of his own life, evidently with the intention, as we now understand, to explain to others and very likely to himself why he does not accept the three-fold ethical ideal taught by the church and how he came to think so lightly of Clergy's teaching.

The last passus of the A-text unfortunately is very obscure, but this much we may certainly gather from it that the author's hope and intention was no more with 'Clergy's aid to find the right way to Dowell, etc. He withdraws from 'Clergy', and 'Clergy':

in-to a caban, crepte anon after  
And drow the dore after him. and bad me go Dowe!,  
Or wycke, jif I wolde. whether me lyked, xii, 35ff.

'Scripture', however, remained his friend, though at first she seemed to side with 'Clergy'. But when she saw that the poet was in earnest to give his life to her, with her help to find 'Kynde Wit', xii, 41, she showed him to "omnia probate" who would bring him to "quod bonum est tenete", where in the home of 'Kynde Wit' he would learn what is Dowell, xii, 50ff.

So this is what his life has come to so far: Disappointed with Clergy and unsatisfied with his teachings he thinks that earnest study and investigation will give his intelligence that common sense which will help him to do well so far as that is possible "while his lyf and lykhame lesten togedere", xii, 93, and according to his well doing here will be his mirth in "paradys with aungelys", xii, 94ff.

The important question is now if we are entitled to take B xi ff. as the sequence of his leading thought found so far in A ix-xii, or in other words, if these confessions of the author are continued in B xi. This would show that the author of the A-text and the author of the B-text are one and the same person.

In B x, 115 we read the curious line:

Ymaginatyf her-afterward. shal answer to þowre purpos,  
and in B xi, 400-xii, 293 'Ymaginatyf',—"the faculty of seeing things not present and bringing back what lies in the past" as we have heard,—does answer this "purpos" and many others contained in B but mostly taken over into B from A. This can be clearly seen by comparing the vision with 'Ymaginatyf' with the arguments discussed in A xi.

The purport of these arguments in A was to show on how unsound and unreliable a basis the doctrines of the church and the teachings of the clergy stand, and that people would be much surer of their salvation without them. 'Ymaginatyf' now in B xi, 400ff. answers to this, not as in the A-text, laying all the blame on the clergy, but blaming the poet himself! He prided himself, says 'Ymaginatyf', on his knowledge, and presumptuously asked "after the whyes", xii, 217 and "aresonedest Resoun, a rebukying as it were", xii, 218, so that 'Clergy' did not care any more for his company, xi, 414 (cf. A xii, 35ff.). He thought that his 'Kinde Wit' alone would suffice that one day his "play be plenteuous in paradys with aungelys", A xii, 95, and now he must understand that:

Namore kan a kynde-witted man. but clerkes hym teche

Come for al his kynde witte. to Crystendome and be saued,

B xii, 109ff.

and that "letterure" may lead "lewed men to resoun", B xii, 106, for "Clergye is kepere under Cryst heuene", B xii, 128. Therefore we are counseled, B xii, 123:

no clergie to dispise

Ne sette schort be here science. what so thei don hemselue.  
For he B xii, 172:

that knoweth clergie. can sonner aryse

Out of synne and be sauf. though he synne ofte

If hym lyketh and lest, than any lewed lelly.

And this holds true though 'Clergy' may not be able to explain all and may sometimes be averse to answer the questions put to him by such who ask "after the whyes". If he asks why Solomon the Sage and Aristotle are not in heaven "and al holy chirche holden hem in helle" A xi, 263, one must answer B xii, 268ff:

And where he [Aristoteles] be sauf or nouȝt sauf. the sothe wote  
no clergye

He of Sortes ne of Salamon. no scripture can telle.

Ac god is so good, I hope



That god for his grace. gyue her soules reste.

And so it is with many other problems that used to puzzle him, why this and why that, why Adam's fall A xi, 66, about which

Lewed men many times. maistres thei apposen, B xii, 232.  
And why, A xi, 271:

A goode Friday (I fynde), a feloun was sauid

That hadde lyued al his lyf. with lesinges and theftis,  
or in B xii, 214:

why that one thef on the crosse. creaunt hym ȝelt

Rather than that other thef

and why A xi, 295:

ipsi ydioti rapiunt celum ubi nos sapientes in infernum mer-  
gemur,

or in B xii, 158:

How that lewed men listloker. than lettred were saued,  
to all these "whyes" one has to answer:

Alle the clerkes vnder Cryst. ne couthe the skil assoille

B xii, 216,

but "Kynde knoweth," and if he had not been so rash in his arguments and conclusions he might have known this long ago.

For Resoun wolde haue reherced the. riȝte as Clergye saide  
Ac for thine entermetyng. here artow forsake.

\* \* \* \* \*

That Clergye thi compaignye ne kepeth nouȝt to sue,

B xi, 405.

Now this is evidently a refutation of the arguments brought forward against 'Clergy' in A x i. If it were given quite objectively one might perhaps argue the point that B repeats A's words only with the intention to disprove his heretical and almost blasphemous retorts afterwards. But what 'Ymaginatyf' answers to such "purpose" is not a logical repetition, dictated by cold reasoning, as we should expect if B has nothing to do with such heresies personally. 'Ymaginatyf's reproaches and remonstrances are born from shame and remorse, B xi, 426:

There smit no thinge so smerte. ne smelleth so soure  
As shame.

He is *ashamed* of the "pruide" and "presumpcioun", B xi, 413 and the "rude speche", B xi, 410 with which he opposed 'Clergy'. *Ashamed*, however, he can only be if he, B, has done himself what he relates and not if he simply repeats what he found in a MS. written by somebody else. "That Clergye thi compaignye ne kepeth nouzt to sue" in B xi, 414 undoubtedly points to "Clergie into a caban crepte. . . and bad me go Dowel or wycke, jif I wolde, whether me lyked" in A xii, 35ff. He who is ashamed of this in B can be nobody but he who did it in A and can be nobody but the author himself who says:

Tho cauȝte I co'oure anon. and comsed to ben aschamed,

B xi, 395,

who is blamed in B xii, 16 for meddling himself with "mak-  
ynges" and who excuses himself:

Ac if there were any wight. that wolde me telle

What were Dowel and Dobet. and Dobest atte laste

Wolde I neuere do werke. but wende to holicherche,

And there bydee my bedes. but whan ich eet or slepe.

B xii, 26ff.

This, I hope, will fairly prove that the A-text and the B-text are by the same author. B xi ff. may, therefore, be taken as containing the continuance of the author's confessions in the A-text. In the same manner in which we have done it for A ix-xii we can trace in B xi ff. the gradual development of the author's character through many different phases, a matter which will be the subject of another article.

OTTO MENSENDIECK.

Bonn, Germany.

CARL ALBERT KRAUSE: Gerhard Hauptmann's Treatment of blanc verse submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, New York, 1908.

WALTER C. HAUPT: Die poetische Form von Goethes Faust. Eine metrische Untersuchung. Leipzig, 1909.

Es kann kein Zweifel sein, dass mit Eduard Sievers für die Metrik eine neue Ära begonnen hat. Auch in diesem Falle jedoch ist der Umschwung nicht plötzlich, unerwartet eingetreten. Ein Baum schießt nicht aus dem flachen Erdreich auf. Er senkt seine Wurzeln tief hinab und zieht seine Kraft aus nährenden Schichten. Auch Sievers hat Vorläufer gehabt, und der nachschürfende Adept mag wohl oft, wenn er bei Westphal, Stolte, Merkel und Anderen auf ihm nun bekannte Ideen stösst, weise das Häuptlein schütteln und denken: "aha!" Der Erfahrenere wird auch da nur zu grösserer Bewunderung dieses Mannes gelangen, der die Gerinsel und Flüsschen zusammenzwang und zu einem Strome vereinte. Denn wir haben hier nicht mit einem vorsichtigen Sammler und Kleinarbeiter zu tun, sondern mit einer grossen Persönlichkeit, die ein neues Gebiet von allen Seiten erforschte; und was er von andern nahm, das wurde ihm erst Erlebnis. Und das ist das Charakteristikum des wirklichen Metrikers: Er kann nicht auf dem Papier und am Schreibtisch seine Beobachtungen machen, sondern wie dem Dichter, besonders dem jungen, der erst Herr über die Form werden will, der Rhythmen und Melodien erlebt, so geht es dem nachfühlenden Forscher, dem plötzlich, intuitiv, das Geheimnis einer Form, eines rhythmischen Phänomens in hellem Lichte erscheint und zugleich eine Reihe anderer Zusammenhänge erhellt.

Sievers' grösste Tat ist es, den Metriker wieder auf die eigne Beobachtung mit dem Ohr hingewiesen und zu dem Faktor Rhythmus die Zwillingschwester Melodie hinzugesellt zu haben. Es scheint fast unglaublich, dass man so lange die Melodie vernachlässigte, die doch in den Terminis, wie: *accentus*, *prosodia* immer noch kümmerlich ihr Leben fristete. Daneben kamen dann die feineren Schattierungen des Verses: Akzentabstufung in Typen, das Tempo, Bindung und anderes hinzu. Und wenn Sievers bis jetzt wenig Systematisches über seine Entdeckungen veröffentlichte, so fand er doch in Franz Saran einen würdigen Schüler, der nun seinerseits nicht nur aufnahm, sondern mit gleicher Energie und Zielbewusstheit weiterbaute und (besonders mit der schärferen Herausarbeitung des Unterschiedes zwischen orchestrischem und Sprechrhythmus) neue Perspektiven eröffnete.

Ich kann die beiden Untersuchungen von der Anklage nicht ganz freisprechen, dass sie zu konservativ am guten alten

Herkommen festgehalten haben. Minor's Werk war seinerzeit sicher eine wertvolle und bedeutende Erscheinung und ist noch jetzt als Kompendium unersetzlich. Aber es ist in vieler Hinsicht heute unbedingt überholt. Wo Krause Sievers zitiert, hat er ihn missverstanden, nämlich, wo er konstatiert, dass Hauptmanns Verse poetischen oder irrationalen Rhythmus haben. Das ist kein Charakteristikum Hauptmannscher Verse, sondern aller Poesie im Gegensatz zum musikalischen oder rationalen Rhythmus, der sich durch Verhältniszahlen mathematisch ausdrücken lässt. Die von Saran in seiner "Deutschen Verslehre" (München 1907) gewiesenen Wege sind aber von beiden, Krause sowie Haupt, unbetreten geblieben. So sind denn auch in der Untersuchung über Hauptmanns Blankvers nur einige statistisch wertvolle Resultate gewonnen, wie zum Beispiel das Prozentverhältnis der stumpfen und klingenden Ausgänge in den verschiedenen Werken, und die Beobachtung grösserer Selbständigkeit in der Behandlung des Verses bei Hauptmann vom Jahre 1900 an. Indessen kann ich dieses nur mit Vorbehalt hinnehmen. Denn was die Betrachtung der verschiedenen Eigentümlichkeiten eines Verses ausmacht, darin stimme ich mit Krause durchaus nicht immer überein.

Ich habe im Gegensatz zu Minor in meiner Arbeit über "den Knittelvers des jungen Goethe" (Leipzig 1909) p. 25 versucht, das stiefmütterlich behandelte Enjambement ein wenig mehr zu seinem Rechte kommen zu lassen. Auch hier wird es sehr mit Misstrauen betrachtet, und Krause ist noch nicht zu der freieren Auffassung gelangt, dass wir nicht dem Dichter Regeln geben, sondern selbst vom Dichter lernen wollen. So kann ich zum Beispiel keine Härte des Enjambements empfinden in

Versunkene Glocke 51, 3:

So können wir zu Vaters Ehrentag  
uns festlich schmücken wie es sich geziemt.

Vor "zu" und hinter "Ehrentag" würde ja so wie so auch in Prosa noch ein schwacher, satzgliedernder Schnitt liegen, während in

51, 1:

Gleich hinterm Garten  
traf ich 'nen ganzen Fleck damit besät.

der verdeckte Versschnitt viel hörbarer ist wegen der Zusammengehörigkeit von "hinterm Garten treffen" und des damit verbundenen Steigens der Melodie in "Garten". Dass die Caesur-oder besser Schnittverdeckung nicht nur künstlerisch erlaubt, sondern in den meisten Fällen sogar gesucht ist, zeigen folgende Beispiele:



Hirtenlied 17, 7:

Siehe, dann

beginnt der Tag, an dem vor sieben Jahren....

Vers. Gl. 26, 14:

Ich wollte lieber

nackt in 'nem Wespennest die Nacht verbringen.

Hier haben wir am Versende die Spannungspause, während im nächsten Beispiele das Hinken des Pfarrers nicht besser charakterisiert werden kann:

Vers. Gl. 51, 3:

Kaum kann ich noch

die Beine schleppen.

Andere Beispiele, aus denen hervorgeht, dass Hauptmann das Auseinanderbrechen solcher Verbindungen wie: der Schrei / gehetzter Kreatur, Engel / des Herrn, Schnee / der Miselsucht; Paradies / des Südens u. a. sicherlich nicht aus Versehen, sondern der Emphase wegen gesucht hat (instinktiv natürlich), können auf Seite 59 und 60 der Untersuchung gefunden werden.

Das Kapitel über Akzentuation hätte man gerne zu Gunsten wichtigerer verkürzt oder aufgegeben gesehen. Jeder gute Dichter könnte ein Wort wie: "Millionen" einmal mit *einem* und einmal mit zwei Akzenten gebrauchen. Das Ethos der beiden Stellen:

Vers. GL. 63, 11:

Von hunderttausend Millionen Blüten

und

103,620 Wonach Millionen starrer Hände greifen

das eine Mal langsam und gedehnt, das andre Mal kurz und hastig, verlangt das einfach. Andererseits nehmen die Worte: Himbeeren, Erdbeeren, Lieblinge, hingeleiten, rechtfertigt, anbetend u. a. (p. 31, 32) mehr als willig den dynamischen Akzent auf die zweite Silbe, während die erste tonisch leicht gehoben wird; und von versetzter Betonung kann man gewiss auch in: Buschgrossmutter, barhäuptig, glatzköpfiger, durchschlagend, Bergtannenwipfel und den meisten andern Worten auf Seite 32 und 33 ebensowenig reden wie man selbst in der alltäglichsten Prosa Händarbeiten sagen würde. Der prächtige Paragraph 24 (über metrische Drückung und Hebung) in Sarans Werk sollte doch mit diesen alten Anschauungen gründlich aufgeräumt haben. Auch ist die Erwähnung von Kösters Artikel über "deutsche Daktylen" hier nicht am Platze, da diese Art der Betrachtung nur auf wirkliche Dreierreihen (daktylische, anapästische oder amphibrachische Metra) angewendet werden kann.

Ein Vergleich der ersten Texte mit der Gesamtausgabe, die sich der Metriker—zumal bei Hauptmanns ausserordentlicher Sorgfalt bei Textrevision—nicht verdriessen lassen darf, würde gezeigt haben, dass der Dichter Wörter wie: bestätigen, ängstigen, Heilige u. a. wie Krause allerdings annimmt, tatsächlich synkopiert liest; und ich vermute, dass er überhaupt ige, iger, igen wie ie, ier, ien ausspricht. Endlich sind die vierhebigen Verse in der Versunkenen Glocke alles andere als Knittelverse, sondern einfache trochäische Tetrameter. Sonderbar hört es sich an, Hoffmannsthal als einen "storm and stresser" wenn auch nur mit Rücksicht auf seine metrischen Eigenheiten, bezeichnet zu hören. Kein Ausdruck könnte weniger am Platze sein, dieses Dichters aristokratisches Artistentum zu charakterisiren, das schon in seinem ersten Werke, dem "Tor und Tod", das der Einundzwanzigjährige schrieb, völlig fertig ist.

Was der Arbeit Krauses fehlt, ist vor allem ein interpretierendes Charakterisieren der Ausdrucksmittel Hauptmanns und ein Versuch, den Reichtum dieser Ausdrucksmittel und ihre Entwicklung nachzuweisen. Es möge mir erlaubt sein, auf's Geratewohl ein paar Beispiele herauszuheben:

(Ich zitiere nach der Gesamtausgabe Band und Seite)  
Hanneles Himmelfahrt, 1893.

IV, 57:

Mit feinen Linnen kommt, Ihr Himmelskinder!  
Lieblinge, Turteltauben, kommt herzu,  
Hüllt ein den schwachen, ausgezehrten Leib,  
Den Frost geschüttelt, Fieberglut gedörrt,  
Sanft, dass sein krankes Fleisch der Druck nicht schmerze;

Das Tempo ist langsam, die Intervalle nicht sehr stark, aber melodisch, gewöhnlich zwei oder drei im Verse; der musikalische Akzent dominiert stark über den dynamischen. Weiche, hohe Stimmlage.

Die versunkene Glocke 1896.

Der Waldschrat und Nickelmann sprechen in Staccato-Verse mit gliedmässiger (monopodischer) Bindung. Die Melodieführung ist flach, die Stimme hart, der dynamische Akzent herrscht vor, und des Waldschrats Tempo ist deutlich schneller als das des Nickelmanns.

IV, 131:

Nickelmann

Statt dessen wirkt er hier gesund und stark;  
ein jeder Hammerschlag dringt mir ins Mark.  
Er macht ihr Schappel, Ring und Spängelein  
Und kost ihr Schultern, Brust und Wängelein.

Waldschrat

Bei meinem Bocksgesicht, du bist verrückt!  
Weil's ihn ein bischen nach dem Kinde jückt,  
fängt so ein alter Kerl zu flennen an.  
Sie mag nun einmal keinen Wassermann!

Fast daktylisch, mit zwei oder drei stärkeren Akzenten  
klingt Rautendeleins:

IV, 63:

Du Sümmserin von Gôld, wo kômmst du hér?  
Du Sônnenvôglehên, bedràng mich nîcht!

oder IV, 124:

Bin ich gleich úngebêrdig, trôtzig, fâul,  
ganz úngehòrsam tûeckisch, wàs Du wíllst—  
Dir wíll ich ímmer nâch der Wímpèr schaun,  
und êh' Du wúenschest, nîck ich Dîr schon: jâ.

Die Intervallen sind hier vor allem nach der Höhe zu beträchtlich, und das rasche Auf—und Abgleiten der Melodie erweckt das Gefühl des Kindlichen, das wir ähnlich beim Gretchen Goethes finden. Diese Verse sind, wie ich glaube, mit dem ganzen Zauber der Waldelfe, Hauptmanns Meisterstück.

Heinrichs Stimme ist voller. Auch hier ein Neigen zu mehr polypodischer Bindung, zwei oder drei stärkere Akzente und gleiche Melodieführung:

IV, 143:

Es ist ein Werk, wie ich noch keines dachte,  
ein Glockenspiel aus edelstem Metall  
das aus sich selber, klingend, sich bewegt.

Das Charakteristikum der Wittichen ist ein ausgesprochenes Staccato, das Magdas der volle, tönende Alt, ein Legato und ausgeglichener, weit überfließender Rhythmus (Enjambement).

Das Tempo des 'Hirtenliedes' ist langsam, die Reihen sanft ineinander übergleitend, Sprechpoesie, sich vom Orchestisch—Lyrischen des Hannele und der tonischen Bewegtheit der versunkenen Glocke stark unterscheidend. Durchgehendes Staccato, gliedmässige Bindung und flache Melodisierung charakterisiert 'Schluck und Jau', während 'Der Arme Heinrich' wieder ganz das Gegenteil und eher eine Synthese von Hirtenlied und versunkener Glocke darstellt.

Alles dies ist *in* den Versen. Es ist in der Tat ein Reichtum, der sowohl für den Geniessenden ästhetisch, wie für den Forschenden wissenschaftlich noch gehoben zu werden verdient.

Den Mangel an vorgestecktem Ziel kann man der Haupt-schen Untersuchung dagegen nicht vorwerfen, nur dass hier das Ziel durch eine vorhergefasste Meinung bestimmt ist. Und so folgt Haupt blindlings dieser einen Idee, dass er am Ende nicht einmal sieht, wie irreleitend der Titel der Arbeit: "Die poetische Form von Goethes Faust" geworden ist. Denn damit hat das

Bestreben, alle fünf-oder sechshebigen Verse auf vier Hebungen zu reduzieren, wenig zu tun.

Es ist in der Tat ein Jammer, da die Arbeit frisch und tüchtig einsetzt; und es ist schwer einzusehen, warum eigentlich alle längeren Verse zusammengeschnitten werden sollen, da doch immerhin an manchen Stellen Pentameter und Alexandriner stehen bleiben, die allen Versuchen trotzen, sie in das Prokrustesbett hineinzuzwängen. Dass wir nur *eine* Art Verse in 'Brey', der 'Poetischen Sendung' und den übrigen Stücken ihrer Art haben, ist doch noch kein Argument für jene ausgeprägte Klasse, die durch den 'Ewigen Juden', 'Hans Wursts Hochzeit' und den 'Urfaust' gebildet werden. Ausser dass sich hier uns eine ganz andre Welt öffnet, die die Knittelversform unbedingt sprengen muss, wie ich nachzuweisen gesucht habe (a.a.O. p. 64 fg.), bleiben uns die Verse selbst innere Kriterien genug, die gegen eine solche Vergewaltigung protestieren.

"Hier hilft es gar nichts, von aussen hineinzuarbeiten, hier kommt die Erkenntnis nur von innen heraus. Wer einen Vers nach Analogie eines andern hören will, der liest sich ihn zuletzt so vor, wie er es wünscht." Diese Warnung Minors, die Haupt selbst zitiert, (P. 23) hätte ihn doch vor seinem Verfahren behüten sollen. Aber er verfällt ins Extrem und meint: "dass daher jeder Vers einzeln besprochen werden musste."

Wenn dies cum grano salis für den Knittelvers richtig ist, obwohl auch hier der Anfang des einen oft so unbedingt vom Ende des andern abhängt, so ist das immerhin eine gefährliche Methode. Man verliert den Zusammenhang; und noch dazu sind ja manche von den Vierhebern, die bei Goethe sich vorfinden, gar keine echten Knittelverse und bekommen erst in Verbindung mit den vorhergehenden und folgenden Versen ihren wirklichen Rhythmus.

So ist Haupts Vorgehen, überall Verse mit vier Hebungen finden zu wollen, in den Puppenspielen ein Kampf gegen Windmühlen. Denn hier versteht sich die Vierhebigkeit von selbst und niemand würde darauf verfallen

An Sinn und Rumor den Studenten gleich

oder

Wünsch Euro Majestät geruhige Nacht

anders lesen zu wollen. Dagegen führt es ihn zu wirklichen Verbrechen an der rhythmischen Genialität Goethes, wenn er den Urfaust in dieser Weise schulmeisterst, wie ich im folgenden kurz zu zeigen versuchen werde.

Ew. Jude Vers 8 liest Haupt:

Per ómnia témpora in (ei)nem Púntk geschéhn

Es kommt nicht darauf an, dass diese Dinge in einem *Punkt* geschehen, sondern dass sie in *einem* Punkt geschehen, wie auch



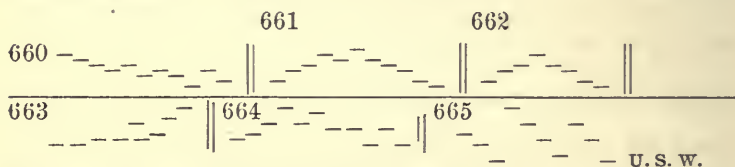


der Parallelismus der Melodieführung in den beiden Teilversen ganz aufgehoben, und in 658 hat "wüsst" sicher kein Anrecht auf einen stärkeren Akzent als "wollt"; denn das Verb "was Arges wissen" ist die Einheit. Aber wenn wir absolut nur vier Akzente haben dürften, so würde freilich

Ich wöllt' ich wüsst was Aergers dass ich's flüchen kóennt  
sehr komisch und mehr wie einer jener mit Musik entstandenen  
Volksliedrhythem klingen, z.B. gleich:

Die Sónn und auch der Mónd und das gánze Firmamént  
Dass in 657 jedoch Vierhebigkeit nicht beabsichtigt war, wird  
noch klarer durch Goethes spätere Wiederherstellung des e in  
Liebe" und "Elemente".

Wo aber ist es deutlicher, dass wir Skalenverse haben und  
keine Knittelverse als in 660-665? Die Melodieführung ist fol-  
gendermassen:



So geht es weiter bis 670, dann beginnt plötzlich wieder der  
Knittelvers. Die ganze Schönheit der Stelle von 741-48 ist  
schrecklich verstümmelt durch die Vierhebungsmanie. Sie wird  
flach, es ist keine Geste mehr darin. Wie lächerlich klingen  
solche Verse:

Müss man? Äch, wenn ich étwas auf dich kóennte,  
Du éhrst auch nícht die heßgen Sakraménte.  
Wie láng bist du zur Kirch, zum Náchtmal nicht gegángen.

Wo gerade das Abbrechen und Wiederaufsteigen der Melodie  
hinter "Kirch" diesen hübschen Tonfall hereinbringt, wenn das  
Tempo genügend langsam und die Intervalle gross genug genom-  
men werden.

Oder

Ich hábe schön für dich só viel getán  
Dass mir zu thún fast níchts mehr überbleíbt

klingt eher wie die mürrische Absage eines Menschen, der des  
Gewährens müde ist, aber nicht wie das resigniert weiche und  
doch innerlich glückliche Nachgeben eines Mädchens, das be-  
dauert, dass es nicht noch viel mehr geben kann. Die Kurve ist



Bei Haupt dagegen:

\* ! \* ! \* \* ! \* \* ! || \* \* \* ! \* ! \* !

Um ein letztes Beispiel zu geben: Haupts Lesung  
1203 Hier ist ein Fläschen und drey Tröpfen nür  
würde ungefähr diese Kurve haben

! \* \* ! \* \* ! \* !

In Wirklichkeit ist dieser Vers eng verbunden mit den folgenden, so dass der Schnitt in der Mitte stärker als der am Ende ist und wir demgemäss lesen müssen

Du Engel, dás hat kefne Nöth. ||

Hier ist ein Fläschgen || ùnd drey Tröpfen nür

Von ihre Tránk || umhüellen

In tiefen Schláf | geféellig die Natúr.

\* ! \* | ! \* ! \* ! || \* ! \* ! \* || \* ! \* ! \* ! || \* ! \* ! \* | \* ! \* ! \*

Ich glaube, es hätte nicht einmal der ausführlichen Widerlegung bedurft, um von der Unhaltbarkeit solcher Theorien zu überzeugen. Indessen wir haben hier ehrliche Arbeit, wenn auch verschwendete. Solche Beispiele von Sich-in-etwas-verbeissen sind in unsrer Wissenschaft nur zu häufig, und ich hielt es für nicht unangebracht, einmal alle Mittel, die dagegen angewandt werden können, vorzuführen. Man *kann* einen Vers nicht lesen wie man will, wenigstens ist in den meisten Fällen nur *eine* richtige Lesung möglich.

Immerhin ist es eine erfreuliche Tatsache, dass die Metrik anfängt, auch hier Boden zu gewinnen. Sie muss sich indessen auf die neuesten Untersuchungen und Ergebnisse stützen. Dann würde die Deutsche Metrik vielleicht auch die noch sehr im Argen liegende englische und französische befruchten können. Denn Sarans und Luicks Verdienste sind auch hier noch unter Fachleuten wenig bekannt.<sup>3</sup>

Zu beherzigen bleibt: Es ist für manche fast ebenso schwer, einen Vers richtig zu lesen, wie ihn richtig zu machen. Und ihn richtig lesen, heisst noch nicht immer ihn richtig notieren können.

ERNST FEISE.

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<sup>3</sup> Franz Saran, *Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses*, Halle 1904. Karl Luick, *Englische Metrik*. Pauls Grundriss II<sup>2</sup> S. 141fg. Vergl. auch Luick, *Ueber Sprachmelodisches in deutscher und englischer Dichtung*. Germ. Rom. Monatsschr. II. I. H.

THE GEST OF ROBIN HOOD by W. H. Clawson, Lecturer in English, University of Toronto. University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series, Extra Volume. Published by the Librarian, 1909.

It is now more than twenty-five years since Richard Fricke published in Herrig's *Archiv* his careful study of the Robin Hood ballads. A portion of his paper he devoted to a valuable analysis of the *Gest*, which has been of the greatest service to scholars and which has stood remarkably well the test of time. Dr. Clawson, in the monograph before us, frankly acknowledges his debt to Fricke; but he enlarges upon his predecessor's work in an interesting manner, bringing to bear upon the question much material that Fricke did not take into account. His citations, for example, from related fields of "outlaw literature" will be recognized as of high importance in any effort to determine the materials which "the compiler" of the *Gest* found ready to his hand.

At the very outstart Dr. Clawson accepts Professor Child's characterization of the *Gest* as "a three-ply web of adventure." He rightly rejects Professor Brandl's singular treatment of fit III. The difference between Professor Child's "web" and Professor Brandl's "rhapsodies," it should be emphasized, is in no way radical. Brandl has only introduced a gratuitous complication in assigning the third fit to his third rhapsody without being willing to deny it to his second. To be sure there are parallels between the sheriff's entertainment and the king's entertainment as in the first division there are parallels between the reception of the knight and that of the Monk (Monks); but the bond in the latter case is obviously one of plot which the parallel structure serves to strengthen. Considerations of plot, as Brandl himself recognized, make fit III almost indispensable to fits V and VI, whereas VII and VIII do not need it at all. That between the second division and the third there should be the interesting parallels Brandl indicated, simply means that the *Gest* is in this as in other respects admirably constructed.

How to account for this structure is, of course, a more difficult matter. Professor Child's "poet of a thoroughly congenial spirit" must necessarily be assumed. Precisely what was the accomplishment of this poet Dr. Clawson has done much to make clear. With admirable care he has indicated those links in the chain which were probably due to his workmanship. But, after all, one is not always quite sure of Dr. Clawson's "compiler." What he says on p. 69 we feel might have been repeated elsewhere: "Some one, either a minstrel or reciter, or the compiler of the *Gest*." To be sure we read on p. 38, note



4: "There is no hint in these fits (I and IV) of earlier fusion, and their combiner is, for convenience and for the avoidance of undue complication, identified in this analysis with the compiler of the whole *Gest*." But is not the complication of considerable interest and the distinction between compiler and compilers of very great importance for the larger bearings of Clawson's study? And is it consistent to say that one who let pass the confusions of the monk passage and the knight's sea voyage "provided even for minor details"? Clawson himself (p. 21) speaks of his "gross carelessness" in stanza 25.

Here and there one feels that Dr. Clawson is providing too many hypothetical ballads for the foundation of the *Gest*. For instance, the assumption of a separate ballad as the basis of fit I may be open to some question, in view of "the conscious parallelism and the contrast, extending to the smallest details, which is deliberately drawn between the reception and conduct of the knight and of the monk" (p. 13). Fricke's hypothesis has more to recommend it than the analogue from the *Eustache* story can wholly dispose of.<sup>1</sup> The reception of the sheriff and that of the king offered another opportunity for striking parallelism and contrast; but in this respect the handling of this pair of episodes cannot compare with the deliberate artistry in the case of the Monk (Monks) and the knight episodes. On the other hand, we should emphasize here again the closer bond in the latter case, and we should remember that the folk might have done much of the compiler's work for him. No characteristic of ballad poetry is more striking than that of phrasing similar situations in similar language.

In the face of the misgivings suggested in the last paragraph, it should be clearly recognized that the *a priori* reasoning is all in favor of Dr. Clawson's hypothetical ballads. "The compiler" had before him ballads in plenty and to spare. No one should suppose that the ballad muse was not more ingenious even than Dr. Clawson in multiplying the songs that celebrated Robin Hood and his wight young men in the greenwood. Every possible change on a given situation was undoubtedly rung, every hint from related outlaw balladry eagerly seized upon, until there were countless poems that celebrated the popular hero's courage, generosity and loyalty. Those who assume that the absence of a ballad from any printed collection is any considerable argument that it never existed, simply for-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Leo Jordan, *Quellen und Komposition von Eustache le Moine*, *Herrig's Archiv*, N. S. 13, p. 92: Wir sind deshalb der Ansicht, dass die Spaltung dieses Grossmotivs in der *Geste* unabhängig von der im *Eustache* ist und sich in beiden neu vollzogen hat, während nur eine Ballade oder Novelle ursprünglich als Urtypus bestand.

get the risks and the waste of oral transmission. Before concluding, too, that the compiler invented freely, one should bear in mind those words of Professor Marsh concerning the singer of epic songs: "It [the song] belonged to his audience not to him; and his audience required of him that he should be in the highest sense true to it." (Universal Encyclopedia; article, Epic).

One cannot leave Dr. Clawson's monograph without a word of praise for its structure and the lucidity and directness of its style. The points which he makes are with few exceptions made clearly and carefully articulated to the body of the work. Special praise is due the helpful table which he prints near the close of the study.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY, A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY. By Anna Robeson Burr, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. viii—451, \$2.00 net.

This book would be worth while if only for its classified information. For reference and for suggestion its use is immediately evident. *Prima facie*, indeed, it may seem fairly easy to give account of a field so limited; but one of the first services of this discussion is to expand one's notions of the limits, to give far wider ideas of scope and significance. For here is something much larger than a *catalogue raisonné*; it is a scientific survey. The author's sense of historical method and her ability to interpret in terms of present psychology give weight alike to her conclusions and to her no less important forecasts of future research. Part I lays down an approach, a working classification, and a scientific measure of the evidence, defines "the three great archetypes", and suggests the main lines of influence. Part II reconsiders the material by approaching it from several aspects, slightly related among themselves, but all suggestive: nationality and profession, memory, religion, and others less important. Some few of these latter chapters, as that on humor and that on self-esteem, lapse toward mere interesting anecdote; but though the chapters of Part II do not develop a series of propositions, though they are in some cases separable essays and various in value, yet one keeps throughout a sense of the large significances sketched broadly in Part I, and this sort of centripetal return from several angles makes the whole systematic without the hardness of more strictly logical coherence.

At the outset "the autobiographic intention" is vindicated as assuring testimony of high scientific value, higher far, in spite of common preconception to the contrary, than attaches to the testimony of diaries and letters. "The constructive touch is needed here, as in other literary work, to carry conviction" (page 58). "The main difference between diary and autobiography lies in an increased sense of proportion in the latter, whose first object is to clear away everything which may come between you and the subject" (page 59). Fixing as the three types Cæsar, Augustin, and Cardan, the author assigns the highest value in each to the autobiography of conscious self-study. The working out of this thesis at large in the chapter on Jerome Cardan's *De Vita Propria Liber* is a destructive analysis of Lombroso and Lelut and a constructive reinterpretation at once convincing as to the particular case and far-reaching in psychological import.

The chapters on "influence and imitation" and on "the autobiographical group" lead less convincingly to the conclusions that "the conditions under which the subjective tendency rises or falls are similar conditions", and that "the subjective autobiography groups itself about the great intellectual movements and changes of the world, and lessens or disappears in times of material change" (page 185). The value of autobiography to the novelist is urged on a principle none the less sound because it is often denied: "The novelist in his proper person finds himself face to face with the fact that emotion cannot with most of us be at once deep and wide, that one is apt to pay for extensive experience by loss of intensive experience, and that, therefore, he must come the most to rely upon his observation and imagination. Armed with these tools, he freely turns to use the written records of the experiences of others. Gauged by the autobiographical intention, they are placed in a proper perspective for the reader; so their full suggestiveness is retained while their trustworthiness is increased" (page 169). The extracts will show that the discussion is brought to bear on various points of wide significance, and that, even where it falls short, or stops short, of conclusiveness, it is still suggestive.

The chapter entitled religion, of course, will arouse most question. The essential significance of Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, for instance, seems to have been missed. At least the inferences are far smaller and less suggestive than those of Royce's *Case of John Bunyan*. In other cases too much, perhaps, is made of influences merely physical. But since there is neither the narrowness nor the dogmatizing of preconception, any reader may find valuable materials for correcting and extending his own inferences. In analyzing the methods of approaching

the phenomena of religious experience, that of James and Starbuck on the one hand, that of Ribot and Grasset on the other, the author insists on the importance of distinguishing far more than has yet been done the quality of the witness. "Religious conversion is an outcome of emotion, just as poetry is an outcome of emotion; and such emotion may be cheap and transient, or vital and distinguished" (page 233). Herein, she urges, lies the importance of the autobiography. As to genius she takes issue squarely with Lombroso and the other promulgators of the cheap theory of neuropathy, negatively by rebutting their evidence, and positively by bringing out what autobiography assures us of the relation of genius to character.

Too great pains, perhaps, have sometimes been spent in luring the reader over harder stretches of thought by conversational devices of style. Surely no coaxing is necessary where there is so much vitality of interpretation. Without obtruding her own views of life, the author sometimes fixes that interpretation in memorable summary: "The picture (of Mary Robinson) . . . . . works on us as if she had existed in the pages of Samuel Richardson rather than in life. The poignant reality of great fiction is seldom attained by the half-existence of most human beings" (page 330). "That element of moral education which is used by most parents and guardians in a manner wholly empirical, awaiting the child's maturity until its provisions be really understood, has now and again in the world's history reached, not careless ears and groping, ill-developed instincts, but a fully grown and highly sensitive perception, mature, active, constructive, already a giant" (page 366). "But Goethe, whose ability for science and love of it was marked, let slip the opportunity to make use of it when he came to writing about himself, and so lost to psychology forever the chance of gaining any classified and thorough information as to the mental processes of that man who has served to show, above any other modern, what man may become" (page 69). "(Franklin's) powers were both dignified and expanded by success. His autobiography traces for us the growth of personal thrift into communal economy; of petty ingenuity into great invention; of individual industry into a spirit fit to animate a people; and of intellectual understanding of others, from the tact which enabled him to keep on terms with a drunken partner, into that firm sagacity to which we owe so stable a part of our national existence" (page 211). A writer capable of these sentences needs no fashions of style to hold her readers.

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WALT WHITMAN. By Bliss Perry. Second edition revised. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

WALT WHITMAN. By George Rice Carpenter. New York: The Macmillan Co.

At Walt Whitman's death, says Professor Perry, some of his friends "thought, perhaps remembering the poet's own serene conviction of immortality, that he really was not dead at all, and that in some new guise he would come again." Mr. H. B. Binns' *Life of Walt Whitman*, originally issued in the year previous to Professor Perry's first edition, closes on precisely that note. "It is incredible", says Mr. Binns, "that any being who has consciously entered upon the life of love which approves itself to the soul as God's own life, can be fundamentally affected by death." In a certain sense these idolizing friends were right; as a force in literature and life Whitman is the only American poet vigorously alive today. He does come again in new guises; he reveals himself under unexpected aspects to old friends; he steadily seeks out fresh acquaintances. It must therefore be many years before the critic can perceive the final direction and character of his influence, or define his place in literary history. The witnesses who have spoken hitherto are, taken altogether, incomparably contradictory; and yet—it is the best evidence of the poet's *stirring* power—they are all intensely in earnest. In the already vast mass of writing about Whitman in several languages, one is constantly bewildered by the plangent personal note; one must either give ear to the fervent panegyric of an apostle who makes his master equal with Plato and Christ or to the no less fervent denunciation of an enemy who thinks he is attacking an arrogant barbarian or a dangerous degenerate. Thus—to speak only of the apostles—John Addington Symonds found in Whitman a kind of personal savior; John Burroughs, so late as 1896, had to confess that he wrote with a certain "one-sided enthusiasm"; and Mr. Binns in his biography of 1905 could not suppress the glow of uncritical adoration.

The peculiar merit of Professor Perry's book is that it approximates that criticism of the centre, of which we have all heard so much and seen so little. It is refreshingly free from the sacred unction and religious solemnity assumed by the disciples. It does not proselyte nor denounce nor attempt to say the last word on the subject. It aims to set forth what to an open-minded critic, centrally located in the republic of letters, regardful of the past as well as the future of literature, Whitman means today. Since we insist on knowing the lives as well as the works of the poets, Professor Perry thinks we may as well have the unadulterated facts. In spite of his researches, the history of Whitman's mental development prior to the pub-

lication of the *Leaves of Grass* remains exceedingly fragmentary. After everything ascertainable has been told of his external career, the appearance of these poems continues to be an almost unheralded apocalyptic event. Perhaps it is too late ever to recover that missing chapter. Professor Perry has done much, however, to recover the visible and material man from the colored mists that were fast gathering around him. The saint's legend of the Good Gray Poet, fathered by O'Connor, he has completely dissipated. It will be of distinct value to the final court of posterity to know that the Great Companion as his followers call him, was tempted in all points and *not* without sin. The evidence of an egotism occasionally quite unpoetic, the unpaid debts, the six illegitimate children should furnish a wholesome corrective to the silly personal sanctification of Whitman. These imperfections in the character of the bard are recorded unsparingly and, indeed, with a certain humorous gusto, yet quite without angry animus or moralization. It was to be expected that protests would be made against certain passages in the book; but the letters of remonstrance printed in the appendix of this edition did not lead Professor Perry to make much alteration in his text, nor do they substantially affect our conviction that he has given us a generally veracious portrait of his subject.

Toward Whitman's poetry and gospel Professor Perry's attitude is friendly but not devout—that is to say, it is discriminating and above all sensible. One may even feel that for the subtlest interpretation of a mystical writer it is perhaps a shade too sensible; for it cannot be denied that there were genuine values and visions in Whitman's experience which are quite beyond the reach of the most sovereign common sense. Into the fascinating problem of the "inward illumination" Professor Perry does not penetrate farther than to suggest a possible relationship between the passionate indulgences of the poet's early manhood and his "divine phrensy". From his comment on most points it is obvious that he thinks Whitman will survive by the vote of men of sense and not by the consent of mystics. For example, he is not in the least shocked by the seer's breaches of conventional decorum; but he considers them unwise because rather ridiculous. He feels the uplift of Whitman's exultant faith in democracy; but he finds the "divine average" an empty piece of rhetoric, and the golden nimbus about the head of the average man scarcely discernible. He is sure that portions of the poetry have the manner and matter of great verse; but, on the other hand, he declares that there are large masses of crude ore wholly unfused in the fire of genius; and when he puts an ode of Keats's beside the *Leaves of Grass*, he is troubled with profound questions about the new theory of

art. At the same time he discards with emphasis the old notion that Whitman was a slovenly artist. With his contributions to the biographical record, these two points are perhaps the most valuable part of Professor Perry's work; his discussion of the origins and analogues of Whitman's peculiar style, and his indication of the sources and relationship of his ideas. More adequately than any other biographer he has pointed out Whitman's indebtedness to his contemporaries and predecessors and his position in the general intellectual movement of the century.

In one respect Professor Carpenter's biography is distinctly retrogressive; it harks back to the really exploded notion that Whitman owed little to literary culture—that he left his carpenter's bench and sang democracy much as Caedom left his sheep and sang creation. Says Professor Carpenter: "He was little influenced by books. When his mind was simmering, as he once said, Emerson helped to bring it to a boil; but he was never a man of books." A scholarly poet in the sense in which Milton and Gray were scholarly poets of course Whitman was not; but that his mind was steeped in literature it now seems idle to deny. He not only acknowledged that Emerson brought his mind to a boil; he definitely and publicly saluted him as master and as the intellectual pioneer and prophet of America. He not only gave his American poems French titles and a curious sprinkling of French words; he actually contemplated a poem on Rousseau, as Professor Perry tells us, and both his thought and emotions were deeply tinctured by early and intimate acquaintance with Jean Jacques. Almost equally conclusive is the evidence of a large Oriental influence in his writings. No one, perhaps, has laid sufficient stress on the fact that Whitman was first and last and always something of a journalist by profession and thoroughly a journalist by temperament. This means that he was frequently satisfied with second and third hand sources of information; but it also means that every pore was open to influences streaming in from the daily press and periodical publications, and that in the course of his life he came in contact with an enormous mass of such literature. Professor Perry quotes in a footnote Emerson's smiling remark that *Leaves of Grass* was a combination of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *New York Herald*. This jest might well be elevated into the text; for it seems to hit the nail on the head.

Professor Carpenter's book will not supersede Professor Perry's as a complete biography of the man; but some readers may find it a rather more suggestive and sympathetic study of the poet. It takes a much less debonair attitude toward Whitman's violations of drawing-room etiquette; it attempts to set in a favorable light certain incidents which provoke Professor Perry's mirth or condemnation; and it is considerably shorter



by the omission or condensation of the letters and comments of contemporaries. Partly as a result of this abridgment, the different stages of Whitman's intellectual and poetical development are made decidedly more distinct. And the steady rising of the poet to higher levels, less feverish airs, and broader fields of vision is a fact too much neglected both by his ardent admirers and by those who pass him by on the other side. Furthermore, Professor Carpenter finds the mystical element in Whitman's experience eminently worthy of attention. He is unwilling to ignore it even if he cannot wholly understand it,—that is to say, he is not quite so certain as Professor Perry that men of common sense can grasp all we know on earth or all we need to know. Speaking of Whitman's "multitudinous inventories and catalogues" he says, "It begins to grow clearer that this element is of the very essence of his art; that it was perhaps actually the origin of his art. It was, I surmise, through the psychological process of which the inventory is the sign that he reached the peculiar state of consciousness by virtue of which he is a poet; and the inventory is the test of the reader's ability to follow him in this process". This suggestion is not so witty as Professor Perry's comparison of the poetical inventory to the coupling of Pullman cars, but it is more illuminating. In the main Professor Carpenter is the more subtly interpretive, Professor Perry the more vigorously critical of the two biographers. Both agree that Whitman was a great poet, yet both write soberly and may be read without bewilderment.

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## THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ADJECTIVE DECLENSION IN GERMANIC.

This ambitious attempt to explain in detail a difficult and dark problem which at different times has aroused the attention of prominent linguists without uniform and clear results was at least in its incipient stage much more modest in scope. It originated in an attempt to review Reinhard Wagner's "Die Syntax des Superlativs", Palaestra XCI, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1910. Mr. Wagner's effort to throw light upon the origin of the weak declension from a minute study of the superlative alone seemed to the writer an insufficient basis for this difficult study. In reading Mr. Wagner's treatise memories of the vain struggles of earlier years to solve this problem became vivid and under the warm glow of these youthful memories so redolent of youthful hope and eagerness to peer into the unknown the writer once more began work on this problem. The entire literature in Gothic, the older documents in Old High German and Old Saxon, and the texts of Beowulf and the Elder Edda were carefully read. After months of work a large amount of materials from these different Germanic documents had been arranged into grammatical categories and chronological tables, but these materials so laboriously gathered together did not manifest any tendency to become luminous. As a consolation for grammatical discomfiture bright light occasionally fell upon Beowulf and the ideals of older English manhood. Interest grew in the virile language of the fine old epic until a strong desire arose to study every shade of meaning and feeling, so that the poem soon became a new and rich experience rather than a study. The queer strong and weak forms of the adjective acquired a new interest, for they must mean something. They soon became luminous. A more affectionate study of the Gothic Testament also brought good results. Wulfila is often represented as a slavish imitator of the Greek. A study of Wulfila's weak and strong forms in the light of the study of Beowulf shows a remarkably discriminate use of these

forms. This usage is so consistent that it constantly attracted attention. It is more the consistency of true unerring feeling rather than the mechanical following of a rule, for the use of the forms often reveal fine and delicate shades of meaning. The Gothic translator could not have been materially influenced at this point by the Greek as the Greek does not have a double inflection of the adjective. Even admitting the charge that Wulfila under the influence of the Greek has used the definite article too much and hence has favored somewhat the weak declension one must still admire the fine discrimination between strong and weak forms, and to the writer it is convincing proof that one who can discriminate so nicely in the adjective is not elsewhere a slavish translator. The Gothic was a very flexible language much as modern German and was capable of close adaptation to foreign idiom without the loss of its own individuality. A close comparison with the language of the Elder Edda also made it clear that Wulfila's use of the strong and weak adjective is idiomatic Germanic. In one particular, i. e. Wulfila's treatment of the present participle as a weak adjective, functionally weak not as an adjective with a double inflection strong and weak, Gothic differs from West Germanic and coincides with Old Norse as also in a number of other particulars which indicate that the Scandinavian group of languages and Gothic were closely related and formed the eastern branch of the Germanic family. In the following pages it will often appear that the Gothic not only throws light upon East Germanic but as the oldest recorded form of Germanic speech illuminates the whole question of adjective inflection in Germanic.

Originally the inflection of adjectives corresponded closely to that of nouns. A few fossil remnants of the old endingless nominative and accusative neuter singular form of the strong adjective which corresponds exactly to that of the strong neuter noun still survive as in "*auf gut Glück*", "*bar Geld*", etc. Gradually the declension of the adjective became conformed to that of such pronominals as "*der*", "*jener*", etc. Originally there were a number of adjective declensions corresponding to

the different declensions of nouns. In Gothic a number of these declensions still survive in fragmentary form. Later these *old* types all became conformed to the leading type, namely the strong declension as we call it today.

In prehistoric Germanic a *new* type of adjective inflection arose which we today call the weak declension. It was originally employed to convert an adjective into a substantive. Thus Gothic "blinds" *blind*, gen. "blindis", etc. becomes "blinda" *blind man*, gen. blindins, etc. This use of the weak or n-declension to substantivize adjectives is, however, not Germanic but Indo-European. In the same manner Greek *στραβός* *squint-eyed* becomes *στραβὼν* *squint-eyed person*, and Latin "Catus" *sly* becomes "Cato" literally *sly fellow*, gen. "Catonis", etc. That which is essentially Germanic here is that the Germanic adjective-substantive has again become an attributive adjective so that each adjective has a double form, strong and weak with differentiated meaning. The process of development can be clearly seen in the oldest Germanic languages. In "þær se goda sæt, / Beowulf" (Beowulf 1190-1) "There *the good one* sat, Beowulf" the words "se goda" are an adjective-substantive with the definite article before it. In "*se modga mæg Higelaces*" (ib. 758) "the brave kinsman of Hygelac" the word "modga" is probably felt as an attributive adjective, but its original force as an adjective-substantive is apparent: "*the brave fellow*, kinsman of Hygelac". The word order in these Old English examples is the common one today, but the older one with the adjective-substantive after the real substantive is still very common in Gothic as in "hairdeis sa goda" "shepherd *the good one*." A still older form not so common in Gothic is to drop the article before the adjective as in "sunus gudis libandins" (John VI. 69) "the son of *the living God*." This oldest form is more common in "Beowulf": "beah-sele beorhta" (1177) "the bright treasure-hall", "hrefn blaca" (1801) "the black raven", etc. The absence of the article before the substantive and adjective is characteristic of the oldest period. The first step towards the use of the article was to place it before the adject-

tive-substantive. In Gothic the article rarely stands before the real substantive as in "þamma daga ubilin" (Eph. VI. 13) "in the evil day". Later this was quite common: "der sun guato" (Otfrid I. 19.18) "the good son". The fact that the definite article was placed before the adjective-substantive before it came to stand before the real substantive throws important light upon the *meaning* of the weak declension and will be explained further on in the discussion.

It must have been possible in prehistoric Germanic to use the strong adjective substantively. Thus "blindaz" meant either *blind* or *blind man*. The strong form must have been thus used, for the corresponding form was so employed in the other Indo-European languages. When in Germanic the use of the weak or n-declension had spread beyond its originally narrow boundaries and had become a favorite construction there were two well known types for the substantivization of adjectives. Later the weak substantive was also used as an attributive adjective. The strong substantive had grown up out of the strong attributive adjective so that there were now four forms, two for the attributive, two for the substantive relation. That these forms became differentiated was a natural result. Even in the oldest historic documents the differentiation had become clearly established. These oldest historic shades of meaning will now be discussed in detail.

In oldest Germanic the strong adjective in substantive use had limited but well marked boundaries. It had given up a part of the field to the new weak adjective-substantive, but retained for itself the office of *indefinite reference* where today the indefinite article, the word "something", a relative clause, or some other expression is employed: "Ibai mag *blinds blindana* tiuhan?" (Luke VI. 39) "Can a *blind man* lead a *blind man*"? "Jah sa andnimands *garaihtana* in namin *garaihtis mizdon garaihtis nimip*" (Matth. X. 41) "and he that receives a *righteous man* in the name of a *righteous man* shall receive a *righteous man's* reward." "Ni ainummehun *ubil und ubilamma usgibandans*" (Rom. XII. 17) "recompensing to no man *evil*



for evil." "Unte þata hauho in mannam andaset in andwairþja gudi" (Luke XVI. 15) "For that which is highly esteemed among men is something abominable in the sight of God." "Fiandans ubila, haftjandans godamma" (Rom. XII. 9) "Hating evil things, cleaving to that which is good." "Blindai ussaihwand, jah haltai gaggand. . . . jah baudai gahausjand, jah dauþai urreisjand" (Matth. XI. 5) "A number who were blind now see, a number who were lame now walk", etc. "Duhwe jus mitop ubila in hairtam izwaraim?" (Matth. IX. 4) "Why do you think evil things in your hearts?" Of course the same indefinite meaning attaches to the strong forms in attributive use.

In looking over the examples in the preceding paragraph it will be noticed that there is in Gothic a great richness of adjective form which makes it possible to express the ideas of indefinite reference very clearly. Later in all the Germanic languages the nominative and accusative neuter plural lost its distinctive ending, and the use of this form in the substantive use had to be abandoned which naturally led in the different languages to new forms of expression. The lack of a distinctive form for the different cases cannot, however, sufficiently account for the abandonment of the simple strong forms here, for in the later portion of Old Norse, Old Saxon, Old German where the strong form still has distinctive endings in the singular the indefinite article began to appear before the simple noun or before adjective and noun: "Thar drogun enna seocan man / erlos an iro armun" (Heliand 2296-7) "Men bore there a sick man in their arms." The old indefinite strong form is preserved but the idea of indefiniteness contained in it is strengthened by the use of the indefinite article. There was thus a strong and general tendency to mark the idea of indefiniteness by a particular word. This was the natural outgrowth of the feeling that there ought to be a distinct formal expression for the idea of indefiniteness corresponding closely to the definite article, the distinct formal expression of definiteness which had already become established in the language. As this new form

had only a singular the old simple strong forms continued to be used in the plural with reference to persons and in modern German still survive there. The later loss of the plural form in English for the adjective led to new forms of expression here. Older usage with simple strong forms in the singular without the indefinite article still survives in modern German and in part in other languages where the reference is to a material of abstract idea: "Gutes und Schlechtes", "gutes Eisen"; "himmlische Geduld", etc. The indefinite article may, however, often be used here but with differentiated meaning: "ein gutes Eisen" *a good horse-shoe*, "eine himmlische Geduld wie das," etc. The form with the indefinite article is more definite. The modern languages have lost a good deal of their former wealth of form, but they have nevertheless gained in accuracy of expression. They have, however, often lost in poetic beauty and vividness of thought and feeling as will be illustrated further on in this discussion.

Altho modern German has made some changes, as above described, the spirit of indefiniteness which formerly characterized the strong form has in general been well preserved. There has, however, throughout the periods been some fluctuation. In Gothic there had already developed a *slight* tendency to use the weak form for adjective-substantives even where the reference is indefinite: "Jah berun du imma *blindan*" (Mark VIII. 35) "And they brought *a blind man* to him." "*Blinda* sums sat faur wig" (Luke XVIII. 35) "*A certain blind man* sat by the way." The weak declension, the grammatical expression for definiteness, in thus being used for indefinite reference is trespassing upon the territory of the strong declension. In Old High German the strong form was not less firm than in Gothic, but the improper tendency towards the weak declension became stronger in Middle High German: "Si wart als ein *tote* var" (Trist. 11696) "She became pale as *a dead person*." "Ez lagen uf der Straze *siechen* (=Kranke) ane maze" (Greg. 3773-4). In Early New High German the weak declension made here *considerable* inroads upon the terri-

tory of the strong: "Wir seien Jüden oder Griechen, Knechte oder *Freien*" (Luther, 1 Cor. XII. 13; modern version "Freie"). Compare with the Gothic strong form here: "jǫþþe skalkos jǫþþe *frijai*. This weak form that is contrary to the very spirit of the language even occurs in the great authors of the classical period: "ein tugendhafter *Arme* (Lessing), ein flinker und wohlunterrichteter *Bediente* (Goethe), die Flut zudringlicher *Bekannten* (Schiller). Kam der Herzog—und mit ihm zwei *Gesandten* (Goethe). These forms are most frequently used with reference to males. It may be that this tendency here towards the weak declension may be closely connected with the modern conception of the weak declension of masculine nouns which now contains only words that represent living beings. Towards the end of the 15th century the weak nouns representing things began to drift over into the strong declension. Also a number of strong nouns representing persons went over into the weak declension as this declension began to be associated with the idea of life. These new weak adjective-substantives may be associated with the general movement of nouns representing living beings towards the weak declension. Moreover, it should be remembered that there was even in the oldest historic period a slight tendency to treat adjective-substantives as weak nouns without regard to their meaning and that this tendency had been growing stronger from the beginning of the M.H.G. period. This frequent improper use of the weak form in case of masculine adjective-substantives may have created the impression that the weak declension was the proper inflection for adjective-substantives in general and possibly led to the formation of weak neuter adjective-substantives: "ein angenehmes *Äussere*", "sein ganzes *Innere*", etc. The well known German grammarian Wilmanns gives quite another explanation of these weak forms in vol. III, p. 753 of his "Deutsche Grammatik". He thinks the weak form has been brought about in both masculine and neuter forms by the influence of the preceding strong forms. This explanation is quite inadequate as we have weak masculine forms when no strong form

precedes: "Wie sollten—/sich *Blutsverwandten* so entzweien?" (Hagedorn). "Da drang ein Dutzend *Anverwandten* / herein" (Goethe). There are many such examples in earlier literature. Also the explanation applied to the neuter form is inadequate. We could not say: "sein ganzes *innere* Leben." Evidently, as explained above, the weak form is felt as a substantivization. Whatever may be the explanation of the origin of these improper weak forms their use has greatly declined in recent literature. The weak neuter forms are more common than the masculine formations, but according to the writer's own collection of examples the strong form is also here more common.

In Gothic the weak declension of the adjective is employed to point out a definite individual or definite individuals: "Jah urrann *sa daupa*" (John XI. 44) "And *he* (Lazarus) *that was dead* came forth." The idea of definiteness found in the weak declension is contained in the weak form itself, hence originally not in the definite article, for the definite article is not required: "Jah wairpiþ sunjus *hauhistins*" (Luke VI. 35) "And ye shall be the children of *the Highest*." "Nih andwairþo, nih *anawairþo*" (Rom. VIII. 38) "Neither *that which is present* nor *that which is to come*." The definite article, however, gradually became necessary, but it should not be forgotten that it was once not necessary and was not confined to the weak declension, for it could also be used with the strong adjective-substantive as will be explained below.

The weak declension as seen in the Gothic Testament is not a construction entirely fixed as a result of a long growth, but is evidently an intermediate stage of a development. Scholars sometimes speak of an older prehistoric period when the weak declension had a wider field of usefulness. It seems, however, more probable judging by the facts presented in the oldest records of Germanic speech that the Germanic peoples scattered before the use of the weak declension had become fully developed. It was only natural that the further development in the different languages should show individual features. In Gothic we find the weak declension firmly entrenched but still



struggling with the strong declension for the full possession of its own proper field. The strong forms had once not only been used to express the idea of indefinite reference, but had also been employed to point out a definite individual. Strong forms are still often used in Gothic with reference to a definite individual when it is desired to call attention to the idea of the quality contained in the individual rather than to direct the attention to the conception of a definite individual or a definite group of individuals. These old adjective-substantives were still adjectives in form and were intimately associated with the idea of the quality contained in the adjectives. The old adjective form was still retained for the adjective-substantive as long as the idea contained in the adjective was prominent, but the new weak form was assumed when the idea of a definite individual or a group became pronounced. In a large number of cases in the oldest historic Germanic there did not seem to be any pronounced desire to emphasize the conception of individuality. This oldest usage is not quite so common in the Gothic Testament as in *Beowulf*. The Testament is a simple plain book originally directed to simple plain people, and hence does not abound in glowing adjectives. The language of *Beowulf*, on the contrary, is rich in adjectives and nouns. Both noun and adjective often appear without an article even where the reference is to definite individuals. In this epic a poetic genius following a poet's natural fondness for quaintness of form has preserved to us the spirit of a still older time when men spoke weighty meaningful words so full of bright fancy and deep feeling that they found the way to heart and brain without the help of mere formal words such as articles and conjunctions. On the other hand, in both the Gothic Testament and "*Beowulf*" the definite article is regularly lacking in a number of grammatical categories where it is required today in the subtilty of modern usage as a sign of definiteness, as for instance a noun that is made definite by a following relative clause must be preceded by the definite article. Here the Gothic and the language of "*Beowulf*" are very close together. Both this

point and the preceding one are important and will be fully discussed in the following pages.

There must have been a time in prehistoric Germanic when the definite article was unknown and hence could not be used to point out definite individuals. This older usage is still plainly visible in "Beowulf": "Duguð eal aras; / wolde *blondenfeax* beddes neosan, / gamela Scylding (1790-2) "The doughty ones arose, for *the gray-haired one* would go to rest, aged Scylding." Here the reference is clearly to a definite individual, but the definite article is not employed and the strong form *blondenfeax* is used. The definite article is required here today as suggested by the English translation. In "*Blondenfeaxe* / gomele ymb *godne* ongeador spraecon" (1594-5) "*The gray-haired old men* spoke together about *the brave man*" it is evident that the strong form *godne* refers to Beowulf himself, hence to a definite individual. It seems to the writer that *blondenfeaxe* refers to the *definite* group mentioned in the lines immediately preceding our passage. Professor Gummere, however, construes the reference as indefinite as shown by his translation: "Old men together, hoary-headed, of the hero spake." In lines 3148-9 we have a clear case of the use of the strong form with reference to a definite closed group: "Higum *unrote* / modceare mændon" "*The sad-hearted ones* moaned their misery." The poet in the use of the strong form has in mind the sadness that prevailed rather than the conception of a closed group. Today we use the definite article here, but if the group is definite but not closed the older articleless form or the new form with the article is used. Thus we can say: "*Sick people* need care", or "*The sick* need care." It seems to the writer, however, that in both modern English and German the older form is in part at least a fossil here and cannot be freely used. Thus we cannot say: "He has arisen from *dead people*" as Wulfila did in "Urrais us *daupaim*" (Matth. XXVII. 64). We say: "He has arisen from *the dead*." Wulfila is very fond of the strong form here, but he also uses the weak form as in "Jah jabai auk *daupans* ni urreisand, nih Xristus urrais" (1

Cor. XV., 16) "For if *the dead* rise not, then Christ has not arisen." Here as elsewhere Wulfila is acquainted with the idea of the new weak form, but older usage is at this point an especial favorite with him as the idea of the quality contained in the adjective is more vivid in his feelings than the conception of a definite group. In modern feeling the idea of a definite group or class is very firmly fixed. This emphasis upon the group has been strengthened by the partitive idea that is now very commonly associated with the dropping of the article before a substantive: "Man findet *Arme* und *Hungernäe* auch in unserer reichen Stadt." This partitive idea could not have become associated with the lack of the article in the oldest period, as the article could also be dropped in case of a definite complete group. In fact, however, this indefinite partitive form of expression has come down to us from the oldest period, but today this lies in the articleless form, while originally it lay in the strong form.

From the preceding paragraph it must appear that the strong adjective-substantive as a survival of older usage was still in the oldest historic period used with reference to a definite individual or a definite group provided the idea of quality contained in the adjective was more pronounced than the conception of a definite individual. The next step in the development here is that the definite article should appear before the strong adjective form: "þa was æt ðam geongan grim ondsvaru / œðbegete, þam ðe ær his elne foreleas" ("Beowulf" 2860-1) "Grim was the answer of *the young man* and easy to get for him who had lost his courage." The *young man* here stands in contrast to the *old man* mentioned in l. 2851. The poet desired to point out the young man and at the same time felt the impulse to retain the strong form and thus call attention to the *quality* in the adjective form. "Jabai ubilaba rodida weitwodei bi þata ubil" (John XVIII. 23) "If I have spoken evil point out what is *evil*." The strong form here nicely stresses the abstract idea of the quality. This distinction in the use of the neuter strong form has in part been preserved in

modern German: "das Grün der Wiesen" *the green of the meadows*, but "im Grünen" *on the green lawn, in the green fields*. The strong form after the definite article is the more common form in Gothic in case of the masculine nominative singular of present participles: "Jah sa mik *andnimands* and-nimiþ þana sandjandan mik" (Matth. X. 40) "And *he that receives* me receives *him that sent* me." The nominative of the participle is here strong, while the accusative is weak. The plural is always weak as are also the feminine and neuter throughout. The explanation of this difference of inflection has greatly puzzled scholars. The strong form in the masculine nominative is undoubtedly a survival of older usage. It seems to the writer that the retention of the strong form in the nominative is largely due to the fact that the verbal force in this particular case is stronger than the conception of individuality. The nominative case here has the force of verbal predication. Elsewhere the conception of individuality has gained the ascendancy and individualizing weak inflection has become established altho the strong forms must have been used here in prehistoric Germanic. The inflection of the present participle is discussed more at length below. Altho in a number of cases in oldest Germanic the strong form was thus employed after the definite article for the sake of emphasizing the quality or the verbal activity the definite article was in general the determining factor, that is, the idea of individuality was more prominent than the feeling for the quality contained in the adjective. The old feeling for the strong form with its emphasis upon the quality, however, long remained alive and often manifested itself in even the best writers: "Thie *guate* es sar beginnent joh iz fram-bringent,/joh sint fro thrato rehtero dato" (Otfrid V. 25. 83-4) "Those who are *good* begin it (i. e. what is good) and carry it out and rejoice very much in good deeds." Still later in M.H.G. the strong form here still lingers on. Some scholars see in these late strong forms degeneration from the older weak inflection. This seems to the writer an absolute impossibility. These strong forms are in no way connected with a later de-



velopment of the strong declension, but can be traced back to the oldest historic period where they were used and where they had a real meaning. They later entirely disappear, for the inflection becomes more and more subject to mere formal principles. In the present period even old strong pronominals have come under the influence of the preceding article or other strong limiting adjective and are now inflected weak: *die Meinen, die Anderen*, etc. The grammarians have prescribed certain limits here, but the weak form in actual usage has passed beyond these prescribed boundaries: "*allem diesen Jammer fern*" (Marriot's "*Der geistliche Tod*", p. 266, 5th ed.), "*in allem diesen Trubel*" (Bismarck to his wife, Nov. 17, 1848), "*von allem diesen abgesehen*" (Adolf Bartels in "*Deutsche Monatschrift*", Dec., 1905, p. 409), "*bei dem allen*" (widely used by prominent authors), "*in diesem unseren Phantasiestübchen*" (Raabe's "*Die Akten des Vogelsangs*," p. 90), "*bei allem seinen grossen Ruhm*" (Ebner-Eschenbach's "*Glaubenslos*", chap. III), etc.

The strong adjective form *taihsua* is used in Gothic with the meaning *the right (hand)*. It occurs twice: "*Jah atgaggandeins in þata hlaiw gasehwun juggalaup sitandan in taihswai*" (Mark XVI. 5). "And entering into the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on *the right*." "*þarei Xristus ist in taihswai gudis sitands*" (Col. III. 1). "Where Christ is sitting on *the right hand* of God." This strong form is evidently the survival of an older period when the strong adjective could be employed substantively with reference to some definite thing. This adjective is also used as a weak substantive: "*Ip þuk taujandan armaion ni witi hleidumei þeina, hwa taujiþ taihswō þeina*" (Matth. VI. 3) "But when you do alms let not your left hand know what your *right hand* does". In comparing this passage with the two preceding the differentiation between strong and weak in inflection that has been described above again becomes apparent. The old strong form emphasized the abstract idea of position, the new weak form stresses the idea of individuality.

The idea of the *quality* contained in the adjective is more

stressed in oldest Germanic in the positive than in the comparative or superlative. In the comparative or superlative the attention is more directed to the fortunate or unfortunate individual who is made prominent by the possession of the quality in a marked degree. This is clearly seen in the following Gothic passage from Matth. V. 19, where by the use of the strong form *mikels* in the positive the attention is directed towards the idea of the quality and by the use of the weak superlative *minnista* the attention is called to the conception of individuality: "Iþ saei nu gatairiþ aina anabusne þizo minnistono, jah laisjai swa mans, *minnista* haitada in þiudangardjai himine; iþ saei taujiþ jah laisjai swa, sah *mikels* haitada in þiudangardjai himine" "Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these commandments and shall teach men so he shall be called *the least* in the kingdom of heaven, but whosoever shall do and teach them will be called *great* in the kingdom of heaven." Thus far our modern usage corresponds closely to this oldest usage with the exception that the Gothic may as in this example use the weak superlative without the article as the weak form alone has individualizing force. Older Germanic, however, has still a live feeling for the use of the still older strong form in the superlative: "Swe kaurno sinapis, þatei þan saiada ana airþa, *minnist* allaize fraiwe ist þize ana airþa" (Mark IV. 31) "It is like a grain of mustard seed which when sown in the earth is *the least* of all the seeds upon the earth." Wulfila has here resisted the new tendency to use the weak form as the idea of the quality in the superlative degree was more vividly felt than the conception of individuality. Likewise in: "Heorðgeneatas / cwædon, þæt he wære wyruldcyninga / manna *mildust*" (3179-81) "His hearth-companions said that of all the temporal kings of men he was *the mildest*." In each of these two passages the strong superlative stands in the predicate. The strong form seems natural here, for the predicate adjective usually contains the predication of a quality rather than a reference to an individual. The idea of individuality may, of course, sometimes be promi-

nent in a predicate superlative as in the passage from Matthew given above, but then the form must be weak.

The field of the strong superlative is limited in both Beowulf and the Gothic Testament. It is most infrequent when it is unmodified. It is commonly found in simple unmodified form only in the predicate: "þæt bið drihtguman/unlifgendum æfter selest" (Beowulf 1388-9) "That is for men after death *the best*." It rarely stands as a simple subject altho in prehistoric Germanic it must often have stood as subject. Only Old Norse has an example of this usage: "Fæst eigi því nita" (Atlamol 31.4) "May the *least thing* (i. e. *nothing*) prevents that". The Old Norse also gives us an example of the simple object: þær hofpu verst unnit" (Harbarðsljóð 37.2) "They had done their *worst*". On the other hand, modified by a genitive the strong adjective-substantive still not infrequently survives in oldest Germanic: "Here-Scyldinga / betst beadorinca wæs on bæl gearu" (1108-9) "The *best* of the Army-Scyldings, the battle thanes, was ready for his balefire." "þenden þær wunaþ / on heahstede husa selest" (ib. 284-5) "While stands in place high on its hill *the best* of houses." An example from the Gothic has been given in the preceding paragraph. All these adjective-substantives border close upon attributive adjectives. We also find the strong form where the substantive nature is more pronounced: "Forðan he manna maest mærdða gefremede" ("Beowulf" 2645) "For among all men he performed the greatest number (lit. *the most*) of glorious deeds."

The translations of the strong forms in the preceding paragraph clearly show that modern English must use the individualizing article with the superlative. Also in Old English the individualizing weak form of the superlative can be used in most of these cases, but the weak form conveys a little different shade of meaning: "Gecyste þa cyning æþelum god, / þeoden Scyldinga ðegna betstan" (1870-1) "Then kissed the king of kin renowned, Scyldings' chieftain, *the best* of thanes." The weak superlative is here used because the attention is called not to the quality in the adjective but to a well known character, the hero

of the epic, Beowulf himself. Altho the individualizing weak form is used in this example the individualizing article is lacking. The absence here of the article is not characteristic of the oldest language, for it is quite common in late O.H.G. It even lingers on in M.H.G.: "Daz dir manne *beste* lone" "That *the best* of men may reward you." In fact, however, the articleless weak form must be older than the form with the article. In Gothic and "Beowulf" both forms are found. The new form with the article is struggling with the old form for the mastery. In time the old form will disappear without leaving a trace of its existence behind it. Was there in the oldest historic period a differentiation of these two forms perceptible? If there had been a very sharp differentiation both forms would have survived. The growth of the form with the article evidently is closely connected with the question of emphasis. The impulse was often felt not only to point out some definite individual but also at the same time to call attention to the *quality* that made the individual prominent. From the examples found in Old English it seems clear that the definite article imparted this emphasis. The emphasis of the quality could in many cases be secured by the use of the strong superlative, but the weak superlative with the definite article is employed to emphasize the quality in some definite individual: "ðær hio . . . . hield heahlufan wið hæleþa brego, / alles moncynnes mine gefræge / þone selestan bi sæm tweonum, / eormencynnes" (1951-7) "Where she cherished a strong love for the prince of heroes, according to my source of information *the best* of mankind, of the whole human race." The weak form would alone point out the individual here, but the idea of the quality in the adjective-substantive is here strongly emphasized. The day was at hand even in the time of the author of "Beowulf" that the idea of emphasis had in some way to be connected with the weak form, for the weak form had in large part crowded out the strong form. The simple strong form unaccompanied by a genitive is in "Beowulf" confined to the predicate. Elsewhere the poet employs the new emphatic weak superlative with the definite article: "þa wæs frod cyning,



/ har hilderinc on hreon mode, syðþan he aldorþegn unlyfigendne, / þone deorestan deadne wisse" ("Beowulf" 1306-9) "Then the old king, the gray warrior, was of sad heart when he knew that his thane, the dearest of them all, was dead." As the strong form, the old emphatic form, is gradually in a large measure replaced by the new weak form, it will be replaced not by the simple weak form but by the emphatic weak form with the definite article. It seems quite clear that the definite article is used for emphasis. In modern colloquial English we likewise feel the need of a way to add emphasis to our usual individualizing superlative with the definite article. The article no longer as in Old English can impart emphasis, hence we stress the article to convey emphasis. Thus we usually say: "This is the *latest* in hats", but for especial emphasis: "This is *the* (pronounce *thee*) latest in hats".

Altho the weak superlative with and without the article is not infrequently found in "Beowulf" it is entirely wanting in the predicate relation. The strong form is here uniformly used. The strong form is more tenacious in the predicate as the quality in the adjective is there usually more stressed than the idea of individuality. At this point the language of "Beowulf" is older than that in the Gothic Testament. Even in the predicate, however, the idea of individuality often becomes prominent and the weak superlative becomes natural: "Unte sa minnista wisands in allaim izwis, sa wairþiþ mikils" (Luke IX. 48) "For he that is *the least* among you he shall become great". The reference is not to *least* in size but to the whole personality, the whole life of unselfish service. Another similar weak form has been given above taken from Matthew V. 19. These are the oldest examples of the use of the weak superlative in the predicate. It is found here in its oldest form, i.e. without the definite article. In O.H.G. it has already almost entirely displaced the old strong form found so often in "Beowulf" and the Gothic Testament except in a few fossil remnants in the form of strong adverbs, as in "zi erist" *zuerst*, "zi lezzist" *zuletzt*, etc. The conception of individuality has thus displaced the idea of em-

phasis in the predicate. The comparison of the two following passages, one from "Beowulf" and one from Otfrid, is very instructive: "Se wæs Hroþgar hǣlepa leofost" (1296) "He was for Hrothgar *the dearest* of the heroes." "Imo ilt er sar gisagen thaz, want er mo *liobosto* was" (Otfrid II. 7.25) "He hurries to tell it to him at once, for he was to him *the dearest* of men." The idea of personality seems to be prominent in both these sentences, but the author of "Beowulf" employs the strong form, while Otfrid uses the weak form. Otfrid's superlative has no dependent genitive, but that would not influence his language, for he uniformly uses the weak form also with a dependent genitive. If the dependent genitive were wanting in the form from "Beowulf" it would not influence the language, for the author does not use the weak form in the predicate. Thus both authors are governed by the grammatical function of the adjective i. e. by the use in the predicate rather than by the meaning of the word. The usage in "Beowulf" is older. Otfrid's usage will soon displace it and will in its turn soon be displaced by still another usage.

As stated above the weak articleless predicative superlative is found in Gothic. In *one* case, however, the definite article is found before the superlative: "Ik auk im *sa smalista* apaus-taule" (1 Cor. XV. 9) "For I am *the least* of the apostles." In the preceding verses Paul says that Christ had appeared to many people, to all the apostles, at last also to him. He adds that Christ appeared to him *last* because he was the *least* of the apostles. The context shows clearly that the superlative is here emphasized. We have already noticed above in connection with passages from "Beowulf" that the superlative may take the definite article to convey especial emphasis. This usage seems very natural here even tho the word stands in the predicate. In due time this usage of Wulfila became the universal usage of the different Germanic peoples. Mr. Wagner, however, on page 52 of his "Syntax des Superlativs" states rather positively that Wulfila's use of the definite article here was influenced by the example of the Greek. Wulfila has a hard time of getting credit

for anything good that he has done. If we follow the trend of modern scholarship we must acknowledge that great men never originated any thing. Every thing was borrowed from some hidden source and it behooves us to lay bare straightway this source. The difficulty in proving the Germanic character of the article here is that its first use in the predicate was due to emphasis. The ordinary form was without the article. The whole number of predicate superlatives in oldest Germanic is quite small. The unusual emphatic form with the article is of course still harder to find. We find a weak superlative with the article in "Isidor" XXIV. 5-9: "See *dher in sion ward chiboran, endi dher in dheru selbun burc war wordan allero odhmuodigosto, dher selbo ist dher hohisto* (manuscript form *hohista*) *dher sia chiworahta*" "Behold, he who was born in Zion and had become in this city *the most lowly* of all he is the *Most High* who founded it". The superlative *dher hohisto* here evidently conveys strong emphasis. The superlative *dher odhmuodigosto* has likewise strong accent, but the preceding individualizing genitive prevents the use of the definite article. This is also the common usage in late O.H.G., but the definite article is sometimes used for especial emphasis even after a genitive: *stelle saturni tiu dero planetarum diu oberosta ist* "to the planet Saturn which is of all planets *the highest*" (Notker, Piper's ed. vol. 1, p. 230, 11. 5-6) "*Taz ist alles kuotes taz forderosta*" (ib. I, p. 129) "That is *the highest* of all that is good". Notice here that the superlative with the definite article follows the genitive. Today the superlative with the definite article must precede the genitive. In reading the three large volumes of Notker the writer has found several more weak superlatives with the definite article after a genitive and a large number more where there was no accompanying genitive. He feels sure that if we had an equally extensive literature in early N.H.G. an equal number of similar forms would be discovered, for the usage at this point has not changed. The few cases of the superlative with the genitive in the early O.H.G. book Isidor show no case of the definite article, but very many pages of Notker must be read

before a single case of the article here can be found. The weak form without the article is the rule. If "Isidor" were a large book the definite article would probably occur at some place, for it is used in the predicate without the genitive and that it should also occur occasionally with the genitive for especial emphasis is quite probable. In the light of these facts and the later universal use of the definite article the writer feels that Wulfila's use of the definite article is good Germanic and a bright thought that later flashed through many brains. The definite article was first introduced into the predicate for especial emphasis, later by reason of too frequent use the emphasis was no longer felt, and finally this originally emphatic form entirely displaced the simple weak superlative and became the common predicate form.

In early O.H.G. the weak superlative had almost entirely displaced the strong. The conception of individuality had almost entirely replaced the idea of emphasis that had been felt in oldest Germanic. That the old simple strong form, however, should occasionally occur later is only natural, for older feeling is sometimes very tenacious. In Otfried IV. 12. 53 we find the strong form in connection with a genitive: "Er fuar ilonto zi furisten thero liuto" "He went in haste to the *most prominent* of the people." Judas sought these people not as individuals but solely on account of their rank and influence. The poet here feels the old idea of quality more than the newer conception of a closed group of individuals.

Survivals of older usage remain even to this day in English: "That is *best* for me", or with individualizing force: "That is *the best* (i. e. *the best thing*) for me". "He was a very kind man, but he was *kindest* to his children", but with individualizing force: "Of all the men he was *the kindest*". We say of a lake: "it is *deepest* here", but with individualizing force: "Of the three lakes this one is *the deepest*." In poetry we still find the articleless form: "And she was *fairest* of all flesh on earth" (Tennyson). In early Middle English the periphrastic superlative appeared. Today we have some fine differentiations here: "He was the rudest", in a relative sense, i.e. with relation to or



in comparison with others. In an absolute sense, i.e. in a high degree without relation to definite individuals: "He was most *rúde*". "This girl is the *móst* beautiful" (relatively), but "This girl is most *beautéful*" (absolutely). Compare also: "He was *the móst* eloquent there." "He was *móst* eloquent at the close of his speech." "He was most *elóquent* at the close of his speech." Sometimes the inflectional superlative is employed absolutely, but it is then distinguished from the relative superlative by a heavy and prolonged pronunciation: "O, he made the *ré—dest* remark!"

In M.H.G. the older system of declining the superlative was abandoned and from then on a mere formal principle has controlled the inflection. If the definite article precedes, the superlative is weak, otherwise the form is strong: "*der beste* der Männer", but "*der Männer bester*." In M.H.G. survivals of older usage occasionally occur: "Aller Dinge *wirste* (weak neuter) ist der tot" "*The worst* of things is death." In spite of the mere formal principle that controls the inflection of the German superlative of our own time the spirit of the O.H.G. period has been preserved. The conception of individuality prevails throughout. Nowhere is the old idea of emphasis by the use of the old articleless uninflected strong form to be found as in such modern English sentences as: "That is *best* for me."

There must have been a time in prehistoric Germanic when the comparative was inflected strong, but only a few fossil remnants of this old original usage have come down to us, as the Gothic adverbs "*mins*" *less*, "*mais*" *more*, O.H.G. "*sid*" *later*, etc. At the beginning of the historic period the new weak inflection had gained a complete victory. The strong superlative, on the other hand, was in this same earliest historic period still a living force in the oldest Germanic languages. Its decline, however, a little later was rapid and quite complete. What happened in historic times to the superlative—namely that the strong form with its emphasis upon quality was entirely supplanted by the weak form with its emphasis upon the conception of individuality—had already taken place in case of the comparative. It

would be interesting to know the cause of the more rapid development of the comparative here. The writer surmises that the cause lay in the weaker accent of the comparative. It is a greater glory to excel many than to excel merely one. The superlative was more stressed and the feeling for the old strong form remained here alive longer than in case of the comparative. It would be interesting if we knew what gave the first impulse to the use of the weak comparative in the predicate relation, for it would naturally be more difficult to establish itself there. Perhaps it was originally felt as more emphatic to use the individualizing form in the predicate than to employ the simple form. Thus it was more emphatic to say: "Ich bin *der Grössere*" than to say: "Ich bin *grösser*". Later this emphatic form lost its distinct meaning through too frequent use and became the common form for the predicate. Elsewhere the weak form was quite natural as the comparative has strong individualizing force. As the weak form attained thus the ascendancy the older strong form was gradually displaced until it disappeared entirely. The weak form became thus a purely functional form, i.e. it was so associated with the comparative, that the adjective was regularly inflected weak when it was used in the function of a comparative. In this older prehistoric period there was originally no article and this weak comparative that could only express the conception of individuality was a very clumsy and inaccurate form for the expression of thought, and improvement at this point was imperative, and in due time it came. The comparative was destined to undergo a more thorough development in form than the superlative as we shall see below.

From the time of Grimm on it has been the common claim of scholars that the comparative is a more definite idea than the superlative. The plain facts of all modern languages furnish a complete disproof of this claim. Even in oldest Germanic a simple device was introduced to make the comparative more definite by placing the new definite article before it. Then the old simple form was retained for indefinite reference. Orig-

inally *maiza* meant either *the taller* or *a taller*. This inaccurate expression is in Gothic replaced by the new differentiated forms: "Jah qap *sa juhiza* ize du attin" (Luke XV. 12) "And *the younger* of them said to his father." "Ni urrais in baurim qinono *maiza* Johanne þamma daupjandin" (Matth. XI. 11) "Among them that are born of women there has not arisen *a greater* than John the Baptist." The superlative often retains the old articleless weak form, but the reference is not indefinite as in the case of the comparative, for the superlative is always definite in meaning: "Jah sunus *hauhistsins* haitada" (Luke I. 32) "And he shall be called the son of *the Highest*." In a large number of boys there can be only one that is "the tallest", but many may be "taller" than some of the others. At first it was sufficient to distinguish the definite comparative by the use of the definite article. The simple comparative was indefinite. Later in M.H.G. the simple weak form is still used for indefinite reference, but it is gradually supplanted here by the strong form in the nominative singular and throughout the plural. The indefinite article soon becomes thoroughly established in the singular to give a formal expression to the idea of indefiniteness corresponding to the use of the definite article as a formal expression of the idea of definiteness. Later in accordance with the new formal principle which requires the inflected strong forms after endingless limiting words the inflected strong forms become thoroughly established in the nominative after the indefinite article *ein*. The disappearance of the weak form here was no loss to the language. Indeed the use of the weak form with the comparative to express indefinite reference stands in marked contrast to its use with the positive and superlative to express definite reference. We know that at least one distinguished Old High German felt the inconsistency of this usage. Otfried has in a few cases employed the strong form for indefinite reference as was common in the positive: "Iz irgiangi thanne zi *beziremo* thinge" (II. 6. 45) "It would have developed into *something better*". He usually, however, follows the

inconsistent usage of his time. It was not careful thinking, but the mere operation of the new formal principle of inflection that brought about the present inflection after *ein*, for the inconsistent weak forms still survive in the oblique cases of the singular: *eines besseren Mannes*, etc. Throughout the plural the natural strong forms can now be used for indefinite reference: *bessere Männer*, etc.

The old prehistoric use of the simple weak comparative for either definite or indefinite reference is still found in the older Germanic languages, only however in the *predicate* relation: "Johannes in giwissi thoh er *jungero* si" (Otfrid V. 6. 11) "John, indeed, altho he is *the elder*", i.e. older than Peter. Indefinite reference: "Jah *wairsiza* gataura wairpiþ" (Matth. IX. 16) "And the tear becomes a *greater one*." "*Batizo* ist izwis ei ik galeiþau" (John XVI. 7) "That I go is *something better* for you", i. e. it is better for you that I go. It seems quite probable, however, that the simple weak form here is not felt at all as a substantive, but merely as a predicate adjective. The old original substantive nature has been forgotten. Otherwise it would seem natural that the form with the definite article would be used for definite reference and the simple form for the indefinite reference as was the rule in other positions than in the predicate. As far as the writer knows there is no case of the definite article in the predicate in the oldest Germanic languages. He has spent a good deal of time in trying to find a case but to no purpose. If he were only sure of his facts he would have a nice theory at hand for the explanation of this state of things. If the definite article were absolutely not in use in the oldest historic period it would indicate that the tendency in the predicate was not to give expression to the conception of personality, but to return to the simple predication of a quality as in the positive. The weak form was inappropriate for use as a predicate adjective, but the lack of the article here gave it a certain semblance of adjective form. The tendency then was just the opposite of that found in the superlative. Towards the close of the O.H.G.



period the strong forms of the comparative began to replace the weak forms: "Wanta *bezzet* sint dine spunne demo wine" (Williram's "Paraphrase of the Song of Songs", chap. I, 3rd sentence) "For your breasts are *better* than wine." The two manuscripts differ at this point, the one giving the uninflected strong form *bezzet*, the other the inflected plural form *bezzere*. Also the weak form is elsewhere found in both manuscripts. The old weak and the new strong form are struggling for the mastery in the speech-feeling of the time, but the uninflected strong form will soon entirely drive out the articleless weak form as a grammatical expression for adjective predication. In Notker who died in 1022 only 63 years before Williram there are no strong comparatives as far as the writer has been able to discover in a careful reading of the three large volumes, but there are several weak comparatives with the definite article. This shows that along side of the tendency to simple predication of quality by the use of the articleless comparative there was another tendency, namely to express by the means of the definite article the conception of individuality: "Wederer dero dunchet tir *der mahtigero*?" (vol. I. p. 237) "Which of these men seems to you to be *the more powerful*?" Thus within a short time the Old High German shows the clear traces of a double development of the comparative, the one towards a clear expression for the predication of quality, the other towards an expression for the conception of individuality just as had already been attained by the positive. Notker shows this double tendency clearly, but he retains the old articleless weak form for adjective predication. A little later as we have already seen the new strong form began to replace this old and inaccurate weak form, while the appropriate weak form with the definite article expressed the conception of individuality. It may be that this happy solution may have been facilitated in large part by mere phonetic development. The final syllable *e* in the weak comparative *bessere* dropped out in accordance with the common phonetic law which in late O.H.G. and in M.H.G. de-

manded the suppression of *e* after unaccented *el*, *en*, *er*. Thus in: "Er ist *besser*" the form *besser* was originally a contracted weak nominative, but it was soon construed as an uninflected strong nominative and the plural became a genuine strong form: "sie sind *besser*". The chief factor here was not phonetic law, but a natural tendency to conform the comparative to the model of the positive and thus secure the uninflected strong predicate form for the predication of quality and a clear weak form for the conception of individuality. Thus to complete the analogy with the positive the weak ending *e* was restored to the individualizing form so that it again becomes *der bessere*. In English the development has reached the same goal, but the loss of inflection has rendered necessary sometimes the addition of the word *one* to the comparative for the individualizing form in case of things: "This is *better*", but "This is *the better one*" of a thing, while of a person we can say: "He is *the younger*". In: "It has not been injured by the rain, but is all *the better* for it" the word before the comparative is not probably the individualizing article, but the old instrumental case of the demonstrative and means: "by that, *on account of that* is better."

In Gothic the present participle is inflected weak throughout. The nominative masculine is also inflected strong and more commonly so. An explanation of the use of the strong form has been attempted above. Here an explanation of the weak inflection is essayed. The question is all the more difficult as this peculiar inflection is confined to Gothic and the Scandinavian languages. It seems to be a peculiar development of East Germanic. In West Germanic the present participle is inflected strong or weak as any adjective. In prehistoric Germanic it must have been inflected strong. The weak inflection appeared later in all the Germanic group and in East Germanic it must gradually have gained upon the strong declension until in Gothic it was regularly employed everywhere except in the nominative masculine. Later it must have entirely supplanted the strong forms as can be seen in

Old Norse where there are only a few scanty remnants of strong inflection left. Thus the present participle was finally inflected in East Germanic not according to its *force* in individual cases but wholly according to *function*, i. e. the inflection of an adjective with the function of the present participle became uniformly weak like that of weak substantives. What brought about here the ascendancy of the weak declension? To the writer the explanation lies in the peculiar nature of the present participle. An adjective such as *blind*, *lame*, or *brave* calls attention to some part of an individual or some trait of character, while a present participle as *running* or *rowing* calls attention to some individual as a whole, to the author of the activity. Thus participles by nature incline to substantivization. Also adjectives may become substantives, but they become weak only when the idea of individuality is *very* prominent. Whenever the idea of quality contained in the adjective is emphasized the form remains strong even tho the adjective has become a substantive. This is usually true in the predicate and to express the idea of indefinite reference as has been explained at length above. The participle, on the other hand, had already in Gothic become weak except in the masculine nominative. It is weak even in case of indefinite reference: "*stibna wopjandins in aupidai*" (Mark I. 3) "*the voice of one crying in the wilderness.*" Altho the reference here is indefinite the conception of a person is strongly marked. The idea of indefiniteness is shown by the omission of the article. The use of the article makes the reference definite: "*haubiþ Johannis þis daupjandins*" (Mark VI. 25) "*the head of John the Baptist.*" In the nominative masculine, however, the participle is usually strong even after the definite article or demonstrative: "*Sa saijands waurd saijþ*" (Mark IV. 14) "*He that sows sows the word.*" Here *sa* is felt as subject and the participle *saijands* is felt as the verbal predicate. The idea of the verbal activity is stronger than the conception of individuality. The nominative is in general the case of predication. In fact the participial form may

be replaced by the declarative form of the verb. In John VI. 41 we find the participle: "Ik im hlaifs *sa atsteigands* us himina" "I am the bread *that came down* from heaven", while in verse 50 we find the declarative form: "Sa ist hlaifs saei us himina *atstaig*." Even in the nominative, however, the weak inflection is used where the idea of individuality is prominent: "Inn gaggaiþ þairh aggwu daur, unte braid daur jah rums wigs *sa brigganda* in fralustai" (Matth. VII. 13) "Enter into the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad the way *that leads* to destruction." Here the emphasis is not upon the verbal activity contained in the participle but in the individualization of the gates and the ways. The broad way leads to destruction. The participle with the definite article *sa brigganda* points out the way that must be avoided. In all the oblique cases of the masculine the weak form is used as these cases do not suggest predication as does the nominative. The conception of individuality is more prominent: "Ip saei ufbrikiþ mis, ufbrikiþ þamma sandjandin mik" (Luke X. 16) "And he that despisest me despises *Him that sent me*." Throughout the feminine and neuter singular and everywhere throughout the plural the weak form is alone used as gender and number are not so closely related to the idea of verbal activity as to the conception of individuality. The little differentiation that prevailed in Gothic between strong and weak form disappeared later and the weak inflection became a *functional* form, i. e. a characteristic form always associated with the present participle. This development is not so fortunate as that found in West Germanic where the participle is inflected strong or weak as any adjective with the shades of meaning that the two inflections convey.

In the oldest historical period there were three grammatical categories that were treated quite differently from the modern usage. A noun that is today modified by an adjective, a genitive, or a relative clause is regarded as made definite, hence the definite article is employed. The use of the



article of course influences the inflection of the adjectives. These categories will be studied below.

The original use of the weak inflection of the adjective was to substantivize adjectives. Its use, however, was confined as described above to give formal expression to the conception of individuality. Its use was at first restricted to adjective-substantives, but it was later extended to the attributive relation. This was a later development and is as yet quite limited in oldest Germanic. An attributive adjective is usually inflected strong in Gothic, altho it clearly points to a definite individual: "Apþan þiudana aiwe *unriurjamma, ungasaihwamma, ainamma, frodamma* guda sweripa jah wulþus in aldins aiwe" (1 Tim. I. 17) "Now unto the King eternal, *the immortal, the invisible, the only wise God* be honor and glory for ever and ever." "Ip Jesus, *ahmins weihis fulls*" (Luke IV. 1) "And Jesus being full of *the Holy Ghost*." Here it is perfectly evident that the reference is to definite beings. The use of the definite article in the English translation shows that modern English has given a formal expression to this idea in the language. There are many similar examples in Gothic. They correspond so closely to the Greek that the suspicion might arise that they originated under the influence of the Greek. The language of "Beowulf", however, so rich in glowing adjectives, fairly teems with examples that correspond in the minutest particular to the Gothic expressions: "Soð is gecyþed, / þæt *mihtig god* manna cynnes / weold wideferhð (700-2) "The truth is well known that *Almighty God* has long held sway over the race of men". As can be seen by the translation modern English contrary to German usage often retains the old articleless expression here when the adjective modifies a proper name. Otherwise when the reference is to persons modern usage differs from the older usage and requires the article: "Mære þeoden, / æþeling *ærgod* unbliðe sæt" (129-30) "*The illustrious king, the excellent ruler* sat there unhappy."

It seems quite clear in the oldest languages that the idea of

individualization was only developed in substantivization, i.e. it was connected with a single word. The very spirit of this early individualization can be seen in Greek and Latin proper names made from adjectives: *Στράβων* *the cross-eyed*, "*Rufo*" *the red-headed*, "*Cato*" *the sly fellow*, etc. The original substantivization can often still be seen in the attributive form: "Heorot is gefælsod, beahsele beorhta" (1176-7) "Heorot (name of the king's famous hall) is purged, *the bright* treasure-hall, literally "treasure-hall, *the bright one*." The weak form here alone marks the individualization. The definite article, however, is already more common here in both Gothic and "Beowulf": "Goleiþ izwis Lukas, leikeis *sa liuba*" (Col. IV. 14) "Luke the beloved physician greets you", literally: "Luke, physician, *the beloved one*." It is interesting to note here that there is no article before the noun *leikeis*, but it stands before the adjective-substantive *liuba*. The older languages use the definite article sparingly and it must have an especial meaning when it is used. It has strong individualizing force and stands before the word that has strong individualizing force. This is of course the adjective-substantive and not the governing noun. The fact that it stands before the adjective form shows that it is no longer an adjective but an adjective-substantive. Hence originally this was individualization by way of substantivization.

Slowly and gradually, however, the idea of individuality found a wider formal expression in the Germanic languages. This idea was no longer confined to mere substantivization. The attributive adjective itself very often describes the substantive so clearly that it becomes definite, individualized. Fine examples have been given in the second paragraph above in the passages taken from Gothic and "Beowulf". The adjectives, however, are in strong form. As the definite article is not much used here in Gothic and "Beowulf" the development of a formal expression here was very slow. As we have seen formal expression had only been freely used in case of substantivization, i.e. use with a single word. A very large number of individualizations had as yet not found a formal expression in the language.

The early attempts in Gothic and "Beowulf" to find a fitting formal expression for the idea of individualization in a group of words are very interesting and a number of cases will be presented below. The comparative will be omitted here as it had already in the prehistoric period been completely individualized.

The attributive superlative by its nature and meaning inclined to individualization more than the attributive positive. Only in Gothic, Old Norse, and Old English do we find a fairly large number of strong forms. This is a marked characteristic of the oldest period. Later the attributive superlative becomes generally individualized and assumes weak form. The earlier strong forms are an inheritance of the prehistoric period. These forms probably resisted individualization because the idea of the quality contained in the adjective was more vividly felt than the conception of individuality. The strong form is frequently emphatic: "frumista allaizo anabusns" (Mark XII. 29) "*the first* commandment of them all". "Swa he manna *wæs* / wigend *weorðfullost* wide geond eorðan" ("Beowulf" 3098-9) "As he among men was *the worthiest* warrior the wide world over." The strong form was more natural in the predicate as in these examples, but it is not confined to the predicate: "Næs him hreoh sefa, / ac he mancynnes *mæste crafte* / . . . heold (2180-3) "His disposition was not rough, but he possessed *the greatest* strength of all men." In several places in Gothic as in 2 Tim. III. 1 the strong form seems to be used with definite reference where we might expect the weak form: "Apþan þata kunneis ei in *spedistaim* dagam atgaggand jera sleidja" "This know also that in *the last* days terrible times will come." In the singular Wulfila uses the weak individualizing form: "Jah urraisja ina ik in *spedistin* daga" (John VI. 40) "And I shall raise him up in *the last* day." As has been noticed above in connection with the study of the substantive forms Wulfila is still fond of using the strong form in the plural for definite reference. We have in the O.H.G. poem "Muspilli" 22 an example of a strong form in the singular with definite reference: "Dar piutit der Satanaz *altist* heizzan lauc" "There *the oldest* devil (Satan) has fiery

flames." The translation of this passage is in dispute. Some translate: "the very old Satan", but the absolute superlative is not elsewhere known in the attributive superlative and the translation is quite doubtful. The reference is, however, definite and the use of the strong form attracts attention. The strong superlative after the definite article is quite rare in O.H.G. It seems to be a poetic survival of older usage. This old strong superlative for definite reference does not seem to be in the same class with the strong superlative which Otfried uses in III. 24, 107-9: "Bigondun sume iz zellen mit ubilemo willen / *den furisten* ewarton" "Some began with bad intentions and in angry tones to relate it to the high (literally *highest*) priests". The superlative *furisten* seems here to be used for especial emphasis. In oldest Germanic as we have seen above in connection with the study of substantive forms the strong form was often used for especial emphasis, sometimes even after the definite article. This usage points backward to the older period. We saw it in "Beowulf" which everywhere bears the old Germanic stamp. We shall see it below again. It is a natural impulse which often manifests itself. It is least common, however, in the superlative which even in early O.H.G. had become an expression for individualization and hence had become weak.

Altho the strong forms of the attributive superlative are frequently found in oldest Germanic the new weak form is also common to express the idea of individuality. In Gothic and in "Beowulf" we find the weak superlative sometimes with and sometimes without the article. The weak form alone often seems to be sufficient, especially in the predicate where the new form with the definite article is not commonly used as the idea of individuality is not prominent there. In O.H.G., however, especial emphasis brought out the definite article in the predicate: "Thiz ist *thaz erista inti meista bibot*" (Tatian 128. 2) "This is *the first and greatest* commandment." This we also saw in connection with the substantive forms treated above.

The attributive positive is in oldest Germanic quite uniformly strong even tho the reference is definite. Even in late



O.H.G. we often find no sign of individualization here, i.e. neither the weak form nor the definite article where modern usage requires both: "Sceide min ding fone *unheiligemo diete* .....fone *unrehtemo menniscen*.....lose mih" (Notker, Psalm XLII. 1) "Separate my cause from *the unholy throng* .....Free me from *the unrighteous man*." Notwithstanding the firmness of this rule even in oldest Germanic the process of individualization had already begun. The commonest use of the weak form with the definite article is to refer to an individual who has just been mentioned. Thus in "Beowulf" after we are told that there had been great joy in the king's hall until a terrible enemy had appeared in the neighborhood the narrative continues: "Wæs se grimma gæst Grendel haten, / mære mearcstapa, se þe moras heold" (102-3) "*The grim monster* was called Grendel, the notorious disturber of the border who held sway in the moorland." Here "se grimma gæst" refers to the character that had just been mentioned. In Old English, however, the individualizing form was used very sparingly. The words "mære mearcstapa" also refer to this same character, but the strong form is used. Even the following modifying and individualizing relative clause does not call forth the article and the weak form. Page after page of this fine old epic fairly glows with the rich coloring of the adjectives. Out of the brightness of the colors arise fair ladies and brave men in clear and full outlines altho the formal expression of definiteness so necessary in modern English is often entirely wanting.

The weak form with the definite article not only refers back to an individual who has been mentioned, but it also refers to some type that has been mentioned: "Ik im hairdeis gods. Hairdeis *sa goda saiwala sein*a lagiþ four lamba" (John X. 11) "I am a good shepherd. *The good shepherd* lays down his life for his sheep." Notice that before "hairdeis" in the first instance there is no article. Modern usage requires the indefinite article here. The Greek here uses the definite article. Wulfila is again here a free translator who preserves the spirit of his own language. It is an old Germanic principle to introduce a

new object or individual without any article. In a later period the indefinite article was employed for this purpose. After an object, or individual, or type has been introduced the definite article accompanies the noun as it is now supposed to represent some body or some thing that is known. A little further on in the chapter Jesus compares himself with a hireling. The hireling flees when the wolf comes. Then in Wulfila's translation Jesus says in verse 14: "Ik im hairdeis *sa goda*, jah kann meina jah kunnun mik þo meina" "I am *the good shepherd* and I know my sheep and am known of mine." Wulfila here uses the article and the weak form to speak of a well known type. This usage is good Germanic and still common today: "*The true teacher loves nothing more than his work.*" Mr. Wagner on p. 27 of his "Syntax des Superlative" sees Greek influence here. Some German scholars are not entirely happy until they can discover Greek influence in the good old familiar words of every-day speech. Mr. Wagner is not only misled at times in his useful and valuable little book by his fondness for finding Greek influence, but is also prone to attach too much importance to grammatical categories. Thus in this last Gothic sentence he thinks the use of the article is Ungermanic because it is employed in the predicate. Of course it is true that the article is not so common in the predicate as elsewhere because the idea of quality is usually more prominent there than the conception of a definite individual or type. Articleless nouns often become adjectives in the predicate and can even be compared: "Er ist *mehr General* als *Staatsmann*." On the other hand, the conception of a definite individual or type can appear in the predicate just as well as elsewhere, even in familiar every-day usage in the language which Mr. Wagner talks as his mother tongue: "War er nicht *der Generalbösewicht*?" (Kröger's "Leute eigener Art", p. 117) "Wasn't he *a consummate villain*?" As can be seen by the English translation this usage is today not as common in English as in German, but it is not infrequently found: "He is *the true teacher* who loses himself in his work."

"To lose one's self in others, that's *the* true teacher". Within historic times this has always been good Germanic.

The attributive adjective is also used in weak form without the definite article: "at raihtis mann us *missaleikom* wistim ussatidamma us saiwalai raihtis jah leika" ("Skeireins" II. 16-17) "as man is composed of *these different* elements—soul and body." The weak form "*missaleikom*" is here not used in a general sense but with a definite reference to the two words "saiwalai" and "leika". To make this definite reference clear later usage would use the definite article or demonstrative. The idea has been brought out in the English translation by the use of the demonstrative "these". The case is similar in: "ni þan-aseiþs *judaiwiskom* ufarranneinim jah *sinteinom* daupeinim brukjan usdaudjaina" ("Skeireins" III. 7-8) "they should no longer endeavor to observe *the Jewish* besprinklings and *the daily* washings." The weak forms "*judaiwiskom*" and "*sinteinom*" here refer to the definite besprinklings and washings prescribed by the old Jewish religion. Later usage would place the definite article before the weak forms. Dr. Ernst Dietrich on page 20 of his excellent edition of the Gothic "*Skeireins*" calls these forms irregular and striking. We have seen exactly the same thing in case of the superlative. The weak form is the first step towards individualization. Later the definite article or a demonstrative appears before the weak form. The superlative is more definite in meaning than the positive and this usage is naturally more common with the superlative. There are, however, in "*Beowulf*" a number of cases with the positive and the usage may be real, old survivals of the first steps towards individualization in the attributive adjective: "Gewat ða neosian, syþðan niht becom, / *hean huses*" (115-6) "When night had come he went to visit *the great hall*." The reference is to the well-known great hall of the king. "Ic him þenode / *deoran sweorde*" (560-1) "Ich diene ihnen mit *dem teuren Schwerte*". In English we individualize here by the possessive instead of with the article as in German, and say *with my dear sword*. [þær heo] gegnum for / ofer *myrcan mor*" (1404-5) "Where

she had gone over *the dreary moor*". The reference here is to the well known moor where Grendel and his mother held sway. "ƿæt him on aldre stod / herestræl hearda" (1434-5) "so that *the hard shaft* stuck in its heart." Beowulf had just killed one of the beasts with an arrow from his bow so that the shaft has already been mentioned and is now well known.

An attributive adjective in direct address is in Gothic uniformly weak as the reference is definite: "O unfrodans Galateis!" (Gal. III. 1) "O foolish Galatians!" Altho there are exceptions the simple weak form is also the rule in "Beowulf". We have seen elsewhere that the weak form is a first step toward individualization and that it is later followed by the article. In Gothic and "Beowulf" the article has not yet appeared. Direct address is of itself so strongly individualizing that the need of the article had not been felt. Later it occasionally appeared as the article had become very intimately associated with the weak form: "Druh-tin min *ther guato* nu rihti mih gimuato" (Otfrid III. 7. 1) "*Good Lord* lead me kindly." This occasional usage is still found in M.H.G.: "ich wil dich warnen Hagene, daz Aldrianes kint." Also the indefinite article is used here as the indefinite article was also formerly used with definite reference: "Sit willekomen Sifrit, ein künic uz Morlande." In provincial language the definite article still lingers on in direct address. It also still occurs in the literary language in historical dramas in archaic style: "Gott zum Gruss, die Herr'n!" (Wildenbruch's "Die Quitzows", 2, 1).

On the other hand, we find the strong attributive form twice in direct address in "Beowulf": "Ne sorga, snotor guma!" (1384) "Worry not, *wise man!*" "Oferhyda ne gym, / mære cempa!" (1760-1) "Don't give yourself up to pride, *illustrious warrior!*" There was no need in either of these two cases to make definite the reference. The speaker places the emphasis upon the quality contained in the adjective. Mr. Wagner on page 65 of his "Syntax des Superlativs" regards the strong forms here and elsewhere in direct address as a new development. Strong forms in a poem like "Beowulf" would naturally



lead us to the opposite conclusion that the strong form in "Beowulf" is a survival of older usage which once knew only the strong form here. The fact that the strong form does not occur here in Gothic is not conclusive evidence that the weak inflection is older. Gothic had here as in the case of the present participle its own individual development. The weak inflection had become in direct address the regular functional form, while in West Germanic the still older strong inflection had in part survived as an emphatic form. Later this emphatic form became more common as the feeling of emphasis became stronger than the conception of individuality. The weak form was gradually supplanted by the strong form and today is little used. It survives only in the plural where it is occasionally found: "Guten Tag, *jungen Leute*" (Max Dreyer's "Der Probekandidat" p. 25).

As can be seen from the above there has always within historic times been a tendency in Germanic to employ the strong form even with definite reference when there is emphasis upon the idea of quality contained in the adjective. That this tendency should appear after the definite article is only natural. The thought of grammatical category is not as strong as the feeling of emphasis. Thus Otfried occasionally follows this natural impulse: "*Sich* harto wuntorota sin bi then *fronisgan* win" (II. 8. 44) "He expressed surprise over the *very* good wine." To render the emphatic strong form *fronisgan* here the intensifying adverb *very* has been employed in the English translation. Even where the idea of individuality is pronounced the strong form can be used to make the adjective emphatic: "Dhar ir auh quhad: 'Gotes gheist ist sprehhendi dhurah mih', dhar meinida leohtsamo zi archennenne dhen *heiligan* gheist" ("Isidor" XIV. 18-21) "Where he also said: 'God's spirit is speaking through me' there he evidently meant the *Holy* Spirit." Here *heiligan* is evidently set over against *Gotes* and is strongly accented. This usage continued throughout the Old High, Middle High, and early New High German almost up to our own time. At last

the formal principle of inflecting the adjective uniformly weak after the definite article without regard to meaning has prevailed.

The attributive adjective following a personal pronoun is usually weak in older periods as the pronouns have strong individualizing force: "Wai izwis, jus *sadans* nu, unte gredagai wairpiþ" (Luke VI. 25) "Woe unto you *who are full*, for you shall become hungry." Even in Gothic there are exceptions: "Wainahs ik manna" (Rom. VII. 24) "Ich *elender* Mensch." The strong emphasis upon the adjective *wainahs* called forth the use of the strong form. Fluctuation in usage here has continued up to the present hour. In general, however, the strong form has gained the ascendancy here as the idea of emphasis has become more prominent in our feeling than the conception of individuality. The old weak form is today almost entirely confined to the dative singular and nominative plural: "mir armen (or) armer Frau"; "wir alten or alte Juristen", etc.

The use of the weak form has from the earliest times been connected with the use of the definite article or demonstrative, but it did not become early associated with the use of the possessive altho the possessive has strong individualizing force. We naturally find in Gothic and "Beowulf" the strong form after the possessive: "in *riurjamma* leika unsaramma" (2 Cor. IV. 11) "in our mortal flesh." "Ic minne can / *glædne* Hroþulf" ("Beowulf" 1180-1) "I know my friendly Hrothulf". In O.H.G. the strong individualizing force asserted itself and the weak form of the following adjective became common: "unsar druhtin *guato*" (Otfrid V. 12. 35) "our good Lord." The old historic strong form is also still widely used; "*smaher* scalg thin" (ib. I. 25. 5) "Your lowly servant." The old idea of emphasis was struggling with the new conception of personality. After a long struggle throughout the O.H.G. and M.H.G. periods the present "mixed" declension resulted in the present period. Already in M.H.G. the strong form prevailed in the nominative singular. What factor established the strong form in this one case and at the same time fixed the weak form in the other cases in the singular and throughout the plural? It seems

that the conception of individuality at last prevailed except in the singular. That this was not a mere result of formal forces seems assured as the weak form in the oblique cases of the singular and throughout the plural was notwithstanding some fluctuation already fairly well fixed at the close of the O.H.G. period, i.e. at a time when there was still a live feeling for the meaning of the weak declension. On the other hand, the strong form was well preserved in the nominative singular. The nominative is the case of the predicate and subject. In the predicate the attention is naturally directed to the quality rather than to the idea of individuality. The subject is that of which something is predicated. The predication often depends entirely upon the quality contained in the adjective that modifies the subject as is nicely illustrated in the following sentence from Notker: "Din guot willo ist uns skerm unde era" (II. p. 14) "Thy good will is to us protection and honor." It should be noticed that the *uninflected* strong form is used here, hence the formal principle mentioned below which demanded an *inflected* strong form after the uninflected possessive form had nothing here to do with the O.H.G. and M.H.G. use of the strong form in the nominative. The strong form became established here originally under the influence of some idea, probably that of the importance of the quality contained in the adjective rather than the idea of individuality. At the close of the O.H.G. period there is yet a vivid feeling for the meaning of weak form, hence it can also be used here in the nominative when the idea of individuality becomes prominent: "Din *quote geist* leite mich in rehta erda" (Notker, II. p. 588) "May thy *good spirit* lead me into the right way." This is surely a beautiful example of personification and a fine use of the individualizing weak form. It seems like a real loss to the language that such an expressive form could be later permanently discarded. The later supremacy of the strong form in the nominative may in part have been brought about by the example of the strong form after the indefinite article *ein*. In O.H.G. the inflection of the adjective after *ein* was almost uniformly strong. Later under the in-

fluence of the usage with the possessives the adjective after *ein* began also to assume the weak form. Throughout O.H.G. and all the fluctuation in the M.H.G. period the natural strong form after *ein* remained very firm in the nominative singular and its unusual firmness there may have strengthened the natural tendency of the adjective to assume strong form after the possessives. On the other hand, the weak form became later established in the oblique cases after *ein* after the analogy of the weak form after the possessives. Thus the old consistent indefinite strong form after the indefinite article *ein* has in the oblique cases been replaced by the weak individualizing form which is here inconsistent and meaningless. The mixed inflection after *ein* and the possessives has established a mere formal principle in German inflection. The forces that had gradually throughout a long and distant period brought about this mixture are no longer vividly felt and the inflected strong form (*guter, schlechter*, etc.) which had gradually become established after the endingless forms *ein, kein, mein, sein*, etc., is interpreted as the result of the need of a clear form to denote the case and gender. There is now quite a group of words in which this formal principle rules: *solch guter Mann, manch guter Mann*, etc.

The list of words that have individualizing force and regularly admit of the weak form after them is quite limited: the definite article "*der*" and the demonstratives "*der*", "*jener*", and "*dieser*." As we have seen in the preceding pages the use of the weak form after these words is very old and thoroughly established. This old historic group is often enlarged in modern usage by the addition of a large number of words with pronounced individualizing force: *benannter, erwähnter, obiger, folgender, nachstehender, vorausgehender, vorerwählter, vorstehender*, etc. Altho the weak adjective form after these words is consistent the usage is comparatively new and not yet established: *aus vorstehender kurzen Skizze* (A. Schröder in "Englische Studien" Band 38, p. 69), *bei vorausgehendem langen Vokal* (P. Lessiak in "Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten", 1909, p. 4), *folgende eingenderen Mitteilungen* ("Hamburger



Nachrichten", Oct. 13, 1904), etc. In the writer's collection is a formidable list of examples taken from every field of literature including some of the great authors of the classical period. Usage here is as yet quite irregular and inconsistent even in the same author. As this is a new group in German grammar the future alone will reveal whether it will prove useful and gain wide and consistent support. In English, individualization is marked here by the definite article: "*the* preceding short sketch", etc. On account of the lack of form in English it would be impossible to follow German usage here. The German individualizing words have followed the example of *dieser*. They do not need a preceding demonstrative as individualization can be marked by the weak form in the following adjective. The definite article, however, can also be used as in English: *genanntes herrliche Werk* or *das genannte herrliche Werk*, etc.

In the attributive weak forms discussed in the preceding pages there is individualizing force but there has arisen a new weak form that has no individualizing force: *weicher gute Mann?*, *jeder gute Mann*, *alle guten Männer*, *viele guten* (more commonly *gute*) *Männer*, *manche guten* (more commonly *gute*) *Männer*, *wenige guten* (more commonly *gute*) *Männer*, *solche lautlichen Elemente* (Brugmann's "Kurze vergleichende Grammatik", p. 289), *gewisse in der Sprache eine wichtige Rolle spielenden semantischen Gegensätze* (ib. p. 315), *sämtliche englischen Schiffe* ("Hamburger Nachrichten", Nov. 15, 1904), *sich einzelner vorgeschobenen Posten zu bemächtigen* (ib. Nov. 28, 1904), *trotz mancher unvermeidlichen Mängel* (Wilmanns's "Deutsche Grammatik", vol. I, p. VIII), etc. The weak form here has arisen in the present period and is thoroughly established only after "*welcher*", "*jeder*", and "*aller*". In case of the other words usage fluctuates, but in general the weak form is much more common in the singular than in the plural. It remains to be seen whether good usage will finally adopt the new principle employed here, the use of the weak form where there is no reference to a definite individual. It does not seem possible that this usage could have arisen in an earlier period

when here was a vivid feeling for the real meaning of the weak form. Even at the close of the O.H.G. period the strong form after *aller* is still firmly fixed. In M.H.G. it is only occasionally replaced by the weak form. As the feeling for the meaning of the weak declension becomes somewhat indistinct the new usage begins to spread. The old weak adjective and its governing noun pointed to a well known definite individual. The new modern feeling often grasped only the idea of *oneness* here and overlooked the idea of *definiteness*. It saw *an* individual, but not *the* individual. Adjective and noun together formed a kind of compound noun, a common class noun that represented an individual, hence not only the definite article could stand before the weak form but also a word of indefinite meaning could stand there: "*der gute Mann*", also "*mancher gute Mann*".

If the principle described in the preceding paragraph is adopted by good usage it is difficult to foretell where the development will stop. If weak adjective and noun together form a compound noun then the compound noun can be modified by an adjective denoting a quality: "*in langem grauen Mantel*", "*ein Mann von grossem juristischen Wissen*", etc. Such expressions are not infrequently found in recent literature, especially as here where the weak adjective follows a strong masculine or neuter dative singular, or also where the strong ending *-er* precedes: "*wegen eingetretener schlechten Beschaffenheit der Strasse*" ("*Deutsche Rundschau*") "*in Ermangelung neuer tatsächlichen Nachrichten*" ("*Hamburger Nachrichten*"). It is not possible for our plain straight-forward English language to perform such linguistic feats as these and those described in the preceding paragraph, but plainness and directness are most desirable qualities. There is often in German such a nicety and intricacy of syntactical detail that the force of the main thought is somewhat weakened.

The attributive category has been studied at some length. We now turn to the study of the genitive as far as it influences the inflection of adjectives. In oldest Germanic a noun modified by a genitive does not take the definite article as today:

"þiuþeigs manna us þiuþeigamma huzda hairtins seinis usbairid þiuþ" (Luke VI. 45) "Ein guter Mensch bringet Gutes hervor aus *dem guten* Schatz seines Herzens". Likewise in "Beowulf": "þeorht beacen godes" (570) "*das lichte* Zeichen Gottes" "*the bright* beacon of God", i.e. the sun. The genitive in all such cases makes reference definite and today as can be seen by the German and English translations calls forth the definite article and in German also the use of the weak form of the following adjective. In oldest Germanic there is little feeling for this principle so firmly fixed in modern usage. The force of the adjective was felt more strongly than the conception of individuality. Even in Gothic, however, the article is sometimes used where the conception of individuality is quite strong: "sa sunus mans" (Luke V. 24) "the Son of man". In general, however, the old articleless form of statement remained firm for a long period. In M.H.G. it began to be felt as poetic and gradually disappeared.

A noun that is made definite by a relative clause requires the definite article in modern usage. If an adjective follows the article it is in inflected languages of course weak. Oldest Germanic has little feeling for this principle: "Frisaht habands hailaize waurde, þoei at mis hausides" (2 Tim. I. 13) "Halte an dem Vorbilde *der heilsamen* Worte, die du von mir gehöret hast". "Unte ni þatei wiljau waurkja goþ, ak þatei ni wiljau ubil tauja" (Rom. VII. 19) "Denn *das Gute*, das ich will das tue ich nicht; sondern *das Böse*, das ich nicht will, das tue ich." Likewise in "Beowulf": "Sona þæt gesawon snottre eorlas, / þa ðe mid Hroðgare on holm wilton" (1591-2) "Bald sahen *die klugen* Männer, die mit Hrothgar auf das Wasser blickten." The very definite reference in this last sentence does not call forth the definite article. When the idea of individuality, however, is very pronounced we find occasionally in both "Beowulf" and Gothic the definite article or demonstrative: "Eart þu se Beowulf, se þe wið Brecan wunne?" (506) "Are you *that* Beowulf who fought with Breca?" The old articleless form of state-

ment remained firm for a long period. In M.H.G. it still lingered on until it gradually disappeared. Modern feeling demands a clear formal expression of the idea of definite reference.

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## THE DON CARLOS THEME IN LITERATURE.

Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain and his first wife, Mary of Portugal, was born in 1545. During the prince's youth, the advisability of a match with Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of Henry of France, was discussed, but no formal engagement was ever announced. After the death of Philip's second wife, Mary of England in 1558, the king himself married Elizabeth of Valois. In St. Réal's account of Don Carlos, the prince is represented as a love-sick youth who broods over the loss of a bride—now his own step-mother. Carlos's love for the queen, the king's jealousy and suspicions, the arrest, imprisonment, and death of the prince at the age of twenty-three, have offered a rich field for literary, and particularly dramatic, treatment.

The Don Carlos theme has been a favorite one in the literatures of Spain, France, Germany, and England. In the following pages the attempt will be made to give as complete a list as possible of the various treatments of the theme. Purely historical works have been excluded; two so-called historical accounts, those by Brantôme and St. Réal, have been included for the reason that they contain as much fiction as truth. It has been difficult, also, to draw a sharp distinction between original treatments and adaptations; at the end of the list, therefore, I have indicated briefly the works which may be classed unmistakably as adaptations. Translations have been given in a separate list.

1. Pierre de Bourdeille, abbé de Brantôme, *Vies des Grands Capitains* (especially the articles *Philippe II, Roy d'Espagne* and *Don Carlos*), also *Vies des Dames Illustres* (particularly the article *Elizabeth de France, Reyne d'Espagne*).

Brantôme lived 1540-1614. The first edition of his works appeared in nine volumes at Leyden in 1665-66; other editions appeared at the Hague in 1740, at London and Maestricht in

1779, at Paris in 1787, at Bastien in 1790. Brantôme I exclude from the purely historical works for two reasons: he gives the hearsay reports believed at the end of the sixteenth century about Don Carlos's death, and he is one of the principal sources for St. Réal's curious work.

2. Don Diego Ximenez de Enciso, *El Principe Don Carlos*.

Enciso was born in 1585; his activities were probably over by 1635. His drama is based on Cabrera's *Historia de Felipe Segundo, Rey de España* (1619), and was probably written soon after the appearance of Cabrera's book. Enciso's "licencia" is dated April, 1633; the play was first printed in *Comedias de Varios Autores*, Huesca, 1634, vol. 28. Much confusion and misunderstanding have prevailed about Enciso's play. Ticknor<sup>1</sup> II, 319, attributed it to Montalvan, and this error appears in the catalogue of the Ticknor collection at the Boston Public Library. Schwill<sup>2</sup> mentions a later version of *El Principe Don Carlos* in which the last scenes are different from those of the first version. Schaeffer's<sup>3</sup> German translation of the play is based mainly on this second version. Crawford,<sup>4</sup> finally, has unravelled the mystery by showing that the second version is really the work of Cañizares. The earliest edition in a "suelta" (Valencia, 1773) is based on a manuscript identified by Crawford. In a discussion of Enciso's play, therefore, these points should be observed: it should not be confused with Montalvan's *El Segundo Seneca de España y Principe Don Carlos*, nor with Cañizares's version of *El Principe Don Carlos*.

Enciso's play is of extreme interest because, although one of the earliest treatments of the theme, it adheres more closely

<sup>1</sup> George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolph Schwill, *The Comedias of Diego Ximenez de Enciso*. (Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, XVIII, (1903), pp. 194-210).

<sup>3</sup> Ximenez de Enciso, *Der Prinz Don Carlos. Die grösste That des Kaisers Karl V. Zwei Dramen.....aus dem Spanischen in fünffüssigen Iamben übertragen von A. Schaeffer*. pp. 279. Leipzig, 1887. (Cf. the remarks under Cañizares).

<sup>4</sup> J. P. W. Crawford, *El Principe Don Carlos of Ximenez de Enciso* (*Modern Language Notes*, Dec. 1907, pp. 238-241).

to historical facts than most of the succeeding dramas. A clear summary of Carlos's character is given by Schack,<sup>5</sup> II, 536: "Der Prinz erscheint—sehr verschieden von dem D. Carlos, den die träumende Phantasie der neueren Zeit erschaffen hat, aber gewiss in mehr Uebereinstimmung mit den historischen Zeugnissen—als ein launenhafter und übermüthiger Wüstling, als ein Tyrann aller seiner Untergebenen, dessen Tod vor dem Regierungsantritt ein wahres Glück für Spanien sei. In der Darstellung seines ausgelassenen Treibens sind viele einzelne, offenbar durch Tradition überlieferte, Anekdoten und Züge aus seinem Leben benutzt, aus denen der Geschichtsschreiber ein neues und interessantes Licht über letzteres verbreiten könnte."

3. Juan Perez de Montalvan, *El Segundo Seneca de España y Principe Don Carlos*. Appeared in *Para Todos* (1632).

Montalvan lived 1602-1638. Cabrera's history was undoubtedly one source and Enciso's play possibly another. Accounts of Montalvan and his work may be found in Ticknor, II, 319; Schack, II, 551; Schwill, 199, 205; and in Bacon's monograph.<sup>6</sup> Ticknor's account of Montalvan is unnecessarily flattering for the reason that he attributed Enciso's play to Montalvan. Schack's account is also misleading; the hero of Montalvan's *No hay vida como la honra* is a Don Carlos, but Schack does not point out that this is not the historical personage but a Don Carlos Osario of Valencia. Schack regards Montalvan's *El Segundo Seneca* as far inferior to Enciso's *El Principe Don Carlos*, although both plays follow closely the historical facts.

4. César Vichard Saint-Réal, *Don Carlos, nouvelle historique*. Paris, 1672.

This work appeared also at Amsterdam in 1673, at the Hague in 1722 and 1724, and at Amsterdam in 1740. It may be found in *Librairie de la Bibl. nationale* (No. 28), Paris, 1884. A German translation appeared at Riga in 1767 (Minor, *Schil-*

<sup>5</sup> Adolph Fr. von Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845.

<sup>6</sup> G. W. Bacon, *An Essay upon the Life and Dramatic Works of Dr. Juan Perez de Montalban*, Philadelphia, 1903.

ler, II, 622), another at Eisenach in 1784 (practically reprinted in Boxberger's edition of *Don Carlos* in the series "Deutsche National Literatur"), another by J. L. Schmidt in Worms in 1828, and one by H. Hersch (Reclam series, No. 2013) in 1885. St. Réal lived from 1639-1692. His story of Don Carlos is a curious mixture of fact and fancy. He emphasizes particularly Carlos's love for Elizabeth of Valois—formerly the prince's betrothed, now his father's wife. This element in St. Réal's tale attracted the attention of later dramatists—especially Otway, Campistron, Alfieri, Mercier, and Schiller—who, in turn, inspired numerous other writers. St. Réal's story may be regarded as the most important source for the various treatments of the Don Carlos theme. It was quickly translated into English under the title: *Don Carlos*, written in French, anno 1672, and newly Englished by H. J., London, 1676. This translation was probably known to Otway, who was the first dramatist to write a Don Carlos drama with St. Réal's tale as a basis. In the *Collection of Novels* translated into English "by eminent hands," published by Samuel Croxall, London, 1729 (6 vols.), the translation of St. Réal appears in vol. III, pp. 5-73.

5. Thomas Otway, *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain*. A tragedy. London, 1676.

The play was written in rhymed iambic pentameter (heroic couplet), and reminds one of Shakespeare, particularly of *Othello*. It is based mainly on St. Réal; a German translation of Otway may possibly have been known to Schiller. The success of Otway's play was striking. *The Biographica Dramatica* (ed. 1812) gives interesting citations from a letter of Mr. Booth to Aaron Hill, from Dr. Johnson, and from Rochester's *Trial of the Poets for the Bays*. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, V, 2, § 253, 11 cites two works which are translated from or based on Otway.

(a). Casp. Wihl. v. Borck, *Don Carlos, Prince von Spanien*. Trsp. des Herrn Thomas Otway, a.d. Eng. übers. (in *Neue Erweiterungen des Erkenntniss und Vergnügens*. Bd. 9. Frkf. u. Lpz. 1757. S. 175-275).

(b). Johann Gottfried Dyk, *Don Carlos und Elizabeth*.



Trauerspiel 1770. Cf. *Alm. d. dtsh. Mus.* 1771, 99; Goedeke, § 226, No. 36. I have been unable to ascertain whether Dyk's version is a translation or an adaptation of Otway

In connection with Schiller's play, cf. Jacob Löwenberg, *Ueber Otway's und Schiller's Don Carlos*. Dissertation. Lippstadt, 1886.

6. Daniel Casper von Lohenstein. A so-called "Heldenbrief" on Philip and Eboli. Breslau, 1680 (?).

Lohenstein's *Trauer- und Lustgedichte* and his *Sämtliche Gedichte* both appeared in 1680. I have been unable to find an edition of Lohenstein's poems, and have therefore been unable to identify the above Heldenbrief. Max Freiherr von Waldberg, *Die galante Lyrik*, Strassburg, 1885, gives to Hoffmannswaldau the credit of having introduced into German literature the so-called Heldenbrief, and states that Lohenstein and Mencke wrote Heldenbriefe on the Don Carlos theme. Minor's statement (II, 624): "Hoffmannswaldau nennt Carlos und Elizabeth" is probably an oversight. Hoffmannswaldau wrote no Heldenbrief on the Carlos theme.

7. Jean Galbert de Campistron, *Andronic*, Paris, 1685. Cf. also "Ouevres de Monsieur de Campistron," Amsterdam, 1722, vol. 1.

In Campistron's drama of five acts in rhymed Alexandrines the scene is shifted from Spain to Byzantium. The Emperor Colojean Paleologue corresponds to Philip II, his wife Irene to Elizabeth of Valois, his son Andronic to Don Carlos, his ministers Leon and Marcene to Alba and Domingo; Martian, a confidant of Andronic, is the counterpart of Posa. The action hinges on Andronic's love for Irene and his desire to conciliate the Bulgars (who correspond to the Netherlanders in other plays). As in St. Réal's account, the prince is placed under arrest by his father, and dies by cutting his veins while in the bath. The Empress takes poison; the Emperor is overcome with grief. In the Campistron drama we find no Eboli-Carlos, Eboli-Don Juan, or Eboli-Philip elements.

Attempts have been made to show that Schiller must have

known Campistron's drama, and must have followed it in some points. Schiller's deviations from St. Réal's work have been explained by lines in Campistron's play. Schiller's *Posa* has been depicted as a combination of St. Réal's *Posa* and various characters from Campistron (Marian, Leonce, Egmont, de Bergh, Montigny, etc.). Cf. particularly H. J. Heller, *Die Quellen des Schillerschen Don Carlos* (*Archiv für das Stud. d. neueren Spr. und Lit.*, XXV, Heft 1 & 2, pp. 55-109, 1859); Curt Hausding, *Jean Galbert de Campistron in seiner Bedeutung als Dramatiker für das Theater Frankreichs und des Auslands*. Dissertation. Leipzig, 1903. In spite of Heller's ingenious arguments and citations, one is not convinced that Campistron had even the slightest influence on Schiller.

8. Johann Burkhard Mencke (nom de plume Philander van der Linde). *Heldenbriefe* on Don Carlos and Elizabeth of Valois. Written 1693 (?), published 1705 (?).

Mencke lived 1674-1732. Waldberg, *Die galante Lyrik*, p. 133, says: "Mencke behandelte auch den Stoff von Don Carlos und Isabella"; Koberstein, *Gesch. der deut. Nat. Lit.* (ed. Bartsch), Leipzig, 1872, II, 213, note 15: "Früher da er [Mencke] noch zu sehr 'in Hoffmannswaldau's Gleichnisse verliebt war' hatte er sich diesen, namentlich in seinen meist im 18. Jahre verfertigten Heldenbriefen, die im ersten Theile [der Gedichte] stehen, zum Vorbild genommen." This would make the date of composition about 1693, and the publication probably in the *Galante Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1705. The Columbia University Library has an edition of 1723. Under the title "*Heldenbriefe*" we find the heading *Liebe zwischen Carl dem Infanten von Spanien und seiner Stiefmutter Isabella*. A prose introduction of a page tells of Carlos's imprisonment and the Queen's death from poison. The source followed is undoubtedly St. Réal. Then come two letters, the first *Isabella an ihren Stieff-Sohn Carl Infanten von Spanien* (72 lines), the second *Carl an seine Stieff-Mutter Isabella Königin von Spanien* (68 lines). The verse is rhymed Alexandrine with the

rhyme sceme *ababedcd*, in which *a* and *c* are feminine, *b* and *d* masculine.

9. José de Cañizares, *El Principe Don Carlos*. Written about 1700, published at Valencia in 1773.

Cañizares lived in 1676-1750. Two supposed versions of Enciso's drama have given rise to much confusion. The later version is the one Schaeffer followed in translating Enciso's plays. Crawford has shown that the later version is really by Cañizares. Cf. the remarks under Enciso.

10. Vittorio Alfieri, *Filippo II*, (first version in French 1774, in Italian 1776), published at Siena, 1783.

Alfieri, one of the most famous Italian writers of tragedy, lived 1749-1803. His *Filippo* is based on St. Réal's story. Alfieri's picture of Philip II is one of horror, of cruelty, of implacable revenge. In the words of Carlyle: "Alfieri's Filippo is perhaps the most wicked man that human imagination has conceived." Next to Schiller's, Alfieri's drama is probably the most noteworthy treatment of the Carlos theme. A comparison of Schiller and Alfieri is, therefore, of value. No one has summarised the methods of the two men more successfully than Carlyle in his *Life of Friederich Schiller*, London, 1825, p. 123. "The mind of one is like the ocean, beautiful in its strength, smiling in the radiance of summer, and washing luxuriant and romantic shores; that of the other is like some black unfathomable lake placed far amid the melancholy mountains; bleak, solitary, desolate; but girdled with grim sky-piercing cliffs, overshadowed with storms, and illuminated only by the red glare of the lightning. Schiller is magnificent in his expansion, Alfieri is overpowering in his condensed energy; the first inspires us with the greater admiration, the last with the greater awe."

A conveniently accessible German translation of Alfieri's drama by Adolf Seubert is published in the Reclam series (No. 874). An English translation may be found in Charles Lloyd, *The Tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri*, London, 1815.

11. Alessandro Pepoli, *La gelosia snaturata o sia D. Carlo, infante di Spagna; tragedia*. Con tre lettere sopra le quattro

prime tragedie del Conte Alfieri, la prima della quali é la proposta del Conte Pepoli al sig. Raineri de' Calsabigi, la seconda é la risposta del suddetto, e l'ultima la contra risposta del primo coll' offerta della presente tragedia. Napoli, 1784.

A copy of the play is in the Harvard University Library.

12. Louis-Sebastien Mercier, *Portrait de Philippe second*, Paris, 1785.

Mercier's introduction (*Précis historique*) was translated by Schiller, published in the *Thalia* (Heft II, 1786, pp. 71-104) in connection with the earliest version of the first three acts of *Don Carlos*, and is reprinted in Goedeke's edition of Schiller's works. Mercier's work is based on St. Réal. As in Alfieri's drama, Philip is represented as a monster. Cf. Oskar Zollinger, *Louis-Sebastien Mercier's Beziehungen zur deutschen Litteratur*. (Zts. f. franz. Spr. und Lit., XXV, pp. 87-121, Berlin, 1903.) Mercier's influence on Schiller is negligible.

13. *Der unglückliche Don Carlos, eine wahre Geschichte zur Warnung für Höflinge*. Nach dem französischen frei bearbeitet. Leipzig und Wien, 1786, 171S. Other editions 1787, 1795.

Cf. August Hettler, *Schiller's Dramen. Eine Bibliographie*. Berlin, 1885; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, V, 2, § 253, 11.

14. Friedrich Schiller, *Don Karlos, Infant von Spanien*. Ein dramatisches Gedicht. Leipzig, 1787.

Other editions appeared in 1799, 1801, 1802, 1804, 1805. The earliest version of the first three acts was printed in the *Thalia* in 1785-87. The *Thalia* version which stopped at the end of Act III, Sc. 9 contained 4140 lines; the first complete version of 1787 had 6282 lines; the version of 1801 had 5448; that of 1805, the basis of later reprints, had 5370. Schiller's *Don Karlos* has been translated into English more often than any other drama of Schiller except *Wilhelm Tell*.

15. *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien*. Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen von B—l und B—r. 1790.

This is probably an adaptation of Schiller's drama. Cf. the catalogue of the British Museum.



16. *Dom Karlos Leben und Ende nach der wahren Geschichte*. Wien, 1795.

Cf. Goedeke as above.

17. *Geschichte des Spanischen Infanten Don Carlos*. Mit dem Portrait desselben von Lips gestochen. Hof, 1795.

Cf. Goedeke as above.

18. William Dunlap, *Don Carlos*. A translation from Schiller's drama of the same name. Played at the Park Theatre, New York, May 6, 1799.

Dunlap lived 1766-1839. He wrote a number of plays and adapted many others for the stage. Of his plays thirty are in print, thirty-six in manuscript; among the latter is *Don Carlos* which is an adaptation rather than a translation. Cf. Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Plays 1714-1830*, New York, 1900; Joseph N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage from 1750-1860*, 2 vols., New York, 1866-7.

Dunlap's *Don Carlos* is of the greatest interest. It was performed once—the only time that *Don Carlos* was produced in English, either in England or America, from the publication of Schiller's play in 1787 until the performance of Mansfield's version in 1905. Ireland, I, 185, gives the following notice: "May 6th [1799]. First time, Dunlap's adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*;

Philip II .....	Mr. Fennell
Don Carlos .....	Mr. Cooper
Marquis Posa .....	Mr. Martin
Duke of Alva .....	Mr. Hallam, Jr.
Count Lerma .....	Mr. Tyler
Duke of Feria .....	Mr. Miller
Dominick .....	Mr. Hogg
Prior .....	Mr. Perkins
Princess of Eboli .....	Miss E. Westray
Duchess .....	Mrs. Hogg
Marchioness .....	Miss White
Elizabeth .....	Mrs. Barrett

The play was a failure and never repeated."

19. J. W. Rose, *Carlos und Elizabeth*. Trauerspiel in fünf Akten. Leipzig, 1802.

20. M. Westermann. A Dutch adaptation of Schiller's drama. 1802.

Cf. Goedeke § 253, 9a.

21. Manuel José Quintana, *El Panteon de Escorial*. A poem dated April, 1805.

Quintana lived 1772-1857. The above poem contains about 300 lines and consists of a series of comments on past events by various historical characters—Don Carlos, Isabel de Valois, Philip II, Philip III, Philip IV, Charles II, and the Emperor Charles V. This interesting poem may be found on p. 35 of the volume on Quintana in the *Biblioteca Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1852.

22. Lord Byron, *Parisina*. Dedication dated Jan. 22, 1816.

This poem has 586 lines written mainly in iambic tetrameter. In the advertisement Byron says: "The following poem is grounded on a circumstance mentioned in Gibbon's 'Antiquities of the House of Brunswick.' I am aware, that in modern times, the delicacy or fastidiousness of the reader may deem such subjects unfit for the purposes of poetry. The Greek dramatists, and some of the best of our English writers, were of a different opinion: as Alfieri and Schiller have also been, more recently on the Continent. The following extract will explain the facts on which the story is founded. The name Azo is substituted for Nicholas, as more metrical. [B].

"Under the reign of Nicholas III [A. D. 1425] Ferrara was polluted with a domestic tragedy. By the testimony of a maid, and his own observation, the Marquis of Este discovered the incestuous loves of his wife Parisina, and Hugo his bastard son, a beautiful and valiant youth. They were beheaded in the castle by the sentence of the father and husband, who published his shame, and survived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty; if they were innocent, he was still more unfortunate; nor is there any possible situation in which I can sincerely approve the last act of the justice of a

parent"—Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, III, 470. [Ed. 1837, p. 830].

It is clear that Byron had Schiller's *Don Karlos* in mind. In the first place, Byron mentions Schiller in his introduction; secondly, in Byron's poem (as in Schiller's drama) only the son is punished and the step-mother is allowed to shift for herself; thirdly, in Byron's poem (as in Schiller) the son maintains that the step-mother was originally intended for him. Cf. ll. 252-256:

Tis true that I have done thee wrong—

But wrong for wrong:—this,—deemed thy bride

The other victim of thy pride,—

Thou know'st for me was destined long;

Thou saw'st and coveted'st her charms;

23. Marie Joseph Chénier, *Philippe II*, tragédie en cinq actes. 1818.

24. *Don Carlos*. Translated and altered from the German of Schiller and adapted for the English stage by Simon Sabba. Paris, 1821.

25. Lord John Russel, *Don Carlos*, London, 1822.

The various editions of Russel's drama may be found in the Ticknor collection at the Boston Public Library. Henry Morley in his collection *Schiller's Poems and Plays*, London, 1889, included Lord Russel's *Don Carlos* which he seems to have regarded as a translation of Schiller's drama.

26. An English adaptation of Schiller's drama by an anonymous writer, London, 1822.

In the preface the author states that he had to retrench one half, leave out the underplot, make many changes, and compose an entirely new catastrophe. Thomas Rea, *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England*, London, 1906, puts this adaptation in the list of translations, although on p. 42 he characterises it as an adaptation.

27. Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, *Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien*. Ein Trauerspiel. Mit einer Zueignung an Fr. von Schiller. Danzig, 1823.

28. Alexandre Soumet, *Elizabeth de France*, tragédie de cinq actes et en vers. Paris, 1827.

Cf. Goethe's *Kunst und Altertum* 6, 2, 391; Goedeke, V, 2, § 253, 11.

29. M. Costa, *Don Carlos*. An opera produced in London in 1844.

30. E. M. Corman, *Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne*, drame en cinq actes imité de Schiller et précédé de l'Etudiant d'Alcala. Paris, 1848.

31. *Don Karlos, der Infanterist von Spanien*, oder das kommt davon, wenn man seine Schwiegermutter liebt. Berlin, 1852.

Cf. Goedeke, V, 2, § 253, 11.

32. Amédée de la Rousselière, *Don Carlos*. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers imitée de Schiller. Liège 1855.

The drama is written in Alexandrines.

33. Vincenzo Moscuza, *Don Carlos*. An opera performed in Naples in 1862.

34. G. Verdi, *Don Carlos*. An opera in five acts on a text by Mery and Camille du Loche. Performed in Paris in 1867, and, after a revision of the text by Boito, in Vienna in 1884.

Cf. Goedeke, V, 2, § 253, 11.

35. Nuñez de Arce, *El Haz de Leña*. First performed in 1872.

The text has been edited for English-speaking students by Rudolph Schwill, D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1903. Schwill states that Nuñez de Arce's work has been called the most dignified Spanish play of the whole nineteenth century. Nuñez de Arce, like Enciso and Montalvan, adheres more closely to historical facts than most other writers on the Carlos theme. In *El Haz de Leña* a simple girl, Catalina, is in love with Carlos; the love of Carlos for his step-mother, Elizabeth of Valois—an element which is all-important in Schiller's drama—is not dwelt upon by Nuñez de Arce. His play, however, is forceful and thoroughly dramatic.

36. *Don Karlos*. Trauerspiel in fünf Akten von Schiller.



Mit Benutzung der älteren Ausgaben für die Aufführung eingerichtet von Eugen Kilian. Bühnenausgabe. Leipzig. Druck und Verlag von Philip Reclam jun. [1904]. No. 4569 in the series.

The version of Killian was first performed at Karlsruhe Jan. 8, 1903.

37. Richard Mansfield, An acting version of Schiller's *Don Carlos* based upon R. D. Boylan's English translation. The preliminary performance of the play was given at the Valentine Theatre, Toledo, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1905. It was a part of Mansfield's repertoire throughout the season 1905-1906. Cf. Paul Wiltach, *Richard Mansfield the Man and Actor*, New York, 1908, pp. 435-37.

Of the thirty-seven works in the foregoing list, the following may be regarded as adaptations of Schiller's drama rather than as original treatments. German: B—l and B—r, 1790; Kilian, 1904; Dutch: Westermann, 1802 (Hettler regards it as a translation); French: Corman, 1848; Rousselière, 1885; English: Dunlap, 1799; Sabba, 1821; Mansfield, 1905.

Only a few of the various works on the Carlos theme have had translations that deserve special notice. In the following list I have arranged the translations of the works by Enciso (i. e. Cañizares), St. Réal, Otway, Alfieri, Mercier, and Schiller.

#### TRANSLATIONS.

Of Enciso's *El Principe Don Carlos*.

German: A. Schaeffer, Leipzig, 1887.

(Cf. the remarks under the paragraphs on Enciso).

Of St. Réal's *Don Carlos, nouvelle historique*.

German:

(?), Riga, 1767.

(?), Eisenach, 1784.

J. L. Schmidt, Worms, 1828.

H. Hersch, Leipzig, 1885.

English:

H. J., London, 1676.

(?), London, 1729.

Of Otway's *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain*.

German :

C. W. v. Borck, Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1757.

J. G. Dyk, 1770. (Cf. the remarks under 5. Otway).

Of Cañizares's *El Principe Don Carlos*.

German :

A. Schaeffer, Leipzig, 1887.

(Cf. the remarks under the paragraphs under Enciso and Cañizares).

Of Alfieri's *Filippo II*.

German :

Adolf Seubert, Leipzig (Reclam).

English :

Charles Lloyd, London, 1815.

Of Mercier's *Portrait de Philippe second*.

German :

Fr. Schiller, in the *Thalia*, 1786. (Only the introduction translated).

Of Schiller's *Don Karlos*.

English :

(?), 1795. (Mentioned in the *Biographica Dramatica*, but difficult to identify).

[G. H. Noehden & J. Stoddart], London, 1798.

[Symonds?], London, 1798.

B. Thompson, London, 1801.

G. H. Calvert, Baltimore, 1834.

J. W. Bruce, Mannheim, 1837.

J. Towler, Karlsruhe, 1843.

C. H. Cottrell, London, 1843.

R. D. Boylan, London, 1847.

T. S. Egan, London, 1867.

A. Wood, Edinburgh, 1873.

French :

Adrien Lezay-Marnesia, Paris, 1799.

Ad. Uttner, Strassburg, 1848.

A. Brun, Paris, 1860. [Cf. the British Museum Catalogue].

Dutch:

[E. M. Post], Amsterdam, 1789. [Cf. the British Museum Catalogue].

(?), Amsterdam, 1799. [Cf. Goedeke].

Danish:

C. Molbech, Copenhagen, 1831. [Cf. Hettler].

Russian:

M. Lichonin, Moskau, 1828, 1833, 1857.

Polish<sup>7</sup>:

Józef Paszkowski, Warsaw, 1842. (Extracts from *Don Carlos* in the *Biblioteka Warszawska*, III, 135.)

M. Budzyński, Leipzig, 1844. (Contained in vol. 2 of his translated dramas. A second issue edited by J. N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig, 1850; another edition, Brussels, 1862. Goedeke cites Bobrowicz as the translator).

W. Tomaszewicz, Levow, 1857. (*Rocznik Teatru lwowskiego*, na rok, 1858).

Hungarian:

E. Kovács Gy, 1875. [Cf. the British Museum Catalogue].

Italian:

Pompeo Ferrario, Milan, 1819.

Andrea Mafei, Milan, 1842.

Spanish:

D. C. D., 1881. [Cf. the British Museum Catalogue].

Jose Yxart, Barcelona, 1882.

Much remains to be done in making a complete study of the Don Carlos theme in literature. In the list of treatments we find every variety of form—tragedy and comedy, novel, historical sketch, dramatic and dialogue poem, "Heldenbrief," and opera. We find Philip II treated as a judicious monarch by the Spanish dramatists, and as a monster by the Italian Alfieri and

<sup>7</sup>For help in verifying the Polish titles I am indebted to Professor Leo Wiener of Harvard University.

the Frenchman Mercier. Carlos, likewise, appears in the Spanish dramas as a half-demented, sentimental, and irresponsible youth, in Schiller and other dramas as an idealistic lover and a cosmopolitan dreamer. The rôle of Posa has numerous variations, so also the rôles of Alba and Domingo. Finally, the parts played in the love-intrigues by the Princess Eboli and particularly by the Queen, Elizabeth of Valois, give abundant opportunity for studies in the development of characters.

A careful study of the Don Carlos theme on the analogy of Karl Kipka's<sup>8</sup> thorough investigation of the Mary Stuart theme would be well worth while.

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<sup>8</sup>Karl Kipka, *Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur vornehmlich des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1907. [Kipka enumerates more than 200 treatments of the theme].



## BRIEF NOTES ON THE INDEBTEDNESS OF SPIELHAGEN TO DICKENS.

Few English authors, if we except Walter Scott, have exerted more influence upon German novelists of the last century than Charles Dickens. Traces of this influence are frequent from 1840 on, and such writers as Alexander von Ungern Sternberg, Raabe, Freytag, and Reuter betray evidence of having come under its sway. The English author's interest in the plain man, his marked predilection for original and eccentric types, his hatred of the injustice inherent in all advantages and privileges accorded the nobility, his gentle and sympathetic humor have appealed strongly to the German nature at a period when with the rise of industrialism and social democracy the eyes of the world gradually became focussed upon the condition and problems of the proletariat.

Friedrich Spielhagen was ever an enthusiastic admirer of English writers—Shakespeare, Fielding, Smollet, Byron, Scott, and Thackeray—and admits that he owed a greater debt to them than to the French for his intellectual development. Dickens, too, was a favorite of his. Before any printed translation of *David Copperfield* had appeared, he even rendered large portions of "*das köstliche Buch*" into German for the delectation of a friend who was unable to enjoy it in the original. Somewhat later he composed an essay on Dickens which, however, has never been included in his collected works as it did not fully satisfy him. It was nevertheless, with some revisions, brought out in the journal "*Europa*." Throughout his autobiographical work *Finder und Erfinder* as well as in his collections of literary essays and criticisms, he frequently expresses his high regard for the English novelist. Dickens, Goethe, and "the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield*" he names as "*die Epiker von Gottes Gnaden*"; and *David Copperfield* is frequently cited as a model of what a novel should be.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, 226-227; also 228, and 240; *Finder und Erfinder* I, 377, II, 395.

Apart from the question of the choice of the autobiographical form, a number of characters, themes, and certain stylistic devices in Spielhagen's *Ich-Roman Hammer und Amboss* are touched with the influence of the last named work. A particularly striking resemblance is that of the various girls with whom the young hero came into contact. The sequence as well as the number of real attachments is similar. First the beautiful Emily, whose desire for gaiety and life, whose longing to be a lady, overcame her better judgment and who ran away with the rich, handsome, and brilliant Steerforth only to wreck her life forever. David had loved her in a boyish way and felt her fate deeply. Then Dora, the sweet, little, spoiled child whose pretty ways fascinated the youthful David and whom, after her father's death he married, only to lose her again by death within a short period of time. Finally the sweetly gentle Agnes, who had been his good angel all along. To her he had confided his little love affairs, had been advised by her and now he came to realize that she had really been in his thoughts all the time. He marries her and finds the happiness that he sought.

In *Hammer und Amboss* Georg is inspired with his first real passion by Constanze, the beautiful, strange daughter of Malte von Zehren. She becomes ensnared in an intrigue with the young prince of Prora, and tired of her life at home, elopes with him, thus sealing her fate. His second love is Hermine, a sweet, pretty, spoiled maiden,<sup>2</sup> whom he had known when she was yet a child.<sup>3</sup> Georg's marriage to her is soon followed by her father's death and shortly after by her own. Georg finds the affairs of his father-in-law in a tangle. He, like Dora's father in David Copperfield, had posed as being rich, but, as it proves, leaves nothing. Finally Georg turns to the quiet, peaceful, serenely sweet Paula, whom he had made a confidante in his affair with Hermine and who encouraged him in it. He soon

<sup>2</sup> Hermine, however, develops into a woman who at least knows what she will, while Dora always remains a child.

<sup>3</sup> With Hermine as with Dora, attention is frequently drawn to her straw hat with blue ribbons and to her pet dog.

realizes that it is she whom he has loved from the first. He marries her<sup>4</sup> and is happy.

We might add that the family likeness between Fräulein Amalie Duff and Miss Julia Mills is unmistakable. Each is a confidante of the spoiled little girl, Hermine or Dora; each favors the suit of the hero, Georg or David; each is sentimental and has a decided inclination for highly extravagant and poetic phrase and quotation to characterize situations that arise in the love affairs of her precious ward.

Dickens' liking to portray certain criminal types may have awakened in *Spielhagen* an interest in such figures as Katzen-Caspar. The prison scene, too, in chapter 61 of *David Copperfield*, though widely divergent in purpose and effect from the series of pictures of prison life in *Hammer und Amboss* very possibly influenced *Spielhagen* to treat this subject. In each book it is a sociological study, though in *David Copperfield* the theme is treated satirically, and the wretched person of Mr. Creakle is not to be compared with the splendid, noble character of the Director von Zehren. Each director, however, had his peneological theory, and a humanitarian one. Creakle, with impractical and misplaced tenderness for men, particularly those "connected with a whole calendar of sins", laid stress on "the supreme comfort of the persons" and "their reduction to a wholesome state of mind, leading to contrition and repentance"; the Director von Zehren, blaming chiefly the constitution of present-day society, particularly its inequality, for the poor derelicts on the ocean of life, endeavored to inspire them with self-respecting manhood by showing confidence in them, though without the weak, sentimental belief of Creakle's system in their moral and religious professions.

Another interesting parallel is the depreciation of the lawyer and the legal profession. With Dickens this attitude requires no special proof. In *Spielhagen's Hammer und Amboss* we recall the absurdly pitiful figure of Justizrat Heckepfennig, an

<sup>4</sup> Paula like Agnes, has always watched anxiously over her father with an all-absorbing, self-sacrificing love.

arrant coward, buffoon, and self-important coxcomb; the stupidity of his "Conferent", Justizrat Bostelmann, or the smirking, self-complacent acquiescence of the Actuarius Unterwasser, or the overplus of cleverness of the attorney for the defense, Assessor Perleberg, who was "eine Welt zu gelehrt und scharfsinnig für mich (Georg), armen Teufel! Mit seinem Erstens und Zweitens hätte er eine Jury von Engeln gegen die Unschuld selbst einnehmen müssen, geschweige denn ein Collegium von Richtern, die durch ihn auf den Gedanken kamen, dass ein Mensch, der mit einem so ungeheueren Aufwand von Scharfsinn und Gelehrsamkeit verteidigt werden musste, notwendig ein grosser Verbrecher war". And this man "ist später eine grosse Fackel und Leuchte der Jurisprudenz geworden."

A comparison of the two works shows the employment of similar devices of characterization, for example that of attaching certain marked physical peculiarities of speech, appearance, or manner to the unique characters of the book. Dr. Snellius in *Hammer und Amboss* is seldom introduced without reference to his high pitched voice, resembling the crowing of a cock, which he ever tries to pitch lower to convince himself that he is really a human being; the rare old Süßmilch with his favorite phrase "Man hat nicht sieben Sinne wie ein Bär", "Sollte man nicht gleich zu einem Bären mit sieben Sinnen werden", or his "Da soll man doch einen Zahnstocher für ein Scheunentor ansehen". The attention of the reader is called again and again when Claus is present to his double row of the whitest of teeth; and poor, old, good-hearted Hans has his belief in the panaceic properties of the wine bottle held up before our minds with the emphasis of repetition.

Another element in Dicken's technique in *David Copperfield* is the conjuring up before his mind of a picture of a certain scene, event or person as it was in the past. Spielhagen develops this device and uses it in a more artistic and effective manner. One passage will suffice as an example of those of a more reflective nature, merely. "Von den Abendwolken fiel noch ein schwaches rosiges Licht in mein Gemach; in diesem rosigen



Lichte sehe ich den Mann immer, wenn ich an ihn denke. . . . Und wenn ich die Augen schlösse, so würde er vor mir stehen, wie er an jenem Abend vor mir stand, umflossen von dem rosigen Licht, und nicht minder deutlich würde ich seine Stimme hören"<sup>5</sup>. . . .

This device, however, is made to assume its real value in such passages as the following: "Meine Abneigung gegen sie war von altem Datum und nur zu begründet! . . . Die kleine Hermine freilich, hatte sie wohl noch so kornblumblaue Augen wie an jenem Morgen auf dem Deck des 'Pinguin'? und die sentenzenreiche Gouvernante, trug sie noch ihre gelben Locken? Es war ein lustiger, sonniger Tag gewesen, als ich die beiden zum letztenmale gesehen". . . . "Während Christel so ihrem tiefen Kummer Worte gab, deckte sie zierlich und gewandt den Tisch und ich. . . . dachte vergangener Zeiten, dachte jenes Abends, wo ich den Wilden in Pinnow's Schmiede zum ersten Mal getroffen und wie Christel den Tisch gedeckt und uns bedient und wie sie mich hernach gebeten hatte, nicht mit dem Wilden zu gehen. Wenn ich damals ihrem Rat gefolgt wäre!"<sup>6</sup>

By means of such retrospects at different stages in the story, our minds are not permitted to release the impressions of the earlier incidents and the whole narrative affords a totality of impression that is hardly possible to attain in any other way.

We might close with a particularly striking and interesting parallel between two shipwreck scenes depicted by *Spielhagen* and *Dickens*. The first is found toward the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth chapter of *Spielhagen's* *Noblesse Oblige*; the second in chapter fifty-five of *David Copperfield*. The underlying purpose of the scene, its place in the economy of the novel is much the same in both books. A chivalrous, noble-minded lover, Hipolyte in the one case, Ham in the other, loses his life in a vain attempt to rescue the man (Billow in the first passage, Steerforth in the second) who has robbed him of all he held dearest in the world, of his beloved.

<sup>5</sup> Hammer und Amboss I, 280-281.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* I, 396.

<sup>7</sup> II, 37; cf. also I, 231-232; 237; 417; 422; 423.

The setting of the two pictures is similar. A terrible storm has arisen, the wind sweeps through the town, roaring down the chimneys, banging the doors, and rattling the windows, hurling tiles from the roofs and shaking the houses to their very foundations. David in the one story has come to an inn in Yarmouth, where he has put up; Minna, Billow's wife and Hipolyte's sweetheart, has in the other just taken quarters in the inn at Warnesoe on the Baltic. Both try in vain to get some rest; their inward agitation matches that of the storm without and makes repose an impossibility. In both stories the excited groups of people are depicted as they stand gazing out to sea, and in each narrativ a ship is sighted in distress. Each ship has four men clinging to the remaining mast and finally only one, this one the man of all men that Hipolyte or Ham had reason to hate and despise. It is evident that neither ship can hold out much longer. An attempt is made to hold both rescuers back, David trying it in the one case, Minna in the other; but to no avail. David sees the bold swimmer, Ham, "rising with the hills and falling with the valleys and lost beneath the foam"; while Minna watches the little boat with its rescuing party "tossing on the breakers comb, sinking into an abyss of water, swept up again and then plunging down", until both draw near the ships. They are close alongside and the heroic struggles seem destined to be crowned with success, when a huge wave comes towering, rolling in and crushes down upon the ships and the rescuers, engulfing all in its cruel embrace. When it passes onward to the shore, only a few fragments of debris dancing on the waves give any sign of the fated ship that was.

Both heroes perish in the attempt, the one, Ham, in David Copperfield, is hauled in dead to the very feet of his friend David; the other, Hipolyte in *Noblesse Oblige*, is brought ashore, mortally wounded, in the boat of the pilot crew, only to expire in the arms of his sweetheart Minna.\*

\* In the above sketch I have traced the essential resemblances in the two passages. There are, as might be expected, many divergencies, incident on a difference of general plot as well as of locality.

Although the scene in *Noblesse Oblige* gives us a vivid and impressive picture of a storm and the horrors of a wreck at sea, it exhibits as a whole more pose, is more melodramatic than the picture in Dickens. In the latter passage the details are more fully and more skilfully handled. The scene is powerfully drawn and moves our sympathy deeply. We must bear in mind, however, that *Noblesse Oblige*, one of Spielhagens inferior novels, should not be compared artistically with Dickens' best work.

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## THE TIMON PLAYS.

The story of Timon of Athens is handled twice in classical literature: Plutarch introduces it parenthetically into his *Life of Marcus Antonius*, and Lucian tells it more fully in his inimitable dialogue, *Timon* or *Misanthropos*.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's story was translated into English by Paynter, in *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566), and by North, in *The Lives* (1579).<sup>2</sup> Lucian's story, although it had not appeared in English, existed in Latin, French, and Italian translations.

There are extant three Elizabethan plays founded on the Timon story. The first is a moral interlude by Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Triumph of Time*; the second, an anonymous manuscript play, *Timon*; the third, Shakespear's *Timon of Athens*. There is no evidence of any other Elizabethan dramatization of the story. It has been pointed out that references to Timon were very frequent in English literature of the sixteenth century, and from this it has been inferred that an early play on the subject may have existed. Such a conclusion, however, is not warranted by any positive evidence.

## 1. THE TRIUMPH OF TIME.

Fleay remarks: "Founded on Lucian's *Timon* or *Misanthropos*, in my judgment, although Dyce follows Langbaine in ascribing it to the author's own invention."<sup>3</sup> The slightest investigation shows that *The Triumph of Time* is little more than Lucian's dialogue thrown into the form of a morality. The following outline of the play would serve with little change for an outline of Lucian's *Misanthropos*:

<sup>1</sup> References to Timon and his nature were not uncommon in classical writing: cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1.808; *Birds*, 1.1548; Phrynicus, *Monotropos*; Callimachus, *Epigrams*; Pliny, *Natural History*, VII. 19; also Stobæus, Pausanias, Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Also included by Sir Richard Barchley in his *A Discourse of the Felicity of Man* (1598).

<sup>3</sup> *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, i, p. 180.



Anthropos, having lost his wealth, is deserted by all his friends, Flattery, Pleasure, Craft, etc., and Poverty alone comes to aid him in his distress. In desperation he makes an appeal directly to Jupiter. The sovereign of the gods asks Mercury who it is that calls so loudly to heaven for help. Mercury replies that it is Anthropos,

He that has swell'd your sacred fires with incense,  
And pil'd upon your altars thousand heifers.

Thereupon Jupiter commands Plutus to go to Anthropos and dwell with him. At first Plutus refuses to obey; for, says he,

I was too lately with him, almost torn  
Into ten thousand pieces by his followers.

Finally, however, he consents:

I do obey, then; But [will] change my figure;  
For when I willingly befriend a creature,  
Goodly and full of glory, I shew to him;  
But when I am compell'd, old and decrepit,  
I halt, and hang upon my staff.

Upon arrival Plutus finds Anthropos surrounded by Poverty, Honesty, Simplicity, and Humility; but these immediately take their departure. Plutus then summons Industry and the Arts, and by stamping on the ground, causes Labour to arise. They dig the earth, and presently lay bare a wealth of gold.

*Anthropos.* A glorious mine of metal.—

Oh Jupiter, my thanks!

Immediately Delight, Pleasure, Craft, Lucre, Vanity and other false friends flock to Anthropos. Mercury speaks from above warning him against them; finally Jupiter causes them to unmask and thus reveal by their ugly faces their true character.

Note especially the following points of similarity with Lucian's *Misanthropos*. The quotations are from Lucian.<sup>4</sup> (1) The rich young man, having lost all his wealth, deserted by his false friends. (2) Poverty and her attendants befriending the bankrupt: "*Mercury*. [To Plutus] It is Timon, digging up a

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this article the quotations are from Dr. Thomas Francklin's translation of Lucian, London, 2 vols., 1780.

piece of rocky land hard by us; and see along with him is Poverty, and Labour, and Strength, and Fortitude, and Wisdom, all driven thither by Hunger." (3) The direct appeal to Jupiter. (4) Jupiter refers to Mercury to find out who the person is: "*Jupiter.* Mercury, who is this Athenian that bellows thus to us from the bottom of Hymettus?" (5) Mercury in his reply lays special stress upon the rich sacrifices made by the petitioner: "*Mercury.* Don't you know Timon, the Colythian, the son of Echeratides; he who used so often to treat us with the choicest victims; that grew so rich on a sudden, and sacrificed whole hecatombs; the man that celebrated the feasts of Jupiter with so much splendor?" (6) Jupiter immediately sends Plutus to Timon. (7) Plutus at first refuses to go:

*Plutus.* Jupiter, I'll not go near him.

*Jupiter.* Not when I command you? Why so, Plutus?

*Plutus.* Because he has used me very ill, cast me away from him, and split me into a thousand pieces. . . . .

(8) Plutus, when finally commanded to go, goes limping:

*Mercury.* Come Plutus, let us be gone. How is this? limping? I did not know you were lame as well as blind.

*Plutus.* I am not always so, Mercury; but whenever Jupiter sends me to anybody, I do not know how it is, but I am generally tardy, and hop a little; so that sometimes the person that expects me, grows old before I get to him. Whereas, when I take my leave, I have wings swifter than a bird; no sooner are the doors unbarred, than like a conqueror in the race, I fly over the whole course at a leap, and am scarce seen by the spectators.

(9) Plutus, upon his arrival, finds Poverty in attendance; and Poverty and those with her immediately take their leave.

(10) Treasure is discovered by digging in the earth. (11) At once the horde of false friends flock back. (12) "Delight, Pleasure, Craft, Lucre, Vanity, etc.," are masked, and in the last scene Jupiter, by unmasking them, reveals their true character:

*Mercury* One thing more I would ask you: how comes it

about that, with that pale visage, without eyes (for blind you are) and so weak in the ancles, you have so many admirers?...

*Plutus.* Do you think I appear to them such as I really am, blind and lame, and with all these imperfections about me?

*Mercury.* Why not, unless they are as blind as yourself?

*Plutus.* They are not blind, my friend; but that ignorance and folly, which is now become universal, darkens their understanding: add to this, that to hide as much as possible my deformity, I put on a beautiful mask, covered with gold and jewels, and appear to them in a robe of various colours..... If I was stripped naked before them they would condemn their own blindness in loving anything so unlovely and disgusting.

One thing remains to be said: Lucian's *Misanthropos* partakes strongly of the morality. Thus, Timon in the field is attended by Poverty and her servants, Labour, Strength, Fortitude, and Wisdom. These had been driven to Timon by Hunger. Poverty accuses Timon of having been corrupted by Sloth and Luxury. Plutus says to Mercury: "No sooner, you must know, does the happy man open his doors to me, but with me rush in unseen, Pride, Folly, Madness, Fraud, Insolence, and a thousand more." This feature of *Misanthropos* may have suggested to the dramatists the form of a morality.

## 2. TIMON.<sup>5</sup>

The manuscript play, *Timon*, was clearly "the work of an academick," and was doubtless, as Dyce pointed out, intended for the amusement of an academic audience. The introduction of Greek lines and references to classical writing tend to prove this.

*Lal.* "I Achilles,

Or otherwise am called Pelides;

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ, πηληϊάδῳ Ἀχιλλῆος.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Dyce in *The Shakespeare Society Publications*, and by Hazlitt in *The Shakespeare Library*, vol. vi.

<sup>6</sup> The first line of the *Iliad*.

Again:

*Timon.* Heare me, O, heare me, Joue!

Εμεῖο ζῶντος Υαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί.<sup>†</sup>

Or again:

*Stil.* "Aristotle in his Meteorologicke, and the XVteene page as I remember, defendeth *παραδοξ et ἄτροπος*.

Stevens believed that it was "written, or transcribed, about the year 1600,"<sup>‡</sup> and Dyce was of the same opinion. The style of the play, however, indicates a somewhat earlier date of composition.

I believe that it belongs to that class of school plays of which *Roister Doister* is a representative. The tone of the whole piece, as well as the nature of the horse-play, indicates that it was written for performance by school boys. It is interesting to note, too, some striking similarities between *Timon* and *Roister Doister*. Gelasimus is a second Ralph; Pseudocheus and Pædio correspond to Mathew Merygreke; and Blatte, the aged nurse of the beloved one, is a counterpart of Margerie Mumblecrust. Compare the picture of Roister Doister in act 1, scene 1, and the following picture of Gelasimus.

*Gelas.* Ha, ha, he! how I my selfe content myself! I wholly am pleased with my selfe, from the sole of my foote to the crowne of my head: soe the Graces loue me, I could willinglie kisse my selfe. Heere, take my cloake, while I veiwe my selfe awhile: see, heere's a looking glasse. [*Takes the glass.*] Lord, what goulden teeth haue I! what a purple coulored face! did'st euer see things more correspondent?

*Pæd.* Your anckles be too litle.

*Gelas.* The more gentlemanlike; I shall not be a fatt greasy plebian.

What speake the virgines of me, canst thou tell?

*Pæd.* They terme you delight of men, white boye, Noble without comparison,—what not?

<sup>†</sup> Some critics have supposed the Greek to be a quotation from a lost drama of Euripides—Dyce.

<sup>‡</sup> Shakespeare (ed. 1821) xiii, 244-5.



This the like eyes, that the like nose desires;  
This your cheekes, and that your leggs.

*Gelas. Pædio*

See that my chamber dores be barred fast;  
For I am fearefull, least that, when I sleepe,  
Some of theis ffemales pilfre me awaye.  
Did I relate to thee (I know not), or hast heard  
I am cozen german vnto Venus?

"That it was really acted," says Dyce, "a strong presumptive proof is afforded by the stage-direction at page 79, which originally stood, '*Enter Timon and Laches with either a spade in their hands,*' but which has been carefully altered to '*Enter Timon and Laches with 3 spades in their hands,*' because a third spade was required for the use of Gelasimus in a later part of the [next] scene." Another good indication that it was acted, or at least intended to be acted, is given by the following stage direction:<sup>9</sup>

*Phil.* Grunnio, make broathe of these two fishes.

*[Two spratts or the like.*

There is no evidence to show where the play was acted. Dyce remarks, "certainly never performed in the metropolis." It is dangerous to dispute with so careful a scholar, yet in view of the absence of all external evidence, I must believe from the nature of the play that it was written for presentation in London.

How many hange their heades downe, leaste they splitte  
The signe posts with their hornes; how many sitte  
At home sicke of the headeache, and complaine  
That they are like to the twi-horned moone;  
This man lookes pale; another stands amazde:  
In the meane while their wiues are iouiall;  
They eate the tongues of nightingales, lambestones,  
Potato pies, pick'ld oysters, marrowbones,  
And drinke the purest wine that they can gette;  
They have their garden houses: will bee sicke; etc.

<sup>9</sup> P. 48. These indicate, also, that the manuscript was the acting copy.

This has distinctively the ring of the metropolis. The garden houses (summer houses) were quite common in the suburbs of London. Again:

*Call.* Is this a citizen?

*Phil.* A wealthy one.

*Call.* I shall the better rule:

The wyfes of cittizens doe beare the sway,  
Whose very hands theire husbands may not touch  
Without a bended knee; . . . . .etc.

The sources of the play were Lucian's *Misanthropos* and *The True History*, from which the author took not only the plot, but also material by the handfulls. Moreover he drew slightly upon other dialogues of Lucian. Since this indebtedness has not been definitely pointed out, I give below all the borrowings, quoting first from the play, and then from Lucian.<sup>10</sup>

*Tim.* Laches, hast thou receau'd my rents?

*Lach.* Master, I haue,  
And brought in sacks filled with goulden talents:  
Is't your pleasure that I cast them into pryson?

*Tim.* Into pryson! whye soe?

*Laches.* Lett your chests be the pryson,  
Your locks the keeper, and your keyes the porter,  
Otherwise they'le fly away, swyfter then birds or wyndes.

*Tim.* I will noe miser bee.  
Flye, gould, enioye the sunn beames! 'tis not fitt  
Bright gould should lye hidd in obscuritie;

—*Timon*, p. 3.

*Jupiter.* [to Plutus] But the truth is, you are a querulous malcontent, finding fault with Timon for opening his doors, and letting you go where you will, instead of being jealous of you, and shutting you up at home; and yet sometimes you used to be angry with the rich, for confining you with bars, bolts, and seals, in such a manner that you could never see the light. This you

<sup>10</sup> The author made no use whatever of the Plutarch narrative. It seems to have been unknown to him.

lamented to me and complained that you were buried in utter darkness. I have met you pale and full of care, with your fingers contracted, and threatening to run away from them the first opportunity. Such a horrible thing did you count it to be locked up, like Danae, in a brazen or iron chest, or let out by a set of wretches on vile usury.

—*Misan.* p. 34.

Laches advises Timon to lock up the sacks of gold, "Otherwise they'll fly away, swifter then birds or wyndes."

—*Timon*, p. 3.

*Plutus.* Whereas, when I take my leave, I have wings swifter than a bird; no sooner are the doors unbarred, than, like a conqueror in the race, I fly over the whole course at a leap, and am scarce seen by the spectators.

—*Misan.* p. 36.

*Timon.* I'll rather scatter it among the people.....

Laches, bestrowe

The streetes with gould, and lett the people knowe  
How bountifull the hands of Timon are.

—*Timon*, pp. 3; 5.

*Plutus.* Because he used me very ill, cast me from him, and split me into a thousand pieces; nay, though I was like a father to him, beat me, as I may say, out of doors; threw me out of his hand, as a man would serve a hot burning coal.

—*Misan.* p. 34.

*Lach.* [to Timon] I, poore Laches,  
Not Timon; yf I were, I would not see  
My goodes by cowes devoured as they bee.

—*Timon*, p. 4.

*Mercury.* [speaking of Timon] He never discovered that he was giving away his all to wolves and ravens. Whilst these vultures were preying upon his liver, he thought them his best friends.

—*Misan.* p. 32.

*Pseud.* Who e're he be, be he more ffortunate  
 Then they that liue in the Isles Fortunate,  
 Or in the fflourishing Elizian feilds;  
 May he drinck nectar, eate ambrosia!

—*Timon*, p. 13.

This is a recollection of Lucian's *True History*, bk. II.

The song on page 18 is probably a metrical rendering of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*, XVII. The story, of course, is told elsewhere in classical literature; the likelihood, however, is that the writer had Lucian's dialogue in mind.

*Pseud.* Saue yee.  
 I was transported cleane beyond my selfe  
 With contemplacion of my Pegasus;  
 Wounders did obviate my memorye,  
 Which I saw in the Iland of the moone.

*Tim.* In what place of the earth may that ile bee?

*Pseud.* 'Tis not in earth; 'tis pendant in the ayre;  
 Endymion there hath the dominion.

*Gelas.* In the ayre!

*Pseud.* Yes, pendant in the ayre.

*Herm.* O, strainge!

*Pseud.* Pish, this is nothing: I cann tell  
 You of a many gallants that did sell  
 Theire mannours here, and built them castles there,  
 And now liue like cameleons by th' aire;  
 And strainger things then theis I oft haue seene.

—*Timon*, p. 30.

This, as every reader of Lucian knows, is from the *True History*, in which the adventurers, taken up in their ship by a whirlwind, were landed on the moon, described as hanging pendant in the air like an island. Of all the wonders seen there, and of how the inhabitants lived on "air squeezed into a cup, which produces a kind of dew," space forbids a mention.



*Pseud.* This orator hath stole all that he spoke:  
I hearde olde Nestor speake this worde for worde  
In the Fortunate Ilands.

—*Timon*, p. 32.

See *True History*, bk. II.

Timon liberates Demeas, the orator, from the hands of the seargeants who were carrying him to prison for a debt of sixteene talents:

*Timon.* Dismiss him: I will sixteene talents pay  
Vnto the citizens.

*Dem.* My Jupiter, my Jupiter!

*Tim.* Carry my name vnto the judges; I  
Will satisfie this debte.

—*Timon*, p. 32.

*Timon.* So, here comes a third; Demeas, the orator, with a decree in his hand: he pretends to be one of my nearest relations. He was bound to the state for seventeen talents, and, unable to pay it, was condemned, when I took pity on, and redeemed him.

—*Misan.* p. 48.

*Pseud.* From the milky sea  
As I did saile (that sea, the which was full,  
From the deepe bottome to the very toppe,  
Of pure white milke), the shippe did carry mee  
Into an ilande that was made of cheese;  
Their houses were of butter.

—*Timon*, p. 35.

A little beyond this we got into a sea, not of water, but of milk; and upon it we saw an island full of vines; this whole island was one compact, well-made cheese, etc.

—*True History*, p. 432.

*Pseud.* Since I did taste the nectar of the gods,  
Noe wine or ale can please my pallat well.

—*Timon*, p. 37.

The writer, I think, had in mind the trip of Menippus to heaven, where he partook of the divine nectar. See *Icaro-Menippus*.

*Pseud.* In Ganges Iles I thirty riuers saw  
Fill'd with sweete nectar.

*Lach.* O dainty lyer!

[*Aside.*

*Pseud.* Thirtie riuers more  
With aligaunte; thirtie hills of sugar;  
Ale flowed from the rockes, wine from the trees,  
Which we call muscadine.

—*Timon*, p. 39.

We had not got far before we met with a river, which seemed exactly to resemble wine, particularly that of Chios. . . . . As I had a mind to know whence this river sprung, I went back to the place from whence it seemed to arise, but could not trace the springs; I found, however, several large vines full of grapes, at the root of every one the wine flowed in great abundance, and from them I suppose the river was collected.

—*True History*, p. 415.

*Tim.* O Joue, O Joue,  
Haue I thy altar seldome visited?

—*Timon*, p. 58.

*Mercury.* Don't you know Timon, the Calyttian, the son of Echecratides; he who used so often to treat us with the choicest victims; that grew so rich on a sudden, that sacrificed whole hecatombs; the man that celebrated the feasts of Jupiter with so much splendor?

—*Misan.* p. 32.

*Tim.* O supreme Joue,  
Why doth thy right hande cease to punish sinne?  
Strike one of these with thunder from aboue,

And with thy lightening reuenge my cause!  
Strike which thou wilt, thy hande it cannot erre.

—*Timon*, pp. 59-60.

O Jupiter. . . . .where is now your crackling lightning, and your deep-toned thunder? Where are all your white and terrific bolts? . . . . .At length, therefore, O thou son of Saturn and Rhea! shake off thy profound and heavy slumbers. . . . .light thy bolt at Mount Ætna, and send it forth; let it flame out once more; shew the power and indignation of the once strong and youthful Jove.

—*Misan.* pp. 29-31. (Cf. the entire speech.)

Entrapelus and Demeas pretend not to recognize Timon.

*Dem.* Art thou a stranger or Athenian?

What country? whats thy name?

*Tim.* Know'st thou not? Ah, Demeas, know'st thou  
not?

*Dem.* Thou brazen face, I ne're sawe thee before.

—*Timon*, p. 59.

. . . . .the ingratitude of those, who, enriched as they had been by him, now proudly pass along, and know not whether his name is Timon.

—*Misan.* p. 32.

*Gelas.* What, shall wee trauayle through that citty,  
where

The candles walke, and cattles play on the fiddle?

—*Timon*, p. 62.

We landed, but saw no men, only a number of lamps running to and fro. . . . .We heard them speak: they offered us no injury. . . . .The King's court is in the middle of the city. . . . .Here I found my own lamp, talked to him, and asked him how things went on at home.

—*True History*, p. 424.

*Herm.* [To Timon] If thou are wretched, goe and  
hange thyselfe;

An haltar soone will mitigate thy grieffe.

—*Timon*, p. 67.

O, it is Gnathonides, who but the other day, when I asked him for a supper, held out a rope.

—*Misan.* p. 46.

*Speus.* Oh, Oh! [*Timon beats them.*  
Oh! dost thou buffet a philosopher?  
Will a free cittie such a deede allowe?

—*Timon*, p. 69.

Timon beats Demeas.

*Demeas.* What do you mean, Timon? To fall upon a free man and a citizen in this manner.

Timon beats Thrascycles.

*Thras.* Now, laws and commonwealth assist me! Here am I beaten and bruised in a free city by a villain.

—*Misan.* pp. 49; 51.

*Pseud.* Them and their citties and their regions  
Thou soone shalt ouerpasse, and at the length  
The Milky Waye thou shalt espie; keepe that;  
That way will bringe thee to the Zodiaque.

—*Timon*, p. 77.

There were to have been some slingers from the Milky Way, together with the Nephelocentauri; they indeed came, when the first battle was over, and I wish they had never come at all: the slingers did not appear, which, they say, so enraged Phaeton, that he set their city on fire. . . . . We sailed by several places, and at length reached the new colony of the Morning-star, where we landed and took in water: from thence we steered into the Zodiac. . . . .

*True History*, pp. 420; 424.

*Timon.* What's this? I am amaz'd! what doe I see?

[*He fynds gould.*

Sp[l]endour of gould reflects vpon my eyes:



Is Cynthia tralucēt in the darke?

—*Timon*, p. 84.

*Tim.* [*Finding gold*] O Jupiter, thou great worker of miracles, you, ye friendly corybantes, and thou, wealth-dispensing Mercury, whence all this gold? Is this a dream? When I awake I feare I shall find nothing but coals; it is, it must be gold, fine, yellow, noble gold, heavy, sweet to behold.

Richest offspring of the mine,

Gold, like fire, whose flashing rays

From afar conspicuous gleam,

Through night's involving cloud.

Burning like fire, thou shinest day and night.

—*Misan.* p. 44.

When Timon in the play discovers the golden treasure, he refuses at first to keep it. Likewise in Lucian's dialogue when Plutus first comes to Timon, he is rejected—"as for this blind wretch, whoever he is, I will certainly knock him in the head with my spade." "I have no need of you, my spade is all the riches I desire." "To you, Mercury, and to Jupiter, for your care of me, I acknowledge my obligations; but as for this Plutus, I will by no means accept of him."

*Tim.* What, shall I hide

My new found treasure vnderneath the earth,

Or shall I drowne it in the ocean?

Though all the world loue thee, Timon hates thee:

Ile drowne thee in the seas profunditie.

[*He offers to goe drowne it.*]

—*Timon*, p. 84.

If you will take my advice, I would have you cast all your riches into the sea, as things unnecessary to an honest man, and one who knows the treasures of philosophy; not that I would have you cast them into the main ocean. . . . .etc.

—*Misan.* p. 51.

The following is little more than a translation from *Misanthropos*. I have reversed the usual order, putting Lucian's version first.

*Demeas*. Hail Timon! Thou very flower of the race, pillar of the Athenians, defence of Greece! In sooth the people in assembly, and both councils have been long awaiting your presence. But first hear the decree which I have proposed in your behalf: "Whereas Timon, the son of Echeeratides, of the township of Collytus, not only the *beau ideal* of a man, but also wiser than anybody else in Greece, is all the time doing continually what is best for the city, and in one day has been victor at Olympia in boxing, wrestling, and in racing, both with a four-in-hand of full grown coursers, and with a pair of fillies—"

*Timon*. Nay, but I've never been at Olympia, even as a looker on.

*Demeas*. What of that? You will be hereafter. (Proceeding with the decree) "And since he also distinguished himself last year at Acharnae in defense of the city, and cut to pieces two batallions of Pel—"

*Timon*. How can that be? I had no arms, and I wasn't even enrolled in the list of those liable to serve.

*Demeas*. . . . . For all this, be it decreed by the Senate, the assembled commons and the supreme court, voting by tribes, and by townships individually, and also in concert, to set up a golden statue of Timon alongside the Athene upon the Acropolis, with a thunderbolt in his right hand and seven lightening rays upon his head. . . . . Demeas, the orator, his pupil and his next of kin made this motion." So here's your decree! I also wanted to introduce to you my son, whom I have christened Timon after your name.

*Timon*. How can you? Seeing you are not even married, at least as far as I know.

*Demeas*. But I am going to take a wife next year—God willing—and I shall have offspring—and I shall at once name my prospective child Timon, for it will be a son."

The following is from *Timon*, pp. 92-3:

*Demeas.* Where's Athens piller? where's my glory? Where's Timon? Thou hast blest myne eyes, now I see thee. Joue saue thee, who are the defence of Greece, and the whole worlds delight! The court and countrey both salute thee!.....Heare, my humane Jup[iter], the decree that I haue written concerning thee before the Areopig[ites].

[*He takes a pa[per] out of his [pocket, and reads].*]

*Whereas Timon, the sonne of Echeratides the Collitensian, a champion and a wrestler, was in one day victor of both in the Olympick games—*

*Timon.* But I as yett neere saw th' Olympick games.

*Demeas.* What of that? that makes noe matter; thou shalt see them hereafter.

*Timon.* I neere as yett bore armes out of Athens.<sup>11</sup>

*Demeas.* But thou shalt in the next warr,—ffor theis causes it seemes good to the court and the commonwealth, to the magistrates seuerallie, to the plebeians singulerlie, to all vniuersallie, to place Timon in Pallas Temple, houlding a gouden thunderbolt in his hand. Demeas spake this suffragie, because he was Timons disciple, for Timon is alsoe easily the prince of rhetoric; in my orations I vse to vse his metaphores.

*Herm.* Peace, oratour; wee alsoe ought to speake.

*Demeas.* Would I had brought my little sonne with me, whom I haue called Timon after thy name.

*Timon.* How cans't thou? for thy wyfe had neuer a child.

*Demeas.* But shee shall haue, and that that shalbe borne shalbe a man child, and that man child shalbe named Timon.

<sup>11</sup> It will be observed that the translator accidentally omitted that passage in the decree referring to Timon's (supposed) distinguished career in the army: "And since he also distinguished himself last year at Acharnae in defense of the city, and cut to pieces two battalions of Pel—." Consequently the remark here, "I neere as yett bore armes out of Athens," is without force.

## 3. TIMON OF ATHENS.

A study of the sources of *Timon of Athens* involves great difficulties. It may be stated with positiveness, however, that Shakespeare went directly to the Timon narrative in *North's Plutarch*.<sup>12</sup> Here he got the characters Apemantus and Alcibiades, the incident of the fig tree, the meal with Apemantus, and the two epitaphs. In short, he used up every bit of material contained in the Plutarch story.

So far there is no difficulty. Scholars have been puzzled, however, by the question: Did Shakespeare have access to the manuscript play *Timon*? The play, as Dyce points out, was written for an academic audience, but a casual reading will show that the humorous portions make the play highly suited to amuse a popular audience; for example, the scene where Lolilo and his drunken followers move through the streets with flagons for standards. It is, therefore, not impossible that the play—reworked, perhaps—was presented to a London audience. However that may be, it is certain that *Timon of Athens* and the manuscript play contain parallel incidents not found in either of the classical versions. The additions to the classical story are: (1) The faithful steward, who warns his master against coming bankruptcy, repairs to him in the fields, and refuses to leave him in spite of hard words; (2) The banquet; note that in both plays the banquet is given by Timon after he was a recognized bankrupt, and after he had been turned down by all his friends; that the steward assists Timon; that the false friends come unsuspectingly; and that Timon beats them from the table. Evidently we must conclude that Shakespeare had direct or indirect access to the anonymous play, or that both plays are indebted to some common source. Either theory presents difficulties.

<sup>12</sup> Shakespeare may have also referred to the version in Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure* (from which he had taken the plot of *All's Well*). The incidents in both, however, are the same. We know that he had North before him; there is no evidence to show that he also used Paynter.



The third source from which Shakespeare drew was Lucian's *Misanthropos*. For example, the "dowry" incident, which does not appear in Plutarch, or in the manuscript play *Timon*, appears both in Lucian and in Shakespeare. Lucian makes Timon exclaim :

Who's this man coming towards me—he with the bald head? It's Philiades, of all flatterers the most disgusting. He received from me a whole estate and two talents as dowry for his daughter, as a reward for his compliments, when he alone amid the general silence indulged in fulsome praise of my singing, declaring with an oath that I was more musical than the swans. But when he recently saw me ailing and I went up to him with the request for help, he laid all the more blows on me—the generous fellow !

This idea of the dowry is developed by Shakespeare as follows :

*Enter an Old Athenian.*

*Old Ath.* Lord Timon, hear me speak.

*Timon.* Freely good father.

*Old Ath.* Thou hast a servant named Lucilius.

*Timon.* I have so; what of him?

*Old Ath.* Most Noble Timon, call the man before thee.

*Timon.* Attend he here, or no?—Lucilius!

*Lucilius.* Here at your lordship's service.

*Old Ath.* This fellow here, Lord Timon, this creature, By night frequents my house. I am a man That from my first have been inclined to thrift; And my estate deserves an heir more raised Than one which holds a trencher.

*Timon.* Well, what further?

*Old Ath.* One only daughter have I, no kin else On whom I may confer what I have got. The maid is fair, o' the youngest.....This man of thine Attempts her love: I prithee, noble lord Join with me to forbid him her resort;

Myself have spoken in vain.....

*Timon.* Does she love him?

*Old Ath.* She is young and apt;

Our own precedent passions do instruct us

What levity's in youth.

*Timon.* (To Lucilius) Love you the maid?

*Lucilius.* Ay my good lord, and she accepts of it.

*Timon.* How shall she be endowed

If she be mated with an equal husband?

*Old Ath.* Three talents on the present; in future, all.

*Timon.* This gentleman of mine hath serv'd me long.

To build his fortune I will strain a little.

For 'tis a bond in men. Give him thy daughter;

What you bestow, in him I'll counterpoise.

The fact that this incident occurs in *Timon of Athens* but not in the manuscript play *Timon*, indicates that Shakespeare had access to the Lucian narrative through some other channel than the school play. What this channel was no one has yet been able to discover. It may be stated with confidence, however, that Shakespeare's knowledge of the Greek story was indirect. A person who used absolutely everything in the barren Plutarch version, would certainly have drawn freely from the rich storehouse of material in *Misanthropos*. We can trace no close borrowing, no following of detail; the story must have been known to the dramatist only in its broadest outlines.

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# CONVENTIONALISM IN HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLE.

(Continued from Vol. IX, 3.)

## CHAPTER VII.

### HOLINSHED'S FONDNESS FOR TRITE MORALIZING; ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

We discussed in the last chapter Holinshed's belief in the miraculous interference of God in the world. It seems natural to notice, in connection with these religious conceptions, his fondness for commonplace moral reflection.

His moralizing is usually pessimistic and melancholy. Sometimes he is peevishly personal. The following passage illustrates this temper: "If the historian be long, he is accompted a trifler: if he be short, he is taken for a summister: if he commend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprove, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleasant, he is noted for a jester: if he be grave, he is reckoned for a drooper: if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as uprightlie and as conscionable as he may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab foorth his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts."<sup>1</sup>

Again, we come across a quite passionate outburst against social follies. "Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies upon our bodies and how little upon our soules! how manie sute of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking up of the first, and how little space left wherin to feed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie

<sup>1</sup> Hol. VI. 273. See also Hol. I. 4.

times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us.”<sup>2</sup>

At other times it is political dissension he deplores. “But what is a king if his subjects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be divided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdomes have oft times proceeded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdoms have oftner bene brought to ruine. And so it proved here, for whilest privat quarels are pursued, the generall affaires are utterlie neglected: and whilest ech nation seeketh to preferre hir owne aliance, the Iland it selfe is like to become a desert.”<sup>3</sup>

Now he adjures the “diligent and marking reader both [to] muse and moorne, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath beene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the frailtie and uncerteintie of this mortall life, which is no more free from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather.”

And in another place, as an instance of this fickleness of fortune, he cites the case of King Henry the First, “whose mirth was turned into mone,” and whose “pleasures [were] relished with pangs of pensifenes, contrarie to his expectation”.<sup>4</sup> Or we are implored to note the effects of “selfe-love, which rageth in men so preposterouslie. . . . and all for the maintenance of statelie titles, of loftie stiles, of honorable names, and such like vanities more light than thistle downe that flieth in the aire”.<sup>5</sup>

Only twice in his meditation does he touch upon the evils that are especially interesting to more enlightened moralists. In one place, to our surprise, we read, “Here we see what a band of

<sup>2</sup> Hol. I. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Hol. I. 708.

<sup>4</sup> Hol. I. 726.

<sup>5</sup> Hol. II. 70.

<sup>6</sup> Hol. II. 148.



calamities doo accompanie and waite upon warre, wherein also we have to consider what a traine of felicities doo attend upon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine together, we may casilie perceiue in how heavenlie an estate those people be that live under the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what a hellish course of life they lead that have sworne their service to the sword.”<sup>7</sup> The Hague Conference or General Sherman could scarcely put it more strongly. It is an odd note in a book so many pages of which are devoted to the glorification of English prowess. Again, we read concerning the famous and popular health resort, “But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there. . . . But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth give these his good gifts freeilie, & unto both alike?”<sup>8</sup> Here, once more, we find a quite modern sentiment expressed concerning the unequal distribution of wealth. These two instances, however, only throw into stronger relief the conventional nature of most of his meditations.

One point that comes out strongly in connection with some of these moralizing passages is Holinshed's absolute lack of humor. The image of the conscience-stricken knight, dwelt on at length in the last chapter, does not at all divert him. The tone throughout this description is as portentously grave as in the companion-picture of the remorseful servingman whose story runs as follows: “And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship. . . . who having aspiied a servingman that had beene there with his maister two times, whom he had sharplie tawnted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake unto him verie vehementlie and told him that it were better for him to put on sackcloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to

<sup>7</sup> Hol. II, 82.

<sup>8</sup> Hol. I, 363.

pranke up himselfe like the divels darling, the verie father of pride and lieng, who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a preie to everlasting torments in helfire. Whereupon the servingman, as one prickt in conscience, sore sorowed and wept for his offense, rent the band from his necke, took a knife and cut it in peeces, and vowed never to weare the like againe.”<sup>9</sup> This lack of humor is, indeed, a characteristic of all Holinshed’s work. Occasionally the kings exchange some solemn banter;<sup>10</sup> occasionally, too, we run across a grim joke, as when, in the Peasants’ Revolt, a bishop, hearing that one of his parish was a notorious rebel, “himselfe went to seek [him] as one of his sheepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house”.<sup>11</sup> As a rule, however, his mood is stately and serious. He is far too deeply impressed with the importance of the affairs with which he is dealing, and with the magnificence of their lordly actors, to unbend his mood; and he feels it necessary to make an elaborate apology when he introduces the Goat-episode into his account of the trials of Elizabeth in her girlhood. “And now”, he says, “by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie. . . . occasion heere mooveth. . . . me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certeine merie conceited man”,<sup>12</sup> and proceeds to the story with a manifestly uneasy conscience.

To state briefly, then, the main point of this chapter,—we find Holinshed an inveterate and pessimistic moralizer, dwelling constantly on timeworn topics,—fickleness of fortune, woman’s follies, etc.,—rather than on the newer problems; and quite untouched by the humane spirit that is interested in investigating, rather than in lamenting, social evils.

<sup>9</sup> Hol. IV. 433.

<sup>10</sup> Hol. III. 339.

<sup>11</sup> Hol. II. 746.

<sup>12</sup> Hol. IV. 130.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOLINSHED'S TREATMENT OF SENSATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS  
OF CRIMINALITY.

We may be sure of finding a mind like Holinshed's, with its delight in abnormal and astonishing manifestations of the physical forces of nature, keenly interested also in criminal offences, especially murder.

We read in detail of the gallant deaths of Thomas a Becket,<sup>13</sup> and of Gunthildis, the sister of Swaine, "a verie beautifull ladie. . . . [whol] tooke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though she saw hir husband and her onelie sonne (a yoong gentleman of much towardnesse) first murthered before hir face."<sup>14</sup> The series of unhappy royal boys who met their fate through official villainy especially interests him. He describes with pathetic picturesqueness the little Kenelm, whose murderers "led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yeeres and innocent age. . . . and yet thus traitorouslie murdered without cause or crime";<sup>15</sup> with revolting detail the torture and murder of the unhappy young Alfred, who ended "his innocent life to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel adversaries";<sup>16</sup> with fervid indignation the smothering of Edward the Fourth's little sons in the Tower.<sup>16a</sup> Among these upper classes, traditional glamor attaches itself to poisoning cases, as in the instance of "Alexander the sixt, who went to supper in a vineyard neere the Vatican to rejoyse in the delight & plesure of the fresh aire, & was suddenlie caried for dead to the bishops palace";<sup>17</sup> or of the unhappy Saxon Princess Beatrice

<sup>13</sup> Hol. II. 134-36.

<sup>14</sup> Hol. I. 713.

<sup>15</sup> Hol. I. 659.

<sup>16</sup> Hol. I. 735.

<sup>16a</sup> Hol. III. 401-3.

<sup>17</sup> Hol. III. 537.

and her weird, horrible execution;<sup>17a</sup> or of King John who discovered a plot to poison him by means of a dish of pears, "by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast foorth a certeine sweat, as it were bewraieng the poison".<sup>18</sup> All these picturesque exhibitions of villainy in high life interest our Chronicler, and he invests them with a dignity and romance demanded, in his opinion, by the lordly personages involved.

Far otherwise is it when he comes to crime in low life. For all his ponderous solemnity, he has a keen love for the realistically sensational, such grewsome matter as fills our daily newspapers. Throughout the Chronicle, amid the pomp of royal wars, festivities, births, deaths, and marriages, we find slipped in with gusto many a spicy deed of blood and violence among the common people. Curious little glimpses of life among the humbler classes are thus afforded us. We see the canny housewife locking up in her cupboard "a bag of monie, amounting to the sum of ten pounds stearling" committed to her care "by a little honest man, whose name", says the circumspect Chronicler, "I will not discover"; and then we watch quite breathlessly her husband who "brake open the locke, and tooke out the monie; wherewith," sardonically, ". . . . . he plaid the good fellow all the daies of his life. For immediatlie his wife accused him. . . . . of plaine theft," whereupon the Mayor caused him to be adjudged to death.<sup>19</sup> Again we shudder at the villainy of "a certeine Breton, whom a good honest widow had received into hir house, and conceived well of him in opinion, was by hir mainteined of hir owne pursse, & . . . . . she found him of almes and for Gods sake. This charitable deed of hers deserved a devout mind to God ward, and a thankfull hart to hir. But (good soule) how was she recompensed? Even murdered in hir bed by the hands of that villaine whome so bountifullie she succored, and mother-like tendered." Holinshed exults fiercely in the scene that follows, when "the women of the same parish and street (as it were

<sup>17a</sup> Hol. I. 685.

<sup>18</sup> Hol. II. 336.

<sup>19</sup> Hol. IV. 893.



enraged) came out with stones, staves, kenell doong, and other things, wherewith they so bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a stretching, and rid him quite of life. In the wreking of this their teene they were so fell and fierce, that the comstables with their assistants. . . . . were not able to rescue him out of the women's hands".<sup>20</sup> It is striking to see the passionate greed of the royal fratricidal Richard reflected in another humble cottage where, on "the tenth day of November, in the citie of Worcester, a cruell and unnaturall brother (as an other Cain) murdered his owne naturall and loving brother, first, smiting his braines out. . . . . with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him under the earth of a chimneie, thinking thereby (though wrongfullie) quietlie to have injoyed his brothers goods. . . . . but not long after this secret murther comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such unnaturall murdering brethren."<sup>21</sup> The little shops with their quaint doorways were the scenes of fatal quarrels between masters and prentices, a fact illustrated in the case of "a prentise of London [who] was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirteenth of December had stricken his maister with a knife whereof he died."<sup>22</sup> In his description of the poisoning cases we find no fairy rings discovering the hidden villainy, as in cases involving royalty, and no fair gardens as scene for the tragedies. Merely the bald, bare facts are given us, with grim mention of the horrid punishments. Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign the tendency toward this species of crime seems to have increased among the women of the middle classes, and we find numerous instances of such women being burned at Smithfield for poisoning their husbands.<sup>22a</sup>

Strikingly typical of his treatment of these crimes we find

<sup>20</sup> Hol. III. 172-73.

<sup>21</sup> Hol. IV. 343.

<sup>22</sup> Hol. IV. 237.

<sup>22a</sup> Hol. IV. 330, 262, 323.

his story of the murder of Edward Arden of Worcestershire by his wife Alice. The story, occupying as it does seven pages of his cumbrous volume,<sup>23</sup> is too long to quote in full, Holinshed having "thought good to set it forth somewhat at large, having the instructions deliverd to. . . . [him] by them, that. . . . used some diligence to gather the true understanding of the circumstances."<sup>23a</sup> We have described to us Arden, "a man of a tall and comelie personage," and Alice his young wife, "tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance," and Mosbie her lover, "a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, servant to the lord North".<sup>23b</sup> Arden, we are told, "perceived right well their mutual familiaritie. . . . yet bicause he would not offend hir, and so loose the benefit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir freends hands",<sup>23c</sup> . . . . was content not to notice it. We follow Alice first to a painter, "who had skill of poisons",<sup>23d</sup> and see her failure to accomplish her purpose through some mistake in her manner of mixing the draught he gave her with the milk her husband was to drink at breakfast. We then see her hunting up an old enemy of her husband, to "practise with him how to make. . . . [Arden] awaie".<sup>23e</sup> One by one we see the frustration of their various schemes. First at Arden's house in London,<sup>23f</sup> then "on Reinea downn",<sup>23g</sup> then "in a certeine broome close, betwixt Feversham & the ferrie",<sup>23h</sup> is their hired assassin, Black Will, foiled in his bloody intention. At last, in the prospective victim's own house in Faversham, we watch the doomed man standing unconscious on the very brink of fate. Black Will has been conveyed into the house and put into a closet at the end of

<sup>23</sup> Hol. III. 1024-31.

<sup>23a</sup> Hol. III. 1024.

<sup>23b</sup> Hol. III. 1024.

<sup>23c</sup> Hol. III. 1024-5

<sup>23d</sup> Hol. III. 1025.

<sup>23e</sup> Hol. III. 1025.

<sup>23f</sup> Hol. III. 1026.

<sup>23g</sup> Hol. III. 1026.

<sup>23h</sup> Hol. III. 1027.

the parlor.<sup>231</sup> From this point on we have as circumstantial and sensational an account as need be of the actual murder, an account that, except for the quaintness of the language, strikingly resembles those found in our newspapers. Holinshed was quite as willing as any yellow editor of to-day to furnish his readers with revolting detail. It differs from the typical modern treatment, however, in two features. The story is accompanied by a narrow column of marginal comment in which the reader is exhorted to "note here the force of feare and a troubled conscience"; or to "marke how the divell will not let his organs or instruments let slip either occasion or opportunitie to commit most heinous wickednesse"; or to consider "what a countenance of innocencie and ignorance she bore after the murdering of hir husband"; or to reflect "how these malefactors suffered punishment", or how "God heareth the teares of the oppressed and taketh vengeance".

The second feature of difference is the method by which Holinshed invests his tale with the popular supernatural quality. After they had killed Arden, "they tooke the dead bodie, and caried it out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and joining to his garden wall, through the which he went to the church. In the meane time it began to snow, and when they came to the garden gate, they remembred that they had forgotten the kaie, and one went in for it, and finding it at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the same field. . . . and laid him downe on his backe streight in his night gowne with his slippers on: and betweene one of his slippers and his foot, a long rush or two remained. When they had thus laid him downe, they returned the same way they came through the garden into the house." And after the removal of the body, lo! a marvel! For "in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the proportion of his bodie might be seene two yeares after and more, so plain as could be, for the grasse did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betweene his legs, betweene his armes, and about the hollowness of his

<sup>231</sup> Hol. III. 1028.

necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no grasse growed at all of all that time. So that manie strangers came in that meane time, beside the townesmen, to see the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field".<sup>231</sup> Again, in explanation of this phenomenon, he resorts to a superstition of the age. "Which field he had. . . . most cruellie taken from a woman, that had beene a widow to one Cooke, and after married to one Richard Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir husband the said Read: for they had long injoyed it by a lease, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: nevertheless, he got it from them. For the which, the said Reads wife not onelie exclaimed against him, in sheading manie a salt teere, but also cursed him most bitterlie even to his face, wishing manie a vengeance to light upon him, and that all the world might woonder on him. Which was thought then to come to passe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and so all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came woondering about him."<sup>232</sup>

So much for Holinshed's telling of the story. We could hardly emphasize better the conventionality of his treatment with its sensationalism, its stock-morality, its stock-marvel, and its stock-curse, than by turning to the play, "Arden of Feversham", where the same story is told, the writer being governed, however, by a "sense of fact" very different from our Chronicler's. Mr. Swinburne has made sufficiently evident the transformation in the character of Alice from that of a mere newspaper-murderess to the possibly "eldest born of that group to which Lady Macbeth and Dionyza belong by right of weird sisterhood." She has their keen highwrought intellect, their "nerves of steel." "But," Swinburne goes on, "the wife of Arden is much less a born criminal than these. To her, even in the deepest pit of her deliberate wickedness, remorse is natural and redemption

<sup>231</sup> Hol. III. 1030.

<sup>232</sup> Hol. III. 1030.



conceivable. Like the Phædra of Racine, and herein so nobly unlike the Phædra of Euripides, she is capable of the deepest and bitterest penitence."<sup>231</sup> I think I am not wrong in feeling, also, that our poet has with great skill mollified our judgment of Alice by introducing into the situation an element of irresistible fate. Again and again the strangeness of her infatuation is dwelt upon. We read of Mosbie in the Chronicle as "a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, servant to the lord North". Alice was gently born.

"Ay, but to dote on such an one as he

Is monstrous, Franklin, and intolerable!"

exclaims Arden in the first act. Alice, indeed, has moments when she herself marvels at the depth of her degradation. In a moment of anger she says to Mosbie,

" . . . . Base peasant, get thee gone

And boast not of thy conquest over me,

Gotten by witchcraft and mere sorcery!

For what hast thou to countenance my love,

Being descended of a noble house,

And matched already with a gentleman?"

And later,

"Even in my forehead is thy name ingraven,

A mean artificer, that lowborn name!

I was bewitched; woe worth the hapless hour

And all the causes that enchanted me."

These references to witchcraft are especially significant, and, to enforce them, the poet has taken pains to represent Mosbie not only as a meanly-born tailor, but also as an intolerably vulgar and brutal one. Yet she clings to him with a constancy inexplicable alike to herself and to spectators. It is, I think, a subtle conception, that by which the writer has idealized the mere physical magnetism of this black, swarthy man, bold only among women, into a shadowy suggestion of an uncanny power;

<sup>231</sup> Algernon Charles Swinburne: "A Study of Shakespeare," pp. 139-140.

yet more subtle is it when, swayed by its influence, Alice seizes a prayer-book which Mosbie has found in her hand, and cries,

“I will do penance for offending thee,  
And burn this prayer-book, where I here use  
The holy word that had converted me.  
See, Mosbie, I will tear away the leaves,  
And all the leaves, and in this golden cover  
Shall thy sweet phrases and thy letters dwell;  
And thereon will I chiefly meditate,  
And hold no other sect but such devotion.”

After this act we see no further softening in Alice toward her old-time virtue; and in itself the incident irresistibly suggests the act of overt insult to sacred objects by which, as sign of renunciation of God, the pact with the devil was supposed to be sealed.

In two other points does the delicacy of the playwright's conception throw into sharp relief the Philistine quality of the Chronicle story. The first is his treatment of Arden; the second, his transformation of the stock-curse of Read's wife which was alluded to in the Chronicle. Arden's figure is relieved from the sordid atmosphere that surrounds it in Holinshed's version. Not to mercenary motives, but to his fearful knowledge of his own peculiar temperament, seems to be laid his determined closing of his eyes to his wife's unfaithfulness. He thus maintains a certain logic of position. This determined self-deception, while weak in itself, is yet partially justified by the fact that we know, as he no doubt dimly recognizes also, that with his gloomy, brooding temperament full conviction of his wife's guilt will mean madness. The moment will inevitably come when, able no longer to deceive himself, he will sink before our eyes into the alternative raving and stupor of melancholy madness. From this fate he is saved only by death. In clinging to his belief in his wife he is clinging to his sanity; and in this portrayal of him it will be seen how completely the dramatist has transformed the Chronicle motive for his long suffering.

There remains to be noted the fashion above referred to in which the dramatist has transformed the stock-curses of the Chronicle. These stock-curses are scattered here and there throughout Holinshed. "King Henry [the Second] . . . . .curssed even the verie daie in which he was borne, and . . . . .gave to his sonnes Gods cursse and his," when he found their names at the head of the list of confederates against him;<sup>24</sup> and, on like occasion, William the Conqueror also hurled imprecations upon "Robert his sonne. . . . .and the time that ever he begat him" when "the yoong man, being of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the sinister counsell of his adherents," sought "to obtaine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he should atteine by curtesie".<sup>25</sup> We read concerning Earl Berthred, slain in battle by the Picts, that in his death "the curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted, . . . . .was thought at this time to take place".<sup>26</sup> And the effectiveness of these dire anathemas is again made apparent in the case of Ethelbert, killed by King Offa, in reference to which catastrophe we read that "when the bride Alfreda understood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, . . . . .she curssed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that woorthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in persuading so detestable a deed: and according to hir woords it came to passe, for hir mother died miserablie within three moneths after."<sup>27</sup> All this is commonplace enough. In the hands of the playwright, as Symonds has pointed out, these curses become vivid and colorful things. The highwayman Shakebag's "form of registering a vow to be revenged on one who has played him false is characteristic" when he says,<sup>27a</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Hol. II. 198.

<sup>25</sup> Hol. II. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Hol. I. 635-6.

<sup>27</sup> Hol. I. 649.

<sup>27a</sup> J. A. Symonds: "Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama," p. 449.

“And never let me draw a sword again,  
Nor prosper in the twilight, cockshut light,  
When I would fleece the wealthy passenger,  
If I, the next time that I meet the slave,  
Cut not the nose from off the coward’s face!”

The same hue of his trade colors the imprecations of Read, the seaman (in the *Chronicle*, of Read’s wife), deprived by Arden, we remember, of his plot of ground. We feel in his exclamations the rattle and clash of the thunder itself.

“ . . . . Were I upon the sea,  
As oft I have in many a bitter storm,  
And saw a dreadful southern flaw at hand,  
The pilot quaking at the doubtful storm,  
And all the sailors praying on their knees,  
Even in that fearful time would I fall down,  
And ask of God, whate’er betide of me,  
Vengeance on Arden! . . . . .

“This charge I’ll leave with my distressful wife,  
My children shall be taught such prayers as these;  
And thus I go, but leave my curse with thee.”

A glance at this play, then, with its searching subtlety of conception, makes extremely obvious the commonplace quality of the treatment of the story by Holinshed. Both playwright and chronicler had the same tale to tell. Each colored it more or less. The playwright exalted and individualized it by showing us natures blindly at variance with themselves and with fate. The chronicler conventionalized it by his tendency to emphasize revolting and gory detail, the tendency filling the Elizabethan stage and the Elizabethan literature with scenes of blood and crime; by his credulous acceptance of cheap popular superstitions; and by his inveterate habit of pointing out obvious morals.



## CHAPTER IX.

## HOLINSHED'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC.

## A. THE WITCH.

One familiar with the manner in which the witchcraft mania raged at intervals through Europe for five centuries, will not be surprised to find a vivid reflection of it in the *Chronicle*. This superstition appears under two aspects: first, in actual accounts of witches or those dealing with them; second, in the interpretation of events in terms of magic. Of the former class is the first mention of witchcraft we find in the *Chronicle*, namely, in 1115, when "William Peverell of Nottingham a noble man and of great possessions was disherited by the king for sorcerie and witchcraft, which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester".<sup>28</sup> It is significant that, in this early stage of the terror, death had not yet been prescribed as penalty. Almost all the favorite tenets of the doctrine find a place in Holinshed's pages. In 1318 "a naughtie fellow called John Poidras.....a tanners son....." having given "foorth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle .....at the houre of his death.....confessed that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England".<sup>29</sup> As this fellow had tried to deprive the little Prince of his throne, so, in the latter's desolate and deposed old age, the Earl of Kent, his brother, manœvered to enthrone him again on the assurance of a friar, one Thomas Dunhed, that his familiar spirit had declared to him that Edward was still alive in prison.<sup>30</sup> This person brought upon himself death for his devilish machinations, as did "William Randoll [who was hanged] for conjuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth,"<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Hol. II. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Hol. II. 557.

<sup>30</sup> Hol. II. 597.

<sup>31</sup> Hol. IV. 433.

and a servant of the Duke of Clarence put to death for sorcery and enchantment.<sup>32</sup> We see one weird witch "about the middest of the night.....roosting upon a wooden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person", a process greatly detrimental to the king's health.<sup>33</sup> The liability of any forlorn old woman to the charge of witchcraft is well illustrated in the case of the unhappy creature who, "being verie aged, was also accused of witcherie" in alluring a young man into the delusion that he was Christ;<sup>34</sup> a proceeding which reminds us of a declaration on the part of the witch-persecutors that wrinkles "are a strong presumption for witchcraft." Finally, in the Chronicle we have a detailed account of a witch's trial and condemnation, in the case of one "Jone Cason.....arreigned for witchcraft.....and executed for invoking of wicked spirits.....for that she.....upon the first of Aprill, in the seven and twentieth yeare of queene Elizabeth, and at diverse daies and times since, the art of witchcraft and inchantment had used, and upon wicked spirits had invoked and called".<sup>35</sup> To this case we will return later.

Along with this thread of superstition there runs, of course, a corresponding thread of recognized imposture carried on by a series of girl-adventurers, who almost rival in interest the group of boy-pretenders to the throne which we noted in another chapter. We read in Elizabeth's reign of a certain "Agnes Bridges a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleven or twelve yeares old, who.....counterfetted to be possessed by the divell (whereby they had not onelie marvellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diverse such persons as otherwise seemed to be of good wit and understanding)"<sup>35a</sup> and of "Elizabeth Croft, a wench about eighteene yeares old, [who] stood upon a scaffold at Paules

<sup>32</sup> Hol. III. 346.

<sup>33</sup> Hol. V. 234.

<sup>34</sup> Hol. II. 352.

<sup>35</sup> Hol. IV. 891.

<sup>35a</sup> Hol. IV. 325.

crosse all the sermon time, where she confessed, that she being mooved by diverse lewd persons thereunto, had upon the fourteenth of March last before passed, counterfeited certeine speaches in an house without Aldresgate of London, through the which the people of the whole citie were woonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare the voice, but not see hir person. Some said it was an angell, some a voice from heaven, some the Holie-ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: shee had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that purpose. . . . then where there diverse companions confederat with hir, which putting themselves amongst the prease, tooke upon them to interpret what the spirit said".<sup>86</sup> A more extensive series of frauds was carried on by Elizabeth Barton who, "through sicknesse, being oftentimes brought as it were into a transe, whereby hir visage and countenance became marvellouslie altered. . . . at length. . . . learned to counterfeit such maner of transes. . . . so that she practised, used, and shewed unto the people diverse marvellous and sundrie alterations of the sensible parts of hir bodie, craftilie uttering in hir said feigned and false transes, diverse and manie counterfeit, vertuous, and holie words, tending to the rebuke of sin".<sup>87</sup>

So far we have been dealing with the historical witch, if we may so call her, of whom the type is the woman old or young, in cottage or hall, who pursues magical practices to the detriment of the surrounding community. We have also in the Chronicle, however, a glimpse of the fantastic, non-human creature whom the popular fancy, in the excess of its exuberant terror, created to inhabit wood and heath. There is a suggestion of this weird connection with the elements in the reference to the women in the Isle of Man who "would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed under certeine knots of thred, with this injunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale undoo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller

<sup>86</sup> Hol IV. 56.

<sup>87</sup> Hol. III. 789-90.

number" [of these knots].<sup>38</sup> But the typical witch of this unearthly sort is found in the account of the two immortal Scotchmen journeying "towards Fores, where the king then laie, [who as] they went sporting by the waie together without other companie, save onelie themselves, passing thorough the woods and fields" were met "suddenlie in the midst of a laund" by "three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of eldier world, whome when they attentivelie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; "All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammiss" (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said; "Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder." But the third said; "All haile Makbeth that heereafter shalt be king of Scotland".<sup>39</sup>

Of the second class of references to witchcraft in the Chronicle, namely, those which interpret events in terms of magic, we have numerous instances. We read of the illness of the Earl of Essex in Dublin, in 1576, that "some thought. . . . that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much given to such dailie practises."<sup>40</sup> We find also the account of pathetic preparations made for the birth of a child to Queen Mary the First: of "a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeously trimmed"; of "midwives, rockers, nurses. . . . prepared and in readinesse" against the time that "this yong maister should come into the world"; of "bels. . . . roong, bonefiers and processions made. . . . guns. . . . shot off upon the river", in honor of a false report of his birth, which was so firmly believed that "divers preachers, namelie one the parson of saint Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum soong, tooke upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like had not beene seene." When the story of the birth of a prince was discovered to be false, the

<sup>38</sup> Hol. I. 66.

<sup>39</sup> Hol. V. 268.

<sup>40</sup> Hol. VI. 386.



bewitchment of the queen was one of the theories soberly advanced to account for the frustration of the national hope.<sup>41</sup>

The most notable instance, however, of this interpretation of events by reference to superhuman agency is in the case of Joan of Arc. Of her we read, "Unto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation. . . . was caried a yong wench of an eightene yeeres old, called Jone Are, by name of hir father (a sorie sheep heard) James of Are, and Isabell hir mother, brought up poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell. . . . Of favour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an understander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaviour, the name of Jesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diverse daies in the weeke."<sup>41a</sup> As proofs of her use of power given her by "wicked spirits. . . . whome. . . . she uttered to be our Ladie saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that. . . . came and gave hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields",<sup>41b</sup> he declared that "the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, where she never was afore, all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead"; also that "from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she never had beene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with five floure delices was graven on both sides, wherewith she fought & did manie slaughters by hir owne hands".<sup>41c</sup> The telling of the story culminates in a torrent of abuse of which the main themes are "hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie",<sup>41d</sup> and French deification of this "damnable sorcerer

<sup>41</sup> Hol. IV. 82-3.

<sup>41a</sup> Hol. III. 163.

<sup>41b</sup> Hol. III. 171.

<sup>41c</sup> Hol. III. 163.

<sup>41d</sup> Hol. III. 171.

suborned by satan";<sup>40</sup> and he dismisses the subject with a scornful, "And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of hir good oratours that have said so well for hir! Now judge as ye list."<sup>41</sup>

Turning to the drama for a moment, we are faced by two interesting facts: first, that through the plays runs the same grewsome thread of popular superstition; second, that they contain at least one expression of keen protest against the barbarity engendered by this belief. To deal with the first point. We find Peter of Pomfret with his prophecies<sup>42</sup> taken bodily over into "King John," as also is Elinor Cobham, with her invoking of spirits and her waxen images,<sup>43</sup> into "The Contentions". As in the Chronicle,<sup>44</sup> Jane Shore is accused in "The True Tragedy of Richard the Third" of withering Richard's arm with her magic. The suspicion of witchcraft as instrumental in bringing about the passion of Edward the Fourth for the charming Elizabeth Grey, whom we saw in the Chronicle, is used in "Edward the Fourth" by the king's mother to sharpen the sting of her taunts at the new queen. These floating allusions to the popular notions are common throughout these Chronicle plays, possibly the most interesting being found in "Edward the Third" and in "Perkin Warbeck." In the first play Warwick, sent to his (Warwick's) own daughter to carry the message of the king's unlawful love for her, cries out,

"I am not Warwick, as thou think'st I am,  
But an attorney from the court of hell;  
That thus have housed my spirit in his form,  
To do a message to thee from the king";

a wonderfully apt use of the popular superstition about the devil's power to take possession of the human form. In "Perkin Warbeck," we have an interesting insight into the manner

<sup>40</sup> Hol. III. 172.

<sup>41</sup> Hol. III. 172.

<sup>42</sup> Hol. II. 311.

<sup>43</sup> Hol. IV. 809.

<sup>44</sup> Hol. III. 383.

in which Ford mercifully echoes the idea of the opponents of the witch persecution; namely, that the confessions of the witch often were based merely on delusion.

"Thus witches,  
Possessed, even to their deaths deluded, say  
They have been wolves and dogs, and sailed in  
egg-shells  
Over the sea, and rid on fiery dragons,  
Passed in the air more than a thousand miles,  
All in the night:—the enemy of mankind  
Is powerful, but false."

In distinction from the everyday village-witch, the wild and uncanny being, whom the Chronicle represents as meeting Macbeth and Banquo on the moor, appears again in Shakespere's "Macbeth." We also meet her in "The Witches of Lancashire" as a hare ranging through the gloomy Forest of Pendle, "so called", says James Crossley, "from the celebrated mountain of that name the declivity of which. . . . stretches in a long but interrupted descent of about five miles, to the water of Pendle, a barren and dreary tract".<sup>41</sup> She likewise inhabits the uncanny wood that Jonson has created in his "The Sad Shepherd". Of her we read that

"Within a gloomy dimble she doth dwell,  
Down in a pit, o'ergrown with brakes and briars,  
Close by the ruins of a shaken abbey  
Torn with an earthquake down unto the ground."

Near her abode, within

" . . . the stocks of trees, white faies do dwell,  
And span-long elves that dance about a pool,  
With each a little changeling in their arms!  
The airy spirits play with falling stars,  
And mount the sphere of fire to kiss the moon,  
While she sits reading by the glow-worm's light,

<sup>41</sup> Introduction to T. Potts's "Discovering of Witches in the County of Lancaster."

Or rotten wood, o'er which the worm has crept,  
 The baneful schedule of her nocent charms;"

while around her flit

" . . . . blue fire-drakes in the sky,  
 And giddy flitter-mice with leather wings!"

As dainty and idealized as this weird, lovely scene is her little attendant spirit, Puck-Hairy, who loves to "dance about the forest. . . . and fir it like a goblin". We have here the blossoming into a realm of pure poetry of the conception of Jone Cason, the village plague.

It is noticeable, also, in this connection, that the impostor-girls we read of in the Chronicle who, as spirits in the wall, deceived the people with strange whistlings, or counterfeited trances, emerge grown-up into such plays as Lyly's "Mother Bombie" and Heywood's "The Wise Women of Hogsdon."

The case that chiefly interests us at present, however, is that of Jone Cason above mentioned. It typically illustrates the various phases of the popular superstition. We glance into the Inn and see the mother watching her sick child. "After hir said child had beene sicke, languishing by the space of thirteene daies, a travellor came into hir house, to the end to drinke a pot of ale (for she kept an alehouse) who seeing the lamentable case and pitious grieve of the child, called hir unto him saieng; Hostesse, I take it that your child is bewitched. Whereunto she answered, that she for hir part knew of no such matter. Well (said the ghest) if you thinke it to be so, doo no more but take a tile from over the lodging of the partie suspected, and laie it in a hot fier: and if she have bewitched the child, the tile will sparkle and flie round about the cradle where the child lieth. Now she, conceiving that travellors have good experience in such matters, did steale. . . . a tile from the house of the said Jone Cason. . . . and laied it in the fier besides the cradle, which soone after sparkled about the house, even according to her said ghests information. And within short space, the saide Jone (being the suspected partie) came into this house. . . . to see how the child did, which, (soone after hir comming)



looked full in hir face, and had not lifted up hir eie, nor looked abroad all the night precedent; but within foure houres after died: so as by the circumstance of that evidence, she thought it might plainelie appeare. . . . that the said Jone had bewitched hir child to death. Neverthelesse, the prisoner did absolutlie denie anie thing doone, or purposed by hir to have been doone in this behalfe. Howbeit, to pursue this matter to prooffe, and hir to death. . . . other seven persons were all deposed; by whome it was affirmed constantlie and approved manifestlie, that to the house of one Freeman (whose wife the said Jone Cason then was) not latelie but diverse years since resorted a little thing like a rat (but more reddish)." And so the story runs on. It represents the case of many a forlorn creature sent to death on like charges. Again and again we hear the same tale of the sick child, the stolen tile, the spiteful neighbors, the familiar spirit, the pitiful, bewildered admission that such "a little vermin, being of colour reddish, of stature less than a rat, and furnished with a brode taile," had haunted the house,—an admission joined always to a firm denial of guilt,—the clerical hounding of the unhappy creature to confession, the execution at last.<sup>41k</sup>

Such are the beliefs Holinshed held concerning the witchcraft question. Nothing can better illustrate the blind conventionality of such views than to contrast them with those of men who had struggled out of the passive acceptance of tradition into some intellectual solution of the troublesome problem. Of these men we have chosen two for consideration, one a country clergyman, George Giffard, the other a London playwright, Thomas Dekker.

This George Giffard, who published in 1593 a little book called "A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraft," believed as firmly as did Holinshed himself in witches and in their familiar spirits. Yet so far had he thought things out toward modern conceptions that he had, to his own satisfaction, reduced the figure of the witch, looming portentous in the mind of the

<sup>41k</sup> Hol. IV. 891-893.

rustic community, to that of a forlorn and powerless old woman. And while maintaining as firmly as Holinshed that many of these old women did actually deserve death for the impiety of holding communication with evil spirits, he yet safeguarded accused persons by advocating a course of legal procedure so just and reasonable that its adoption would have made absolutely impossible any further execution for witchcraft. So interesting is this process of reasoning that we will dwell upon it in some detail, for the purpose of contrasting its intellectual independence and originality with the passive acquiescence of Holinshed.

His book opens with a chance meeting on a highway of Daniel and Samuel, two English villagers. The latter confesses that he is troubled in his mind, and begs Daniel to go home with him and talk things over. Daniel says that, being out on business, he cannot; but finally convinced by Samuel's sensible remark that on a business errand "four or five hours are not so much," he yields, and they go back to Samuel's cottage. There they find M. B., the schoolmaster, "a good pretie scholler. . . . in the Latine tongue," as Samuel, deprecating his own lack of learning, declares. For Giffard's purpose, the group could scarcely have been better chosen; the country school-master, stiffly advancing all the conventional popular views; the rustic Samuel, whose dull simplicity makes it possible for the author to repeat himself as much as he likes, and Daniel (of course Giffard himself), suave, omniscient, with an appalling knowledge of the Scriptures.

M. B., fairly representing Holinshed, voices with the help of Samuel all the accepted notions. The witch is a portentous and powerful being having at her command one or more familiar spirits to inflict injury upon those who have offended her. These little beings, by the way, Giffard with unconscious literary instinct makes quite attractive, little "crabbe-fish", for instance, real household pets, lying in a pot of "soft and warme wool," fed delectably on cream and chicken, and reluctantly tearing themselves away at the command of the witch to ply their mischievous tasks in the neighbor's cornfield. Daniel's reply to

this view is uncompromising. These familiar spirits are not at all the subservient imps that M. B. imagines. As a matter of fact, he ingeniously declares, when the Scriptures speak of the devil as a roaring lion or a great red dragon, they are merely using a figure of speech to indicate armies and multitudes of devils all of equal power. When, therefore, a witch enters into confederacy with one of these, she has at her side no insignificant fiendlet, but incarnate diabolical power of supreme dimensions. Satan himself it is who not only in the beginning stirs up in her heart hatred and malice, but who dictates, also, the very form of revenge that she shall practice upon those she dislikes. She merely *appears* to herself and to others to have conceived and planned the malicious errands on which he prompts her to send him. Far from his mistress, she is his veriest slave.

The question then naturally comes up why the devil should choose to assume insignificance of form. Daniel answers that it is "even of subtletie". In the first place, by making it *seem* that helpless old women are responsible for the inflicting of injury, he can cause innocent blood to be shed, which above all things he delights in. Second, and far more important, he can thus turn the hearts of so-called bewitched people away from the true cause of their misfortunes, namely, their sins, to "set all on a broyle against old women"; and can move them, moreover, to go for relief on vain and even impious errands.

To make this clear, he explains that "the raising of tempests, the blasting of corn, the laming of men, the killing of children," etc.,—with which achievements, in his connection with the witch, the devil is chiefly charged,—are merely devices used to cloak his far deeper and blacker design, which is nothing less than the damnation of souls. God, in his judgment of the wicked or his testing of the righteous, sometimes lets people pass into the hands of Satan for a time. Sometimes Satan, who except by God's permission would be powerless, acts independently of the witch, as in the cases of Job and of Saul. But often he chooses to seem to be sent by a witch, since thus the afflicted people are moved thereby rather to rage against the witch than

to lament their misdeeds; and seek remedy, not by repentance and humiliation before God, but by running to cunning men and women.

These cunning men and women, who are popularly supposed to undo in benevolent fashion the work of the witches, are Daniel's next object of attack. M. B. gathers himself together for a spirited defense of these philanthropic persons. If, as Daniel insists, they are helped in their remedial advice by devils, not by the spirit of Moses or by some good angel as was popularly supposed, how on earth can Daniel explain it? If the devil, acting apparently through a witch, has sent disease through a man's flock, will he, acting through the cunning woman, unwitch the flock by teaching the farmer to burn an animal alive? Or if one is haunted by an evil spirit, or possessed by a devil, will another devil be likely to teach the cunning woman the holy charm which shall drive the first devil away? "Our Savior saith," quotes M. B. triumphantly, "that Satan does not drive out Satan, for then his kingdom would be divided and would not stand!" Daniel, nothing daunted, says that the whole matter is perfectly simple. The devils may *seem* to be working against each other, but really they are working together to a common end. Take the man, for instance, who burned an animal alive at the direction of the cunning man. The devil troubling the flock willingly ceases when the animal is burned,—indeed he may be also the very devil who gives the direction,—in order that the unhappy man, who has brought this trouble upon himself by means of his sins, may not see that the proper thing for him to do is to humble himself before God in true repentance. Again, take the case of the man out of whom a devil has been driven, according to common rumor, by means of "charms compounded of strange speeches and the names of God intermingled," taught by the cunning woman. What, says Daniel, can Satanic power desire more than that holy things should be thus abused through such "horrible prophaning of the most blessed name of God, and the Holy Scriptures"? Moreover, Satan is not *driven out* at all, but *willingly ceases* troubling



the body in order that he may thus the more establish this impious art of conjuration,—the art practised by the heathen and absolutely forbidden to the Israelites,—whereby to draw men quite “from God even to worship himselfe, by seeking help at the hands of divels”.

The conclusion reached by Giffard is a most startling one to the orthodox believer. The so-called black witch is an absolutely harmless member of the community. All the evils that the people lay at her door would come to them anyway, even if all the so-called witches on earth were burned, since the devil, by permission of God, is their real instigator. It is the cunning woman, the so-called *white* witch, who is the real menace to society. She it is who by her heathenish charms and conjurations blinds her community to the real source of security, namely, God.

The black witch, then, is not at all responsible for the least of the harms so generally laid at her door. Inasmuch, however, as she is guilty of league and communication with devils, she is deserving of death. This Daniel admits. He insists strenuously, however, upon the necessity of having absolutely conclusive evidence of her guilt; and the impossibility of getting such evidence on matters so dubious and obscure does away, in his opinion, with any legitimate possibility of execution for witchcraft.

Such is the line of argument followed by George Giffard. Quaint as it is, and credulous of many a superstition, it yet illustrates perfectly the point. It shows a mind vigorous and original rebelling against the barbarous treatment of a large class of his fellow-beings, and working its way logically out towards a theory the adoption of which would have reduced to a minimum the baleful results of one of the most active of mediaeval superstitions.

The other literary expression of gradually-evolving enlightened sentiment concerning the witchcraft problem is found in Dekker's “The Witch of Edmonton.” In the writer's portrayal of the progress of a woman's soul towards ruin, a portrayal marked by delicate sympathy for the wretched creature far more

victim than sinner, he protests as gallantly against the popular madness as did Giffard himself. I can scarcely better illustrate my point, namely, the blank conventionality of Holinshed's attitude in the matter, than by quoting Symond's fine passage dealing with this play, a passage which recognizes discriminatingly Dekker's gentler spirit.

"This want of cohesion is no drawback to the force and pathos of Mother Sawyer's portrait; perhaps the best picture of a witch transmitted to us from an age which believed firmly in witchcraft, but drawn by men whose humanity was livelier than their superstition. From the works of our Elizabethan Dramatists we might select studies of witch life more imaginative, more ghastly, more grotesque: Middleton's Hecate and Stadlin, Marston's *Erichtho*, Jonson's *Maudlin*, Shakspeare's weird sisters and *Sycorax*. None of these, however, are so true to common life; touched with so fine a sense of natural justice. The outcast wretchedness which drove old crones to be what their cursed neighbors fancied them, is painted here with truly dreadful realism. We see the witch in making, watch the persecutions which convert her from a village pariah to a potent servant of the devil, peruse her arguments in self-defence, and follow her amid the jeers and hootings of the rabble to her faggot-grave. Mother Sawyer first appears upon the stage gathering sticks:

And why on me? Why should the envious world  
Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?  
Cause I am poor, deformed, and ignorant,  
And like a bow buckled and bent together  
By some more strong in mischief than myself,  
Must I for that be made a common sink  
For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues  
To fall and run into? Some call me witch;  
And being ignorant of myself, they go  
About to teach me how to be one; urging  
That my bad tongue, by their bad usage made so,  
Forspeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,

Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.  
This they enforce upon me; and in part  
Make me to credit it.

Beaten before our eyes by a brutal peasant, she falls to cursing, and stretches out her heart's desire toward the unknown power 'more strong in mischief than herself':

What is the name? Where, and by what art learned,  
What spells, what charms or invocations,  
May the thing called Familiar be purchased?

The village rabble fall upon her, lash her with their leathern belts, and din the name of witch into her ears, until the name becomes a part of her:

. . . I have heard old beldams  
Talk of familiars in the shape of mice,  
Rats, ferrets, weasles, and I wot not what,  
That have appeared, and sucked, some say, their blood;  
But by what means they came acquainted with them,  
I now am ignorant. Would some power, good or bad,  
Instruct me which way I might be revenged  
Upon this churl, I'd go out of myself,  
And give this fury leave to dwell within  
This ruined cottage, ready to fall with age!  
Abjure all goodness, be at hate with prayer,  
And study curses, imprecations,  
Blasphemous speeches, oaths, destested oaths,  
Or anything that's ill: so I might work  
Revenge upon this miser, this black cur,  
That barks and bites, and sucks the very blood  
Of me, and of my credit. 'Tis all one  
To be a witch, as to be counted one.  
Vengeance, shame, ruin light upon that canker!

As the devil himself, later on in the play, observes:

. . . Thou never art so distant  
From an evil spirit, but that thy oaths,  
Curses and blasphemies pull him to thine elbow.

This Mother Sawyer now experiences; for the familiar she has been invoking, starts up beside her in the form of a black dog:

Ho! have I found thee cursing? Now thou art  
Mine own.

From him she learns the formula by which he may be summoned, seals their compact by letting him suck blood from her veins, and proceeds to use him against her enemies. . . . .

The part, from beginning to ending, is terribly sustained. Not one single ray of human sympathy or kindness falls upon the abject creature. She is alone in her misery and sin, abandoned to the black delirium of God-forsaken anguish."<sup>42</sup>

So much for Giffard and Dekker. In scarcely any other way, I think, could we so distinctly emphasize the conventionality of the Chronicler's attitude towards the witch-superstition as by this comparison of it with the enlightenment and sympathy expressed in the works of our clergyman and our playwright.

#### B. THE MAGICIAN.

The magician, too, that academic witch, looms uncannily up through the pages of our Chronicle.

It is interesting to glance from the commanding figure of Robert of Sicily who, in dignified and royal seclusion, quite comfortably this side the line marking the bounds of forbidden knowledge, read in the heavens the forshadowed fate of the King of France at Cressy,<sup>43</sup> to that of Peter Walker, learned priest of Worcester, "publikelie at Paules crosse. . . . burning his books and instruments of such [magic] arts"<sup>43a</sup> and then on to the wild cave-dwelling hermit, Peter of Pomfret, who lost his life on account of a certain prophecy concerning King John.<sup>43b</sup> It is strange that the Chronicler, with his keen love for the striking and picturesque, has been satisfied with colorless mention of

<sup>42</sup> J. A. Symonds: "Shakspeare's Predecessors in the English Drama", pp. 478-483.

<sup>43</sup> Hol. II. 610.

<sup>43a</sup> Hol. IV. 724.

<sup>43b</sup> Hol. II. 311.



these magicians who laid so strong hold upon the imagination of dramatic writers. There must have been current more or less speculation about the portentous and awful shapes with which the Worcester priest communicated, as well as about the queer little creatures, cats, rats or "crabbe-fish", who were the familiar spirits of the witches. Yet of this he strangely gives us little. Possibly this may be accounted for by the fact that the alleged interests and achievements of magicians are chiefly connected with the ever widening field of speculative and scientific knowledge, while those of the witch about whom he chats so vividly passed naturally into the current gossip of the day.

The drama, as has been said, displays far more interest in this figure; and the first point to notice is the way in which, in "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay," "John a Kent and John a Cumber," and "The Merry Devil of Edmonton," the writers have, as has often been pointed out, belittled the traditional deeds of magicians. Compared with the petty deeds of the witch who loves "to make ewes cast their lambs, swine eat their farrow," the achievements of the magicians loomed large in the popular imagination. In "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay," however, the hero's doings are insignificant enough; John a Kent merely makes straight some tangled love affairs; while Fabell's achievements in "The Merry Devil of Edmonton" consist only in compelling his spirits to "dance. . . . nightly jigs" to make "the carriers' jades. . . . cast their heavy packs," "the milkmaids' cuts. . . . turn the wenches off," and "the frank and merry London 'prentices, that come for cream and lusty country cheer. . . . lose their way". So striking, indeed, in these three plays is this disparagement of the men who can make "the great arch-ruler, potentate of hell, tremble," at whose commands the imps of hell run obediently as at a real authority, that some critics have suggested that "Friar Bacon," at least, is a burlesque of Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus."

If the magicians in these three plays are practically travesties of the figures sketched slightly in Holinshed, the heroes of Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus" and Shakespere's "The Tempest" are as certainly superb idealizations of it. Faustus in his tower,

gloomy, distraught, the tragic figure of Mephistopheles looming vaguely beside him, Prospero in his enchanted island, working out serenely a philosophy of life based upon the magical power he possesses, display alike the power of supreme poetic imagination playing upon the popular tradition touched so lightly and conventionally by our Chronicler.

### C. THE DEVIL.

If Holinshed has somewhat ignored the magician, he is far from displaying like indifference to the conception of the devil, that being so intimately confederate with both wizard and witch. Indeed how could he, when the friar confessing you might be some manifestation of him, or your daughter might elope any minute with an incubus?

In the Chronicle the fiend appears either as bearing evident marks of his infernal origin, or as a human being, or as a small animal. We need not dwell on the last case, since we have already illustrated it sufficiently in the case of Jone Cason and her familiar. The appearance of a devil in human form is usually, in the Chronicles, portentous of ruinous storm or some other calamity. We read, on Corpus Christi daie at even-song time, the divell. . . . . appeared in a towne of Essex called Danburie, entring into the church in likenesse of a greie frier, behaving himselfe verie outrageouslie, plaieng his parts like a divell indeed, so that the parishioners were put in a marvellous great fright. At that same instant, there chanced such a tempest of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the highest part of the roofof that church was blowen downe and the chancell was all to shaken, rent, and torne in peeces."<sup>48c</sup> At another time St. Dunstan, in attendance upon King Edmund, was riding beside another nobleman, when "behold suddenlie Dunstan saw in the waie before him, where the kings musicians rode, the divell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a rejoising maner. . . . . in likenesse of a little short evill favoured Aethiopian". Banished for a time by the saint's crossing himself, he,

<sup>48c</sup> Hol. III. 20.

"or some other" is on hand again for supper, walking "up and downe amongst them that waited at the table". As usual his presence portends misfortune. Within three days the king is slain.<sup>43d</sup>

The devil also appears occasionally as the Incubus or demon lover. These beings seem particularly susceptible to the banning of the priests, and are especially picturesque in their manner of disappearing. One of them found in the chamber of "a yoong gentlewoman of excellent beautie. . . . making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the roofo of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith".<sup>43e</sup> Another haunting a woman on shipboard, and incidentally raising "a woonderful great tempest of wind and weather, so outrageous, that the maiter of the ship with other the mariners woondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middest of summer", upon the adjurations of a priest "issued foorth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and evill favored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And suddenlie therupon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir journie, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound."<sup>44</sup> We read also of "a yoong man . . . . verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint unto the bishop. . . . how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautiful a thing, that he never saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him. . . . & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir". It is interesting to note that the wise Bishop sent him off traveling quite as a modern doctor would have done, and that "within a few daies [he] was delivered from further temptation".<sup>44a</sup>

<sup>43d</sup> Hol. I. 690-1.

<sup>43e</sup> Hol. V. 147.

<sup>44</sup> Hol. V. 146-7.

<sup>44a</sup> Hol. V. 147.

I can find only one instance in Holinshed of the manifestation of the devil *in propria persona*, but this is sufficiently grotesque. At one time St. Dunstan, kneeling at his devotions, hears him "in the west end of the church, taking up a great laughter after his roring maner as though he should show himselfe glad and joifull at Dunstanes going into exile".<sup>46</sup>

The drama serves to supplement interestingly Holinshed's beliefs concerning the devil. Turning to it we find the grotesque figure we have just noted in the chronicle-story leaping and dancing through the Miracle Plays, his demoniacal laughter greeting us again in the traditional, familiar "Ho! Ho! Ho!" as in Jonson's "The Devil is an Ass". Pushed out from the religious drama by the Vice, he has yet an honorable career to run on the secular stage, where he appears in a picturesque variety of shapes, from that of the chief himself to "fellows of a handful high," who in Dekker's "The Merry Devil of Edmonton", slip "into the cloisters where the nuns frequent" to "make them skip like does about the dale"; and who on one occasion, in Dekker's "If This be not a Good Play the Devil is in It," gleefully display, as specimens of their handiwork, "four butchers' souls puffed quaintly up with pricks", infernal sweetbreads, we are informed.

In Cored, in "The Merry Devil of Edmonton", we have a definite suggestion of the portentous appearance of the familiar spirit of a magician, as opposed to the insignificant rats, mice, and weasels of the village witch,—a suggestion entirely denied us by the Chronicler. "Why comest thou in this stern and horrid shape?" cries Fabell when Cored appears at midnight in the magician's study, while "the lights burn dim afrighted at . . . [his] presence." We learn from Reginald Scot's "Discovery of Witchcraft" that "Cored knoweth the force of herbs and precious stones and maketh all birds fly before the exorcist, and to tarry with him as if they were tame, and that they shall eat and sing as their manner is." Unfortunately we cannot find from Scot what manner of apparition it was that so terrified Fabell;

<sup>46</sup> Hol. I. 693.



but it must have been very horrid, since of this demon only, in his long list of descriptions, is Scot moved to resort to asterisks. Fortunately he gives us more detailed accounts of other devils that serve magicians. We learn from him that Andras appeared in "an angel shape with a head like a black raven"; Flauros, "as a terrible strong leopard with fiery eyes"; Zagan, like a "bull with griffin's wings". Often, however, they came in more pleasing shapes, like Caim who presented himself in the form of a thrush, and Vepar who came like a mermaid.

The drama in this connection, then, serves to supplement the Chronicle by giving us information concerning the familiar spirits of magicians. Beyond this, it is chiefly interesting as furnishing various idealizations of the notions contained in Holinshed. The characterless little animals, cats or vermin, with whom we became acquainted in the Chronicle as the familiar spirits of witches, have, in the drama, become transformed into vivid little dogs, as in "The Witch of Edmonton," or exquisite sprites like Ben Jonson's Puck-Hairy in "The Sad Shepherd". The familiar spirit of the magician, commonplace enough in "The Merry Devil of Edmonton" and ignored in the Chronicle, appears in "Dr. Faustus" as the grand and melancholy Mephistopheles. The friar who, in the Chronicle, created such commotion during the church-services has his counterpart in the drama in the irresistible figure of Friar Rush in "If This be not a Good Play the Devil is in It". He succeeds with equal effectiveness in breaking up the order of an English monastery by such diabolical ingenuity as that which prompted him, before their frugal meal of herbs and water, to thank heaven

"For our bread, wine, ale and beer,  
For the piping hot meats here,  
For broths of sundry tastes and sort,  
For beef, veal, mutton, lamb and pork,  
Green-sauce with calves head and bacon,  
Pig and goose and cramd-up capon;  
For paste raised stiff with curious art,  
Pie, custard, florentine and tart,

Baked rumps, fried kidneys, and lam-stones,  
 Fat sweetbreads, luscious maribones,  
 Artichoke, and oyster pies,  
 Buttered crab, prawns, lobsters' thighs:  
 Thanks be given for flesh and fishes,  
 With this choice of tempting dishes."

The motive of the Incubus or demon-lover, so effective in the Chronicle, receives in the drama singularly weak treatment. It occurs, so far as I know, three times: once in "Grim, the Collier of Croyden", where Belphegor, as Incubus, is extremely stupid; next in "A Mad World, My Masters", where he comes in the form of a beautiful woman, and is interesting only when he disappears with a vicious stamp, presumably roaring; and also, I understand, in a play called "A New Trick to Cheat the Devil" of which I can get no trace. Considering eminently dramatic possibilities of this figure as apparent in our old ballads, in German drama, and in the recent successful representation of it on our own stage, it seems curious that in the sixteenth century he should prove such a failure.

It is also very strange, in this connection, that our favorite English fairy, Robin Goodfellow, whose diabolical origin was so generally accepted, should be quite ignored by Holinshed. How firmly, under this aspect, he was established in popular tradition, is evidenced by the grave statements made by Reginald Scot (1584), by Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy", and by the circumstantial account given by John Brand, a traveller, who in 1703 tells us in good faith of Brownies in the Shetland Islands who served any family who gave them "a sacrifice of milk for his service; as when they churned their milk, they took a part thereof and sprinkled a corner of the hearth for Brownie's use; likewise, when they brewed, they had a stone called "Brownie's stone", wherein there was a little hole into which they poured some wort for a sacrifice to Brownie".<sup>45</sup> The evil propensities of this little gnome are evidenced by the fact

<sup>45</sup> "A New Description of Orkney & Zetland." John Brand, Edinburgh, 1703, p. 112; quoted in *Folk Lore*, vol. 18, p. 440.

that he deserted the service of a good old man "who, when young, used to brew and sometimes read upon his Bible", which "was Brownie's eyesore, and object of his wrath". The drama by no means neglects this attractive little goblin. It is interesting to notice in regard to the play lately referred to, "Grim, the Collier of Croyden", that its dreary incubus Belphegor is almost atoned for by his piquant little demon-servant, whom we see issuing from the very mouth of hell, whose name is Akercock, and who, once on earth, assumes the shape of Robin Goodfellow. This treatment of him reflects charmingly the well-rooted idea of his diabolical origin. Akercock, alias Robin, appeared to be a devil of peculiarly simple taste, who has been to earth before and knows the lie of the land. After loitering about uneasily with his master among the lords and ladies, a prey perhaps to goblin-dyspepsia amidst their dainty fare, he is off to the beloved countryside where he is sure of plenty of curds and cream. His speech of final rebellion is charming.

"These silken girls are all too fine for me:

My master shall report of those in hell,

Whilst I go range amongst the country-maids,

To see if homespun lasses milder be

Than my curs'd dame.....

I'll fright the country-people as they pass;

And sometimes turn me to some other form,

And so delude them with fantastic shows.

But woe betide the silly dairy-maids,

For I shall fleet their cream-bowls night by night,

And slice the bacon-flitches as they hang.

Well, here in Croyden will I first begin

To frolic it among the country lobs."

One notes here that the cream is not dutifully set out on the hearth for him, but that he "fleets it" at his pleasure. This is significant taken in the light of Grim's exclamation when he sees him. He is not yet established there as an expected guest who, it is to be hoped, will lend a helping hand when work presses. He is an evil spirit pressing in from the moors, a

tiny Grendel, whom the startled friend at Joan's fireside greets with the exclamation, "O Lord save us, sure he is some country-devil! He hath got a russet coat upon his face".

We may note in passing that Robin Goodfellow, wholly reformed, appears in the inimitable Puck of "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*", who combines the fairy charm of Jonson's Puck-Hairy in "*The Sad Shepherd*" with the homeliness of the goblin in "*Grim*"; who one moment "puts a girdle round about the earth", and the next is sent "with broom before, to sweep the dust behind the door".

This chapter, it seems to me, illustrates more strikingly than any other the slavery of our Chronicler to tradition, a slavery shown by his merciless arraignment of an unjustly persecuted class composed for the most part of the wretched and helpless in the community; and by his adherence to the most grotesque of mediaeval superstitions concerning the embodiment and functions of evil spirits.

#### CONCLUSION.

So far, then, we have been able to trace in Holinshed's Chronicle the action of a spirit practically uninfluenced by the fuller light which, in the evolution of the human intellect, was tending more and more to render possible the solution of perennial problems. In his racial provincialism, proof against the floods of information concerning new lands and new peoples pouring in upon England; in his belief in the antiquated doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, a doctrine held tenaciously in the face of the enlightened policy of the Tudors who knew above all things when to yield; in his contempt for the mass of the people daily growing, nevertheless, before his eyes, into greater power and self-consciousness; in his constant indulgence in traditional gibes against women, despite the vigorous flowering in various directions of the feminine intellect of his day; in his adherence in matters of religion to superstitions which advance in the physical sciences was tending to dispel; in his



habit of moralizing upon threadbare themes, unconscious of the presence of newer problems; in his utter ignorance of any such humane theories concerning witchcraft as were raising, on stage and in pulpit, impassioned advocates; in all this we recognize the workings of a mind enslaved by the traditions of the past. Yet all this marks but the limitation in the character of a good and efficient man, whose learning and industry win infinite respect, whose monumental work has been of incalculable service to both playwright and historian. And it is with pleasure that I record my gratitude to him not only for his splendid service to scholarship and art, but also for the opportunity which the leisurely reading of him has afforded of catching in his mind, tranquil in the midst of an age so like our own in its restlessness and travail, a reflection of the spirit of former times when men rested, as on a rock, on long established beliefs and traditions, working with conviction and sleeping in peace, untroubled by doubt or question or agony of mental conflict.

CHRISTABEL FORSYTH FISKE.

THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT 7334 AND REVISION  
OF THE CANTERBURY TALES. By John S. P. Tatlock, Ph.D. London, for the Chaucer Society, 1909.

Henry Bradshaw once said, "Books are to me living organisms, and I can only study them as such." And the written book, far more than the printed book, is a living organism, a human document, a record of that personal desire and personal error which is the most interesting thing in the world, whether it be embodied in a detective story, a criminal law-case, or the vagaries of a medieval copyist. There has been much said about the manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* since Tyrwhitt constructed his text in 1775, and yet it is only in very recent years that we are beginning to feel the necessity for knowing the men behind the manuscripts, for judging anew the mass of autobiographic evidence which they have left intermingled with Chaucer's text.

This paper of Professor Tatlock's is an important contribution to such a judicial revision, and it may be hoped that the monograph is the first of a series. Of the two points to be worked out it deals fully with one, the peculiarities of Harley 7334 and the question whether those peculiarities be unique; it deals less conclusively though very interestingly with the other, the question what is indicated by those peculiarities,—because we do not yet know if other scribes, say Gg and Ellesmere and Selden, show a similar mixture of betterment and error.

Professor Tatlock divides his thirty-two pages into Passages in Favour of a Revision by Chaucer, Metrical Evidence, Other Passages Opposed to Revision by Chaucer, and General Evidence against Revision by Chaucer. From these chapter-headings it will be seen that Professor Tatlock's results oppose any retouching of this manuscript or its immediate ancestor by Chaucer's correcting hand. We have liked to think that the repetitions and echoes of himself with which Chaucer's verse abounds come perhaps from his reading and rereading of his own work in those periods of idleness between flooding productivity which must have been characteristic of his temperament, periods in which it would have been natural to correct without system lines already written. But it is not in Harley 7334 that we are to find traces of such correction. The revisions here found are unique, but they are not primitive; they appeared at the earliest, says Professor Tatlock, in the third or fourth MS-generation. They indicate a man with a keen metrical ear and a slightly more modern pronunciation than the poet, a devoted student of Chaucer, well-educated and intelligent, but somewhat pedantic and liable to lapses of attention and even good sense. The keen

metrical ear is interestingly shown in the Harley scribe's objection to Chaucer's nine-syllabled lines; he revises them in over 40 cases where they are retained by the eleven other MSS used in this part of the comparison. It is also remarkable that three-quarters of these Harleian corrections are in the first third of the poem; this fact strikes the present reviewer as the more curious because in the *Parlement of Foules* the manuscripts cease to diverge from one another after the first third of the poem. Is it to be expected that revisers, be they authors or correctors, will work with vigor for just about that much of a known task?

The paper leaves us expectant, and with food for speculation. If the long-admired Harley 7334 be denied any share in the establishment of the Chaucerian text, or "used, if at all, only with the greatest suspicion", if the Ellesmere and its allies are to "lie under strong suspicion of having been re-edited by another than Chaucer", if the Gg scribe is to be regarded with even more distrust than the Harley copyist—whither go we for our text of Chaucer? The only large class of manuscripts remaining is that burdened with spurious additions to its Links and distorted by false arrangement. Will it ultimately appear that this class, which it has been suggested is the eldest in its type and perhaps "pirated" without the poet's knowledge, contains a text of the *Tales* more nearly truthful in intention than is the work of intelligent revisers a decade later?

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

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THE ETERNAL VALUES. By Hugo Münsterberg. Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1909. \$2.50 net. Pp. XV, 436.

This work is a translation and revision of the same author's 'Philosophie der Werte', its general point of view is already partially revealed in his 'Psychology and Life' and other works, and his treatment of esthetic values is foreshadowed in his 'Principles of Art Education'.

The book presents a system of philosophy in terms of value rather than of the real or the true in the narrower sense. Further, its point of view is that of absolutism, idealism, and voluntarism. It opposes all pragmatism, naturalism, scepticism and relativistic philosophy.

Values are grounded in the active, dynamic aspect of our nature, which is regarded as the essential factor in all experience. *The will creates values* as necessary postulates. The author is not interested, save as a critic, in relative or empirical

values. Such are values that spring from mere desires or personal volitions or that are exhausted in personal pleasures and satisfactions. If society is viewed naturalistically, it is a mere aggregate of individuals, hence social demands and sanctions are no better basis than the individual ones. The only valid basis of any real or pure value is the *over-personal will*, which with its values is not to be derived by any empirical induction from particular finite needs and tendencies.<sup>1</sup> Such a pure will act must have its purposes and content, but its realization consists, not in any single element like the particular deed, pleasure, gratification of instinct, or external result; it consists rather in the relation of identity between aim and result. It is this universal, the essence and product of will as a relating activity that demands and posits a unitary world, it is this and this alone that gives meaning and value to every thing, occurrence, relation or system, to all that is experienceable.<sup>2</sup> Yet the author argues that the values *do not depend upon obligation*. To be sure, they are ideals rather than facts, they are our tasks rather than fixed realities; yet they involve no external demand,—in conforming to norms of thought, taste, or conduct we are autonomous, satisfying the own will. But as with Kant, this will is still supersensible and is not in the least concerned with the satisfaction of any finite or personal need.

This highly systematic treatise, after the manner of German idealism from Kant to Hegel, *classifies values* on the basis of four forms of the fundamental relation of *identity* at which the value-seeking will always aims. This yields the logical, esthetic, ethical, and metaphysical values as the highest types. Each of these is subdivided according as the will act that is its ground is naive and unreflective or controlled by conscious purpose. A further division is found in the direction of valuation to three fields: the external world of things, the fellow world of persons, and the inner world of valuations. In all, therefore, there are twenty-four presumably distinct types of value.

The writer makes much of the concept of *immediate experience*, that pure, original source from which our naive and indirectly our cultured valuations spring.<sup>3</sup> It contains the fundamental difference of self and its contents, or will and its

<sup>1</sup> Yet the critic finds the over-personal will conceived entirely by methods of analogy and appreciation, starting from the personal will.

<sup>2</sup> Thus early the untenable dualism of the absolute and the finite, of the real and the phenomenal, seems complete, reminding one of Kant; so that the question, whose will this is, would be an absurd question.

<sup>3</sup> It is apparently personal experience, which suggests the problem as to how eternal values are derivable from it.



object. These contents are phenomena in space and time and viewed as means or end of the self. But the distinction between the mental and the physical is not found in such experience; it is an artifact of science—for pure experience all is alive and conscious and extended.<sup>4</sup>

The *metaphysical values* are thus accounted for: the logical, esthetic and ethical values constitute three distinct worlds because the valuations start with different purposes or points of view. The author aims at precise definition of these values and tries to ensure their complete independence and mutual exclusiveness; yet they are often found to be antagonistic. But that is unsatisfactory to an experience whose essence is will and whose will-object is a unitary world or a system of relations of identity. They must be combined without being confounded, but no one of the three values can be made the supreme and unifying one, for all equally had their origin in immediate experience and on account of their very nature each could rightly protest against permanent subordination of this kind. So religion and metaphysics are viewed as the superior valuations, the one naive and the other cultured; the one effecting an emotional, the other a more intellectual unification; 'religion transcends experience', 'philosophy goes back to the presuppositions of experience'. Yet the essence of both is *conviction*, the supreme belief,—ostensibly an over-personal act.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This reveals the fact that the esthetic and the ethical values, so far as they exclude scientific intelligence, are nearer the original, underlying reality than is science; but it is doubtful to the reader how far purposeful valuations, especially achievement, can exclude science, while the writer's position does not make it clear that the original form of experience is any more valuable or real than those highly purposeful, intelligent, and controlled forms which eventuate in philosophy. Indeed there is a doubtful consistency in the appeal to either analytic or genetic origins on the part of one who scorns evolutionary philosophy and would divorce ideals and values from their biological or sociological explanation. But the important application of the author's view is that *the scientific account is not philosophy*, it is only one type of value primarily different from the others and not at all their superior. Artists and reformers, cheer up! The dominion of science is limited.

<sup>5</sup> But the critic would say that both philosophy and religion, while aiming to be over-personal, always have their roots in the personal, without which they must lack vigor and applicability to human needs. But philosophy, even the philosophy of values, is to be nothing if not inapplicable!

<sup>6</sup> The author's portrayal of the Absolute or *overself* has little to distinguish it from that of other dynamic idealists. To the reviewer, the noticeable fact is the failure of the concept to satisfy the needs

In his account of *esthetic values*, Münsterberg rejects the metaphysical method (which is deductive from extra-experiential assumptions), as well as the scientific method, whether of psychology (whose problems are with the constitution and causal relations of the mental processes concerned) or of physics (which describes and explains the object). He would use the critical method, which goes back to the presuppositions common to these sciences and to art, i. e. back to immediate experience. Thus theories of association, of *Einführung*, and of inner imitation may apparently be brushed aside. The appreciation of the beautiful does not really involve the projection into the object of *my* feeling or of a unity which belongs to my apperceiving mind rather than to the object, as current psychology would make out. No, in immediate experience, whose characteristics both naive and cultured appreciation share, the object is not a thing but a source of will, and it is beautiful because it suggests to us the harmony of its own volitions.<sup>7</sup> The esthetic object involves a manifold of will tendencies in inherent agreement or mutual support, and separated from the rest of the world.

The central characteristic of the esthetic object is its *isolation*, which implies its practical and scientific *unreality*. In the narrow sense it does not exist, tho it is the deepest meaning of life and the world. Its place is in the world of imagination. It arouses no expectations referring beyond itself. Strictly, it represents nothing real; every art has its illusion-destroying factors (e. g. the stage, the frame) which inhibit one's expectations of real connections and developments. A definite, particular place in the web of our practical and scientific interests is denied to it so far as it remains esthetic.<sup>8</sup>

that gave rise to it; failure, first, to attain inner consistency in the conception, and second, to frame it so that it shall have any vital, appreciable, and controlling relations to finite experience. It is either an empty, abstract universal instead of the organizing principle it purports to be, or its contents are human qualities carried over into eternity with the tatters of their finitude still clinging to them

<sup>7</sup> Here it is not quite clear whether the over-personal will at the foundation of all esthetic value has its temporal shrine in the appreciator, in the object, or in a relation between the two.

<sup>8</sup> Yet (as I should argue) the esthetic object has a rich meaning which always involves transcendence of the merely presented; tho its outer relations are cut off, it has complexity, and its own world, without one's stepping from imagination to reality, involves causal, moral,

Art, then, does not aim to portray real things, it is unfettered by natural and historical connections; thru its ideality it eliminates the self-referring attitudes of the observer, thus bringing into strong relief the will or meaning inherent in its own content; it has a totality dependent on identity of purpose rather than on causal connection; it is able to transform what is naturally ugly into the beautiful; and it has a unique form, a structure peculiar to it as art. All these factors of the art work are combined and interdependent.

While Münsterberg isolates the esthetic much more sharply than would be agreeable to many current writers, on the other hand he conceives the field more broadly than is customary. As it were, having adopted a telescope that strictly confines the vision, he then turns it in novel directions. There are *three classes of naive esthetic values*: harmony, love, and happiness, belonging respectively to the outer world, the fellow world, and the inner world. They are to be sharply distinguished from the pleasant effects caused by nature or fellowship: the value of love is not the pleasure of either person, but the validity of the relation between them. But the over-personal will is capable of combination with personal desire or aversion so that the object may be at once beautiful and agreeable or even disagreeable.

Natural beauty involves the immediate expression of the intrinsic will agreement in nature. Its meaning cannot be revealed in any abstract conception, whether moral, scientific, or metaphysical; nor is it interpreted as mutual adjustment of parts in a mechanical system, which is a purely external unity. Love is the harmony of persons, not of biological objects. There is some difficulty in distinguishing love and happiness from moral values, but the writer apparently has in mind mainly the immediate forms of the experience: love as instinctive or impulsive or as an assured attainment, however effortful its preconditions; and happiness as a spontaneous attitude. Again, the emphasis is not on *being* happy or a friend but on appreciating the harmony of wills involved therein; tho it is admitted that the best appreciator is the participant. The content of happiness is viewed as decidedly a dynamic process: work "is an unfailling source of happiness", "such a moving equilibrium of

and other relations. Further, the art work is immensely suggestive, big with human meaning; and tho its explicit connections with real or practical life may be cut off, implicit half-hidden ones, like the nervous connections of a one-legged man with the lost member, can hardly be denied it. Its isolation from the rest of life thus resembles the isolation of play.



the inner world is the highest happiness", "hence the inexhaustible content of happiness in truth and beauty and morality".<sup>9</sup>

The writer's *classification of the arts* is an interesting example of the influence of a general schema, deductively applied, in modifying commonly accepted views and to some extent in distorting the facts and the genuine meanings involved. First, when isolation from the practical and the real is incomplete, as in landscape gardening, architecture, dancing, esthetic value is either lacking or of low degree.<sup>10</sup> Next, the fine arts (pictures and sculpture) have as their content nature, literature deals with the fellow world, and music with the inner world of emotions and evaluations. According to this, the fine arts are concerned with men never as persons capable of a variety of will attitudes in different relations, but only as static will points in nature; and the author argues that literature never appreciates nature as such with its own will agreement, but only nature in relation to man, as influencing or reflecting human purposes.<sup>11</sup> As for the subdivisions of literature, the epic deals with the hero in relation to nature, the drama with the hero in the fellow world, the lyric with his inner world. In the epic all actors beside the hero (or at most the 'heroic pair'!) are subordinated and embedded in the natural background, which is not the case in the drama.<sup>12</sup> Other classes of literature are not mentioned, nor is the distinction between poetry and prose.

We can barely mention a few further details. *Pictorial form* involves the unity or agreement of lines, unity of colors,

<sup>9</sup> Thus it is not quite clear that love and happiness, as esthetic values, are isolated from the context of the rest of life; nor is the logical relation adequately worked out between these experiences as possible moral ideals and duties and as esthetic values. The author's theory of extreme isolation, here as elsewhere, breaks down, and a golden opportunity is lost for working out a true and significant theory of the vital, intrinsic (not metaphysical) connection of the esthetic with other values.

<sup>10</sup> With this should be contrasted the views of Santayana, Wm. Morris, and Vernon Lee that magnify the function of art in life and its relation to work and utility; also Münsterberg's own appreciation of happiness.

<sup>11</sup> Whatever the provinces of the arts *ought* to be, evidently they are in practice not wholly as here outlined. This is quite as evident of the interpretation given to subdivisions of literature.

<sup>12</sup> As to the lyric, the critic would fain know (and the question holds for the whole esthetic field) whether its esthetic value depends on its expression of over-personal feelings only and not at all of personal feelings?



unity of lights, the unity of these different form factors, and finally the unity of form and content; and in each instance this means a unity of wills or tendencies inherent in the object. The essence of the *drama* is "the sharp antithesis of opposing wills", yet "the true drama does not leave any dissonance", for the observer implicitly wills just such collisions. The drama "holds us in the spell of participation and sympathy, and forces us to will with all the parties". Thus a genuine, tho an unselfish and over-personal sympathy is evoked in the observer. Again, *meaning* is not something distinct from words, it is not dependent on associated imagery but is an implicit phase of the word experience itself. Finally, the direct content of *music* is not physical or mental sounds in the abstract, but living tones in vital will relations, tones that possess and are sources of will and feeling; and music has not only a form but a meaning,—not an objective reference to things and events, nor to the feelings of composer, performer, or other men—not a definite conceptual meaning at all—but a meaning inherent in and confined to the world of tones or music, i. e. the inner world of the hearer; for music is not placed in the space world but is the essence of my world of esthetic values.

Wanting space for a thorough criticism, my estimate must perforce seem dogmatic. Great credit is due the author for his conscious purpose to think systematically, without which no fundamental philosophy is possible. The book also is frequently suggestive, to the general or the technical reader, of views important quite apart from the author's system. Further, it has an inspiring quality due to the magnitude of the undertaking, to the fundamental appeal to will, to the emphasis of the more than personal nature of the real values, i. e. to its ethical idealism.

Yet the candid examiner of the volume must recognize limitations inherent in the very nature of such a system and such inspiration. For there remain conflicting ideas and values where unity of concepts or values was sought; the eternal fixedness of such ideas and values appears out of appreciative and controlling touch with the variety and fluidity of life experience; the more abstract concepts seem empty and colorless save as meaning is infused into them out of the conditions of finite experience in a manner that is subtly opposed to the deductive apriori standpoint fundamental to absolutism; the dualism of the absolute and the relative, or of universal and particular, appears at many different points in the various fields of value, and appears as not really resolved by any one principle; or if the eternal nature of value be admitted as established, it remains a puzzle how there can be any genuine and ultimate differences of

value, especially differences of degree (this point, so significant for art, morality and common life, would be fruitful of discussion). So that one is brought face to face with the dilemma: Either value cannot be accounted for in this wise by any one principle of life, or if it is, the principle renders all differences of value and all valuable differences in life *nil*.

In the author's treatment of esthetic values, some of its commendable features are: the adoption of the philosophic viewpoint, the definiteness of this viewpoint, the excellent estimate of the relative importance of other methods in esthetics, the reaction on some of the current esthetic theories, the admitted breadth of the field of esthetic values, the evident basis of all in immediate experience, the deduction that all beauty is essentially spiritual (consisting in will agreements), and the suggestive treatment of the topics nature-beauty, love, and happiness.

On the other hand we have noticed the inadequate formalism in his classification of the arts, and the reviewer is compelled to take issue especially with his isolation of the esthetic. This is an extreme position liable to misapprehension and erroneous deductions, such as the total exclusion from the esthetic of all other values, the entire neglect of content for form, and the dogma of art for art's sake vs. for life's sake; and to such implications the author, tho confusedly, lends his sanction. Only on the basis of some other theory or by shifting the emphasis in this one could one speak of the extra-esthetic functions inherent in esthetic experience, or think of esthetic values as continuous with or containing or leading to social, practical, moral, religious, intellectual, and educational values.

Finally, if we ask about the value of philosophy and especially of a philosophy of values, with this particular treatise as our example, we may let the author speak in his own words and anti-pragmatist spirit: "We seek a truth which we conceive in our search as independent of its possible useful consequences". Tho it purports to express the highest meanings of life, it disclaims all intrinsic functions in relation to life. As literature and philosophy are thus portrayed in a certain remoteness from immediate life values, in spite of their derivation from the latter, can the *litterateur* expect to find in such philosophy satisfaction for any personal life needs or any purely literary interests? or does it satisfy any need except the pure will to speculation, which is not a *need* at all? I must leave the reader to answer these questions by turning to the volume itself, which at any rate contains a great deal that is interesting to different classes of men, including literary men.

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ROMANTICISM AND THE ROMANTIC SCHOOL IN GERMANY by Robert M. Wernaer, New York and London, D. Appelton and Company. 1910.

Der Verfasser hat sich nach seiner eignen Angabe bemüht die Mitte zu halten zwischen Ruolf Hayms streng wissenschaftlichem Werke über die romantische Schule und Ricarda Huchs dichterischer und in sich selbst romantischer Verklärung dieser Epoche. Im Ganzen ist ihm dies auch gelungen. Obschon er seinem Gegenstande nicht immer sachlich genug gegenübersteht, so bietet er doch eine jedem gebildeten Leser leicht fassliche Darstellung jener Bewegung.

Am Eingang des Buches macht Wernaer den Versuch, die Begriffe 'klassisch' und 'romantisch' zu erläutern. Er bezeichnet Klassizismus als den künstlerischen Ausdruck eines Individuums, eines Volkes, einer Epoche, wo der Verstand die Herrschaft führt über die übrigen Faktoren unsres Seelenlebens, während romantische Kunst auf das Ueberwiegen des Gefühls zurückzuführen sei. Keiner dieser Faktoren lasse sich jedoch je ganz ausschalten, es handele sich daher immer nur um das Verhältnis zwischen beiden. Wo das Gleichgewicht annähernd hergestellt sei, erhalten wir klassisch-humanistische oder romantisch-humanistische Kunst, je nach der Vorherrschaft des einen oder des anderen. Das unerreichbare Ideal sei humanistische Kunst schlechthin, d.h. eine solche, die sowohl das äussere als auch das innere Leben mit allen seinen Beziehungen vollkommen unparteiisch erfasse und darstelle.

Es ist richtig, dass Gefühlsvorgänge im Vergleich zur Verstandestätigkeit den Charakter grösserer Passivität besitzen, doch das zufolge dem Verfasser gleichfalls damit verbundene Gefühl grösserer Freiheit ist durchaus trügerisch. Sämtliche Zustände unseres Bewusstseins werden durch zweierlei bedingt: einerseits durch die körperliche und geistige Organisation des Betreffenden und seinen augenblicklichen Geamtzustand, andererseits durch die Aussenwelt im weitesten Sinne des Wortes. Die Verstandestätigkeit geht gewöhnlich mit klarem Bewusstsein vor sich, während die Gefühle, oder doch deren Ursachen häufig so tief unter der Schwelle unseres Bewusstseins liegen, dass dadurch das Gefühl von Freiheit entsteht. Dabei beherrschen die Gefühle die Richtung unseres Willens weit entschiedener als der Verstand. Man muss letzterem wenigstens vorübergehend das Vorrecht einräumen, um die Gesetzmässigkeit und Abhängigkeit des Gefühlslebens zu erkennen, was jedoch nicht ausschliesst, dass in bestimmten Momenten diese bereits gewonnene Erkenntnis vor der Macht der Gefühle erblasst, oder gar ins Wanken gerät. In einem Augenblicke, in dem sich Verstand und



Gefühl annähernd die Wage halten und zugleich eine gewisse Höhe erreichen, fühlt sich der Mensch nicht frei; ganz im Gegenteil, er wird sich seiner Gebundenheit, d.h. der Grenzen des verstandesmässigen Erkennens bewusst. Sobald er aber das jenseits dieser Grenze Liegende mit dem Gefühl zu erfassen sucht, neigt sich das Zünglein der Wage bereits auf die Seite der Romantik. Daher auch die Bedeutung des Unbewussten für alle Romantiker.

Bei dieser Zweiteilung der menschlichen Geisteskräfte findet übrigens die Einbildungskraft, die bei den Romantikern eine solch wichtige Rolle spielt, nicht genügend Berücksichtigung. Die Einbildungskraft einfach auf der Seite des Gefühls einzuordnen, wie Wernaer es tut (S. 5), ist m. E. kaum zulässig. Ein Gefühl, der unklare Wunsch oder sogar die bewusste Absicht bestimmte, bereits bekannte oder ihnen ähnliche Gefühle zu erwecken, oder auch nur unserem Bewusstsein überhaupt einen Gefühlsinhalt zu geben, sind häufig die erste Veranlassung zur Betätigung der Einbildungs-Kraft. Doch auch auf diesem Gebiete herrscht keine Freiheit, sondern strenge Gesetzmässigkeit, trotz der gegenteiligen, landläufigen Meinung und trotz des Eindrucks unbedingter Willkür, den wir oft empfangen. Welchen Sinn hätte es sonst, dem Charakter des Dichters, seinen persönlichen Eindrücken und Erlebnissen, seiner Lektüre u.s.w. nachzuforschen, um daraus die Genesis eines Werkes zu erklären?

Ueberdies stellten die Romantiker die Einbildungskraft in den Dienst sehr verschiedener Zwecke. In Novalis' *Hymnen an die Nacht* und *Ofterdingen*, in Wackenroders *Herzensergussungen*, in Tiecks *Sternbald*, William Lovell und *Genoveva* dient sie hauptsächlich dem Schwelgen in Gefühlen im üblichen Sinne des Wortes. Das gilt schon nicht mehr von Tiecks *Oktavianus*, und welchen Anteil hat wohl das 'Herz' an dem *gestiefelten Kater* und *Zerbino*? Und doch sind auch diese Werke romantisch, ja Haym bezeichnet Tiecks *Oktavianus* als die Summe der Romantik.

Kurz: auf einzelne Werke angewandt, versagt das Schema Wernaers, was bei der Vielseitigkeit der Romantiker nicht Wunder nehmen kann. Er spricht es ja selbst aus, dass Tieck im *gestiefelten Kater* nur mit seinen Verstandeskraften spielt (S. 203), bezeichnet die Phantasie als die 'master-faculty' der Romantiker (S. 145), und lässt sich Novalis auf ihren Schwingen in das Reich philosophischer Gedanken erheben (S. 215). Unter 'head' versteht er allerdings nur die kritische, urteilende Betätigung der Verstandeskraft; doch das ist in erster Linie etwas irreführend, zweitens hebt es den Einwand ungenügender Berücksichtigung der Einbildungskraft



nicht auf. Da es sich jedoch hier nur um das einführende Kapitel handelt, geschieht dadurch dem Werte des Buches nur geringer Abbruch.

Die Ausführungen über die romantische Ironie (S. 185 ff.) bieten dem Leser eine leicht fassliche Erklärung dieses dunklen und schwierigen Begriffes. Was Allgemeinverständlichkeit anbelangt, lässt das vorliegende Buch überhaupt kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig; die dabei unvermeidliche Popularisierung mancher Ideen ist dem gegenüber kaum ein Nachteil.

In der Besprechung von Schlegels *Lucinde* deutet der Verfasser mit Absicht und mit gutem Rechte—wenn man den Zweck seines Buches dabei in Betracht zieht—alles Anstössige nur an. Ein charakteristischer Zug dieses Werkes hätte m.E. aber doch Erwähnung finden sollen, nämlich das eifrige Bestreben den Rausch der Sinne mit volstem Bewusstsein auszukosten. Dieser Hang zur Wollust, von dem auch Novalis nicht ganz frei ist, gewinnt wenig durch den missglückten, meinetwegen noch so ehrlichen Versuch, die Sinnlichkeit als ein unbedingt notwendiges Korrelat des Geistigen hinzustellen und die beiden mit einander zu verschmelzen. In Ganzen bewertet Wernaer Schlegels *Lucinde* entschieden zu hoch.

Die Uebereinstimmung zwischen mehreren dithyrambischen Ergüssen in diesem Roman und den betreffenden Teilen von Novalis' *Hymnen an die Nacht* liegt klar zutage. Dass Novalis von Schlegel beeinflusst worden sei, scheint aus inneren Gründen kaum annehmbar.

Am Schluss seines Buches betont der Verfasser nochmals die Berechtigung und die Bedeutung des Gefühls für das menschliche Geistesleben, und bezeichnet, wie auch bereits im Verlauf seiner Ausführungen, Mangel an Pflichtgefühl als das grösste Uebel der Romantiker.—Sein Buch wird dem Anfänger und jedem gebildeten Leser, der sich für den Gegenstand interessiert, ein willkommenes Hilfsmittel zur Einführung in dieses Gebiet sein.—Eine Anzahl Druckfehler, deren manche den Sinn entstellen, sind beim Lesen der Korrektur leider durchgeschlüpft.

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DIE URSPRACHE UND IHRE ENTWICKLUNG. Von Prof. Dr. C. Täuber. Sonder-Abdruck aus dem Globus, 197. Band, Nr. 18. Braunschweig, 1910.

ORIGIN OF LINGUISTIC SPECIES. By Otto Jespersen. Estratto da Scientia, Vol. vi, N. xi.-3. Bologna, 1909.

The quarrel of the biologists regarding the rival claims of variation and mutation has now, it appears, been carried over into genetic philology. The two points of view are, at any rate, well illustrated in the monographs now to be considered. On the one hand we have Professor Täuber maintaining that all known languages have developed from an original scanty vocabulary by a slow process of differentiation, and on the other hand we have Professor Jespersen seeking to demonstrate that a new linguistic species may, under favorable conditions, burst into life anywhere and at any time, quite suddenly and spontaneously. Between these doctoral disagreements, who shall decide? We can at least listen impartially to the arguments.

Although Professor Täuber is a follower of Trombetti and leans hard upon the latter's *L'unità d'origine del linguaggio*, he confines his researches—or rather his speculations—mainly to the Indogermanic family. Theoretically, he concedes, in our search for the Ursprache it can make no difference what language we start with, since *ex hypothesi* all are derived from a common ancestor; but in practice we should beware of choosing one that has remained at a low ebb or has degenerated, because such a tongue may undergo sweeping changes within a brief space of time.<sup>1</sup> Rather the investigator should select a language which through long oral and written tradition has acquired a definite, slow-changing stock of words, and whose history can therefore be traced. These conditions he finds present in the largest measure in the Indogermanic group.

Starting, then, with the simplest Indogermanic root-forms, our author notes that they fall into six fairly distinct classes, corresponding on the one hand to certain combinations of con-

<sup>1</sup> On this point there is disagreement among authorities and a painful lack of evidence. R. H. Codrington (*On the Stability of Unwritten Languages*, *Man*, Vol. III, p. 11) gives an example of primitive speech that has not materially altered in 300 years. W. H. Furness, on the other hand (*Home Life of the Borneo Head-Hunters*, p. 81), says that all of the unwritten Polynesian languages are subject to remarkably rapid modifications. The observations of Dobrizhoffer on the changes in Abiponian under the influence of tabu are well known. It may be added that rapidity of change and degeneracy (whatever the latter may mean as applied to speech) have no necessary connection with one another.

sonant and vowel, and the other to certain fundamental notions or necessities of human existence. Thus (1) certain forms consisting of m + vowel denote liquid nourishment, as seen in *Mutter, Matte, Meer*; (2) others consisting of p + vowel denote solid nourishment, as *Papa*,<sup>2</sup> *Brot, Futter*; (3) others consisting of n + vowel, denote atmospheric phenomena, as *schnee, nachen, nass*; (4) others consisting of t + vowel denote wood or forest, as *Tanne, Tafel*; (5) still others consisting of l (or r) + vowel denote feeding and drinking places, as *Lache, Loch*; and finally (6) forms consisting of k + vowel denote the animal world. From these six original root-forms, the Indogermanic vocabulary, with the exception of exclamatory and imitative words, has been derived. Actually, the whole spiritual development of mankind, so far as it depends on vocal language is traceable, according to Professor Täuber, to these six small combinations of consonant and vowel.<sup>3</sup>

Of this sweeping conclusion Professor Täuber does not offer the objective proofs. To do so would require a volume, and the volume unfortunately is not yet written. He contents himself, therefore, with abundantly illustrating, by tables of verbal pedigrees, the devious process of descent from the original roots, and with pointing out the direction in which further investigations should proceed.

The article is written with a conviction and a naive enthusiasm which almost disarm criticism. The only comments, therefore, which I shall venture to make are, first, that the classification of the root-forms impresses me as being of a symmetry and logic little characteristic of poor humanity at its lower levels;

<sup>2</sup> *Papa* is the *Nahrungspender*, the distributor of solid, as *mama* is of liquid nourishment. Since so many fanciful theories have been advanced for the origin of *papa*, I may be permitted to add another. If *mama* is the sound made by the infant when suckling,—a generally accepted derivation—why should not *papa* be the infant's imitation of the father's panting and puffing as the latter, heavily laden with the spoils of the chase, comes into view of his expectant household? If it be objected that in society at the dawn of speech the identity of *papa* might be unverifiable even for the wisest child of the age, a sufficient answer is that the food-getter, whoever he might be, would always inherit the name. *Le véritable Amphitryon est l'Amphitryon où l'on dîne.*

<sup>3</sup> The shrinkage in the number of primitive roots reaches the irreducible minimum in D. Brozzi's *D'Origine e natura del linguaggio* (Citta di Castello, 1909), where the admiring reader may learn that the entire Indogermanic vocabulary has arisen from the onomatopoeic stem *sr*. To my mind this suggests a rather too close alliance between Grandfather Logos and the 'spirited sly snake'.

and second, that some of Dr. Täuber's ingenious attempts to fix modern words into their appropriate places on the family tree suggest that in etymology, despite the poet's dictum, everything worthy proving can be proved.

Professor Jespersen treads on firmer ground, both of theory and of fact. For his theoretical basis he reverts to two papers on the origin and development of language published in 1886-88 by the American philologist, Horatio Hale. To account for the multiplicity of language stocks in California and Oregon as compared with their paucity in Europe and Australia, Hale propounded an ingenious hypothesis. It was that new linguistic species are the sporadic inventions of isolated children. All that is necessary, he says, in order to the creation of a new language stock is that "two or more young children should be placed by themselves in a condition where they will be entirely, or in a large degree, free from the presence and influence of their elders. They must of course continue in this condition long enough to grow up, to form a household, and to have descendants to whom they can communicate their new speech."

These views, both of the geographical distribution of linguistic genera and of the linguifactive instincts of young children, Professor Jespersen accepts as reasonable and probable. As regards the first point he strengthens the argument negatively by citing Eskimo and Finnish-Ugrian as languages spoken with little variation over wide areas under climatic conditions which make the survival of isolated children impossible. The second point he discusses at some length. That children really invent words, there can be little question, though the contrary view is held by Wundt and others.<sup>4</sup> These childish creations may be wholly fanciful or they may be imperfect renderings of the words of the adult language. Of both classes Professor Jespersen has

<sup>4</sup>Inasmuch as few persons seem to have been present at the actual creation of a word, it may be interesting to take an instance from my own observation. Two children five years of age who were playing marbles on the side-walk, were contending over some fine point in the game. Said one to the other, "I know just as much about marbles as you do." The other, not catching the first part of the sentence, at once spoke up belligerently, and the following dialogue ensued:

"Who's a Yoo-doo?"

"You're a Yoo-doo."

"You're another."

"Yoo-doo!"

"Yoo-doo!"

At this point the children were separated by their elders, but for several weeks "yoo-doo" was in good standing in that neighborhood as a term of vituperation



collected many examples, which he means sometime to publish. 'Whole languages' thus invented are, however, rare, the materials collected by Hale being so scanty as to be practically worthless. Two cases are cited by Professor Jespersen. One is that of the Icelandic girl Saeunn, reported by Jonasson and Eschricht in 1858. Having invented in early life a secret language with which to converse with her brother, this girl succeeded in imposing it not only upon her family but upon her friends as well. The catechism was translated into her language in order that she might be confirmed. She even composed verses in this private idiom. An analysis of the comparatively few specimens of her speech which have been preserved seems to show that the words were arbitrary disfigurements of Icelandic. The language was without inflections, had no pronouns, and was so limited in its vocabulary as to need the help of nods and gestures.

The second case is one discovered and studied by Professor Jespersen himself, and the somewhat scanty and tantalizing information which he gives about it is the most interesting part of his paper. While he was lecturing on the language of children in the University of Copenhagen in 1903, he had the good fortune to hear of two boys, twins, speaking a language of their own, in a children's home not far from the city. With the co-operation of their teacher he studied the case carefully and made full records of the language. In babyhood the twins, it appeared, were neglected by their mother and for a long time lived in an out-of-the-way place with an old woman who was deaf. They were four years old before the parish authorities, discovering their neglected condition, sent them to the children's home. At that time their speech was wholly unintelligible to those about them, but when Professor Jespersen visited them, though they could not converse in Danish, they understood many Danish sentences. Alone together they conversed fluently in their own tongue. A phonetic study of their speech showed that their vocal organs were normal. Their vocabulary (to be published in full later) appears to be made up of distorted and shortened Danish words, though a voiceless *l*, which does not occur in Danish, is one of the most frequent sounds. Many words are disguised by the ending *-p*.<sup>5</sup> There are no inflections and the word-order is wholly unlike the Danish. One striking peculiarity is the repetition of the negative, as in Old English and Bantu,

<sup>5</sup> This appears to be a universal device for deforming language in the interests of secrecy. Wallace in *Travels on the Amazon* (p. 204) says that on one occasion he heard two cronies, an old Portuguese and a young Brazilian trader, begin talking in a language that he could not at first understand. It consisted, he discovered, in adding to every syllable another, rhyming with it, but beginning with *p*.

thus: *nina enaj una enaj haena mad enaj*, We shall not fetch food for the young rabbits, or literally, rabbits not young not food we shall fetch not. The syntax (what there is of it) resembles that of the gesture language of deaf-mutes. Compare the following sentences: *Hos ia bov lhalh*, Brother's trousers are wet, *Maria* (trousers Maria brother water); *Bop ep dop*, Mandse has broken the hobby-horse (Mandse horse piece). Many of the sentences, however, were unintelligible to all except the inventors of the language.

Although Professor Jespersen does not go so far as to maintain that this gibberish is a real language, he yet holds it to be a sufficient basis for some radical conclusions. If something so different from Danish can be produced in the very midst of Danish civilization, there can be no doubt that children left to themselves in an uninhabited region where conditions were favorable for their survival, might develop a mode of speech which would merit the name of a wholly new stock or species of language. In other words, speaking generally, a new linguistic species may arise quickly by a process of mutation, instead of slowly by a process of minute variation.

If this conclusion is valid—and for my part, aside from the ambiguity of the term mutation, I see no objection to it—the further question arises whether these childish inventions are purely capricious or exhibit uniformities of genesis and change which can be stated as general laws. This point, on which the possibility of a science hinges, will doubtless be illuminated by Professor Jespersen's records when they are published. Meanwhile there is opportunity for anyone who knows of a case of an invented 'whole language' to collect valuable data on one of the most interesting problems of philological science.

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THOMAS SHADWELL'S "LIBERTINE". A COMPLEMENTARY STUDY TO THE DON JUAN LITERATURE. By Dr. August Steiger. (Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literatur-geschichte, herausg. v. Oskar F. Walzel. V. Heft). Berne; Francke. 1904. pp. viii. 66.

Much of the literary activity in Germany (and German Switzerland) is, if not actually wasted, at least misdirected. As long as so many graver problems of English literature remain unattempted, it seems a pity to waste seventy odd pages over such a paltry performance as Shadwell's *Libertine*. The Restoration drama in general is sorry stuff at the best and Shadwell represents that drama at its worst. Steiger can scarcely be acquainted with Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* and the stinging couplet:

The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,  
But Shadwell never deviates into sense.

True, the Don Juan legend is now coming to the front; witness the recent study by G. G. de Bevette, *La Légende de Don Juan; son Evolution dans la Littérature des Origines au Romantisme*. Yet Shadwell's contribution to its vogue is of the slightest and might be disposed of in half a dozen pages. Steiger's research may be summed up in a few words, to the effect that Shadwell borrowed his theme not from Molière but from Rosimond's *Le nouveau Festin de Pierre*. Both Molière and Rosimond were at least endowed with *esprit*; Shadwell's "pot boiler", for it is nothing more, is what Steiger would call a "grossification" of the theme. Why not call it a brutalization? At one point, certainly, Steiger has lost his bearings. At p. 6 he remarks: "In this great mass of Don Juan poetry *English literature* takes a very poor place. Before and after *Shadwell's 'Libertine'* there is scarcely anything to be mentioned, etc." Has the word *dramatic* dropped out before *literature*? Let us hope so. Otherwise what becomes of Byron's *Don Juan*, which Goethe pronounced the greatest poem of the nineteenth century? Though not to the manner born, Steiger has written his work in English. Hence more than one curious expression. For example, "congruity" for "point of agreement" will scarcely pass; no more will "ought-to be witty", p. 10, for "would-be witty." "Seductive attempts", p. 40, for "attempts at seduction," is flatly non-English. Throughout, the reader is fretted with the suspicion that the author is writing in one idiom and thinking another. What is meant by the phrase "typical not only for his superior", p. 30, I fail to divine.

By an odd coincidence, Shadwell's *Libertine* has also been the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Oskar Reihmann, Leipzig, 1904. The two writers have evidently worked in ignorance each of the other's labours and the two arrive at pretty much the same conclusions and in about the same number of pages. Reihmann expresses himself in straightforward normal German, and his style is free from ungainly attempts such as Steiger's to be ironical. Otherwise there is little to choose between the two studies.

J. M. HART.

Cornell University.

NÅGRA ANMÄRKNINGAR OM DE NORDISKA VERBEN  
MED MEDIAGEMINATA, af Elof Hellquist. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, Göteborg, 1908.

This article, which tries to show that long voiced stops were used in Pregermanic as a formative element to give an iterative or intensive force, is in reality an attack on von Friesen's work *Om de Germanska Mediageminatorna*, Upsala, 1897.

Not to mention other valuable results, von Friesen had shown that the long voiced stop is Pregermanic (not only West-germanic), that it appears only in the case of substantive *n*-stems and verbs derived from these, and that it is the result of the lengthening of a voiced spirant before this *-n* after the voiced stops had already become voiceless. Hellquist, on the other hand, does not believe that any *-n* enters into the problem, but that the formations are "kortnamn, barnord, onomatopoetica".

Verbs with long voiced stop were explained by von Friesen as denominatives to these *n*-stems. Hellquist argues that they are in many cases merely onomatopoetic formations. He also discusses along these lines a number of verbs with long voiced stops not treated in the article "*Om de Germanska Mediageminatorna*".

Von Friesen had accounted for the absence in Gothic of words of this type by pointing out that also the Swedish Bible of 1541 contains no traces of such forms. The reason is that the words in question belong in most cases to the colloquial language. Hellquist now asks: "Why do they?" He attempts to answer this question.

Through lists arranged according to the meaning of the words concerned, our author shows that the greater number of these refer to noise of some kind. He thinks, then, that the



lengthening of the final consonant of the stem was used as a formative element especially for verbs that represent noise (sound), or in general, for a number of words that came within the range of the colloquial language. This lengthening has in many—not in all—cases made the verb intensive or iterative.

In regard to verbs with long voiceless stop Hellquist holds a similar opinion, though he would explain some of these as being the result of the assimilation of a following *-n* with a mute. The origin of Pregermanic long voiceless spirants is also explained through onomatopœia.

The psychological explanation, given in the words of Gerland, is that "Handlingens korthet och intensitet betecknas genom formens korthet och intensitet".

Hellquist's results can be well questioned. Very few of the words mentioned make the impression of being directly onomatopœtic in any sense of this word. In not a few cases he criticizes von Friesen for connecting words with rather widely diverging meanings. Here we can clearly see the workings of an indirect onomatopœia, if I may call it this, an association of sound, to be sure, yet not one that results in the making of a new word. The sound-image is connected, in most cases vaguely and unconsciously, with some word already existing (generally a noun, perhaps) that can very well have a fairly different meaning.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

*Northwestern University, June 16, 1910.*

## FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL.

Students of English literature the world over have lost in the death of Dr. Furnivall a guide, philosopher, and friend. He was a guide by virtue of his exemplary devotion to scholarship, a philosopher by right of his creed of courage and cheer, and a friend because he not only applauded the achievements of others but gave of his own and that abundantly. It may be said of him as it was said of another famous clerk: "Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche."

Frederick James Furnivall, the son of Dr. George Frederick Furnivall, was born at Egham, Surrey, on the fourth of February, 1825. Having received his early education at Englefield Green, Turnham Green, and Hanwell schools, he proceeded to University College, London; Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn. Early interesting himself in the Christian Socialist and Coöperative movement, he came under the influence of a famous band of reformers, the foremost of whom was Frederick Denison Maurice, whose nobility and courage Tennyson has celebrated in a familiar poem. He lent a hand at the Working Men's College and was proud to declare himself president of the National Amateur Rowing Association, "which admits working men". The democratic spirit and talent for coöperation which Dr. Furnivall showed in these philanthropic enterprises stood him in good stead in his work as a scholar. He was the founder and genial director of the Early English Text Society, the Chaucer, Ballad, and New Shakspeare Societies; founder of the Wyclif and Shelley Societies, and joint founder of the Browning Society. He was able, too, to contribute to the Roxburghe Club publications and the Rolls Series, to aid materially in the work of the Philological Society, and to shoulder editorial burdens in connection with the New English Dictionary. These special services and his general goodness were fittingly recognized about ten years ago, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, by a donation of £450 to his early English Text Society, by the presentation of his portrait to Trinity Hall, and by gifts to himself of a big 3-sculling boat and a memorial volume.

We have to honor Dr. Furnivall first of all for his initiative and industry. In his services to the Philological Society and in the foundation and management of many associations of learned men he was a pioneer of modern philology in England. To be sure there came to prepare a way for him such men as Ritson and Wright; and the great Sir Walter himself in founding the Bannatyne Club in 1823 took the road which had been already shown by the Roxburghe, and which was followed in the thirties by the Maitland Club in Glasgow, the Abbotsford Club, and the Surtees and Camden Societies; and in 1840 by the Percy Society. But in founding the Early English Text Society in 1864

Dr. Furnivall struck a new trail so far as English philology is concerned, by editing texts for the scholar rather than the bibliophile. His documents were reproduced faithfully, and by minimizing the cost of publication and by placing the books on the market, he brought them within the reach of persons of moderate means. All this was admirably hopeful and courageous only five years after Ebert had begun the publication of his *Jahrbuch*, and almost fifteen years before Kölbing founded the *Englische Studien* and Wülcker the *Anglia*. Dr. Furnivall's accomplishment was not simply that in the face of many difficulties he kept his cherished society together; but that he stimulated by his example and made possible by the society's published documents a wide and fruitful interest in the field of mediaeval studies.

By virtue of the extent of its field and its actual accomplishments the Early English Text Society is the most important of Dr. Furnivall's associations. Among the others special praise is due to his Chaucer and New Shakspeare Societies. In our increasing impatience with the text of Chaucer, we are in danger of forgetting the substantive aid which the Chaucer Society has rendered. However much remains to be done, we should gratefully remember what has been accomplished in the way of realizing the society's declared purpose, "to let the lovers and students of him [Chaucer] see how far the best unprinted manuscripts of his works differed from the printed texts". This was the object of the first series; that of the second series was to publish "such originals of and essays on these [Chaucer's works] as can be procured with other illustrative treatises, and supplementary tales". Although this second series has been eminently justified by such indispensable volumes as Professor Kittredge's "Language of the Troilus"—to mention no others—one may without being captious, express a slight regret that space which was found for several inconsequential and sketchy essays, had not been given to more manuscripts. Certainly, the fact that the Chaucer Society was much more than a text society, exposed it to the dangers of Furnivall's cordial regime. Cordial, too, in other ways, was the management of the New Shakspeare Society. This organization, which had been preceded in England by the Shakspeare Society, lasting from 1840 to 1853, and in Germany by the *Shakspeare-Gesellschaft*, founded in 1864, was formed in 1873 for "the careful study of Shakspeare's text and the printing of material more or less difficult to obtain which bore upon the study of Shakspeare's work". But characteristically, Furnivall did not stop here. Wishing the influence of his society to be broad, he exhorted every member "to do his best to form Shakspeare reading-parties, to read the plays chronologically, and discuss each after its reading in every set of people, club or institute, that he belongs to",—continuing in his pleasant way, "there are few better ways of spending three hours of a winter evening indoors, or a summer afternoon on the grass". Enlisted with him in this undertaking were both

Tennyson and Browning and such great scholars as Wright, Skeat, and Child. At the end of its first year the society had enrolled 450 members and had helped to establish many branch-societies and reading-clubs.

I have heard very often of late that Dr. Furnivall was not a great scholar. I know only that we have received at his hands almost daily benefits: he has made possible the thorough revision of many chapters in the history of English literature and he has laid broad and deep the foundation for a new history of the English language. In marshalling forces for tasks that required many hands, and in intelligent and sympathetic direction of their work, he proved himself a very captain of scholars. He has brought within reach of all a great body of material which was previously only in manuscript or in rare printed editions; and the impetus which his work and example have given, especially to mediaeval studies, is on record in almost every article and book in this field of scholarship.

Much of Dr. Furnivall's success in the conduct of his many enterprises must be attributed to his charming personality. He was indeed on such cordial terms with life—he had shown such a fine zest and talent for living—that we had all learned to think of him as a permanent good. The eccentricities and amazing irrelevancies into which his heartiness sometimes led him, we can easily forgive; for his sense of comradeship with scholars of every land made quite impossible for him that impersonality which is characteristic of most German and American scholarship. Indeed it was this very sense of comradeship, as we have suggested, which helped to cement those societies, whose work is a lasting monument to Dr. Furnivall's initiative and zeal.

H. S. V. JONES.

*University of Illinois.*

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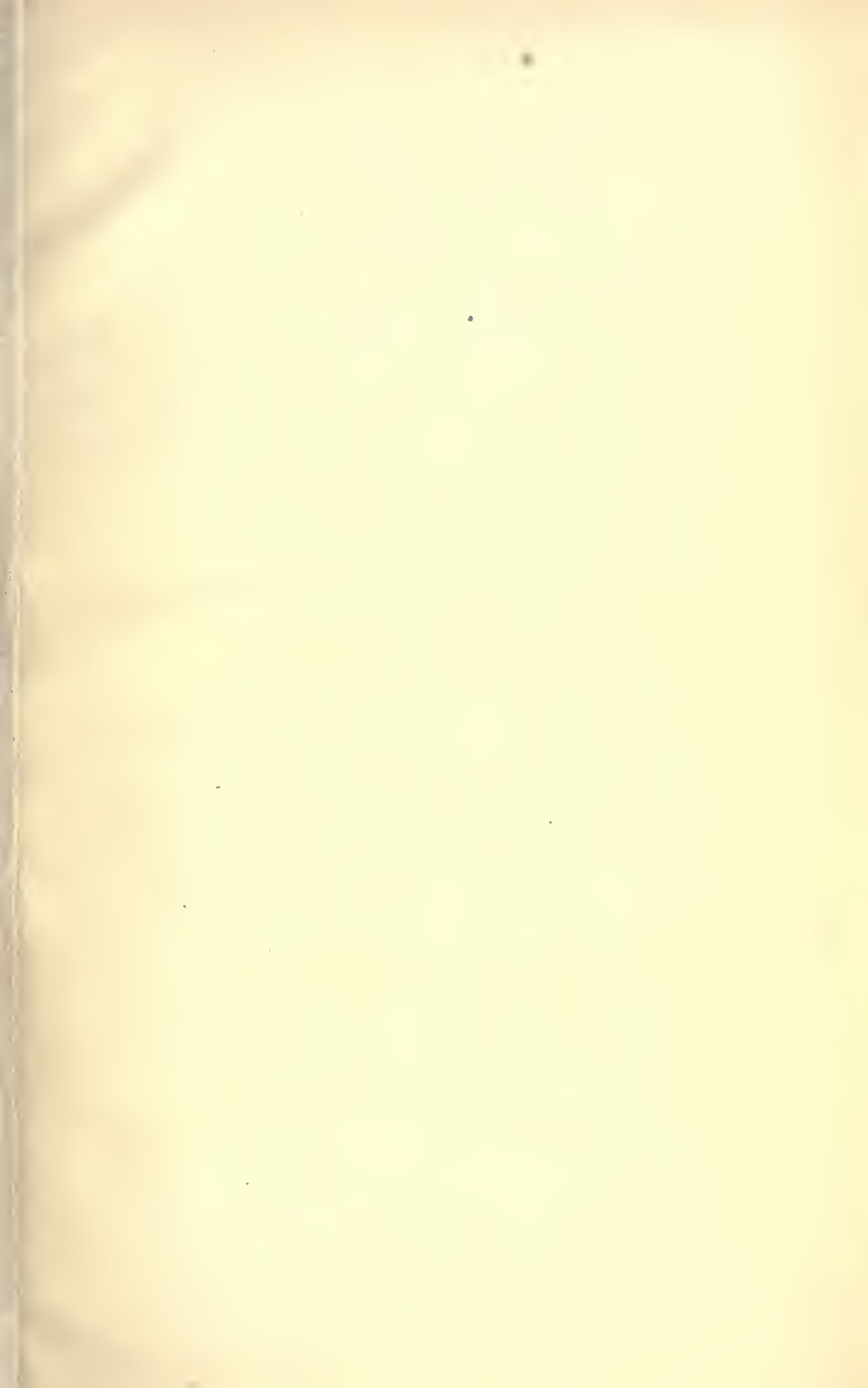
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